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June 1975

S.E.M.

This Tuttle edition has been prepared in order to make the book more widely accessible to students of Japanese. Nearly a thousand corrections and additions have been made to the first edition of 1975. I am grateful for the helpful reviews by N. Akatsuka, C. Kitagawa, B. Lewin, G.B. Mathias, P.G. O’Neill, M. Shibatani, and G.E. Wenck. I appreciate also the observations made by various other readers, and I look forward to further comments from those who use the book, for your remarks can improve future editions.

January 1988

S.E.M.
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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF JAPANESE
0 NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS: SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, ACCENT, JUNCTURE

The Japanese in this book is spelled in roman letters; the standard pronunciation is easy to infer. A serious student of Japanese must be prepared to read the language in a variety of forms, including the two kinds of romanization distinguished here. In the Bibliography and in the spelling of proper names within English sentences, we use the Hepburn romanization, which tells us to "pronounce the consonants as in English and the vowels as in Italian"; elsewhere the Japanese words and sentences are written largely according to the conventions of the book A Manual of Japanese Writing, by Chaplin and Martin, conventions which are almost identical with the system used in Spoken Japanese, by Bloch and Jorden, and differ from those used in Beginning Japanese, by Jorden and Chaplin, primarily in neglecting to distinguish nasal from oral g and in writing "ei" for most instances of what is usually pronounced "ee" in most parts of Japan.¹ In recent loanwords the bilabial f- is represented by hw, as in hwirumu ‘film’ and hwán ‘fan’ and byühwe ‘buffet’, except that fu is written hu, as in hurai-pan ‘frying pan’ and sutahhu ‘staff’. In this transcription ‘ti’ represents the syllable that Hepburn writes as ‘chi’; for the non-affricated pronunciation of such English loanwords as that for ‘DDT’ we will separate ‘t’ and ‘d’ from the vowel by an apostrophe: d’ii-d’ii-t’ii for what Hepburn writes as didiiti. (In A Manual of Japanese Writing this was written deii-deii-teii f for what Hepburn writes as didiiti. (In A Manual of Japanese Writing this was written deii-deii-teii.) The apostrophe is also used to indicate the beginning of a syllable where doubt might arise (see §0.3). The word spelled iu ‘says’ is pronounced /yuː/; our spelling follows the native tradition, which is based on the underlying form. In explaining certain etymologies the symbol ‘”’ is placed in front of a voiceless consonant to show secondary voicing (nigori): ‘”p is pronounced /b/; ‘”t /d/; ‘”k /g/; ‘”s /z/.

(But in the Middle Korean forms cited on p. 89, the symbol ‘”’ represents the accent of which modern Seoul length is a reflex.)

0.1. NAMES AND CITATIONS

In the Bibliography and within Japanese sentences a Japanese family name directly precedes the personal name and title (if these are present), but in the English translations you will find the order reversed according to the foreign custom. This means that the translation of a sentence talking about a man referred to as Tukisima Syunzirō will call him Shunjirō Tsukishima and if he were to turn up as the author of a book listed in the Bibliography you would find him listed as Tsukishima Shunjirō.

Certain authors and works that are quite often cited will be referred to by abbreviations, for which the full forms can be found in the Bibliography. This accounts for the frequent mention of “KKK” for Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Language Research Institute), of “K” for Kındaichi Haruhiko, of “H” for Hirayama Teruo’s Zenkoku akusento jiten, etc. Many of the example sentences were culled from weekly magazines, such as Sanfé-Mainichi (“SM”) and especially Shūkan-Asahi (“SA”), and some are from monthlies

¹. But the pronunciation ei is still heard in the Ryūkyūs, Kyūshū, southern Shikoku, parts of the Kii peninsula, and the Izu Islands (H 1968.95).
such as *Chûô-Kôron* ("CK"). Others are from the works of modern novelists such as Funabashi Seiichi ("Fn") or Kubota Mantarō ("Kb"); but many examples from fiction are taken from secondary sources, such as Ishigaki Yukio ("Ig"), Yoshida Kanehiko ("Y"), and I. F. Vardul ("V"), and are so cited. A good many examples were transcribed from tape recordings of radio and television; these are marked "R". Unmarked examples are mostly the result of elicitation from native speakers, but a few were taken from written sources that I now find difficult to identify.

In making the English translations, I have tried to take into account the surrounding context of examples from primary sources; this accounts for the translation of titles such as *sensei* by ‘you’ in more than one sentence. But I have not gone to the trouble of checking the original context of examples quoted from secondary sources, since an inaccurate reconstruction of unexpressed elements will seldom affect the grammatical point under discussion. The purpose of the English translations is simply to help the reader find meaning in the Japanese examples; I apologize to those authors and translators who may be distressed at my clumsy treatment of familiar sentences.

### 0.2. WORDS; SPACES; HYPHENS

When a Japanese writes a sentence he leaves no spaces between the words. If pressed to do so, he will insert a space only where it is possible to hesitate; such points of hesitation represent the surface manifestation of boundaries (called “junctures” by linguists) which separate short phrases within the sentence. In our transcribed sentences, however, you will find the spaces are placed to show a generous division into WORDS as defined partly by rules of accent and partly by versatility of distribution. Rules of accent placement are discussed just below and also later in the book, where you will find grammatical criteria for the various word classes that are needed to describe the sentences.

Hyphens call attention to the internal structure of a word for any of a number of reasons. When cited in isolation the verb *ir-u* ‘needs’ has a hyphen to remind you that the infinitive is *iri* and the negative *iranai*; otherwise you might confuse it with *iru* ‘stays’, which has the infinitive *i* and the negative *inai*. The lack of a hyphen in *keizai saiken* ‘to reconstruct the economy’ reflects the underlying juncture that separates the expression into a two-word phrase; the presence of a hyphen in *keizai-seikatu* ‘economic life’ tells us that this is a compound noun made up of the nouns *keizai* ‘economics’ and *seikatu* ‘life’, and in *keizai-zin* ‘business man’ and *keizai-teki* ‘economical’ we are reminded that the final elements are suffixes. Although I have tried to use the hyphen with some measure of consistency, especially within lists, do not be dismayed to find the same word written sometimes solid, sometimes with a hyphen, or even—under special circumstances—as two words.

Within a word the morpheme divisions are not marked. When you see (or, for that matter, hear) *siki* there is no obvious way to tell whether you are confronted with a one-morpheme word such as that for ‘ceremony’ (written with a single Chinese character) or a two-morpheme word such as that for ‘the four seasons of the year’ (written with two Chinese characters). But in certain compounds the hyphen proves helpful: *sikâ-i* means ‘dentist’, being a compound of the two-morpheme noun *sika* ‘dentistry’ and the one-morpheme

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2. The reference "(SA 2653.46c)" is to be read 'column c (third from top or third from right) on page 46 of issue No. 2653 of Shûkan Asahi [= the issue of 21 November 1969]'.
abbreviation of the two-morpheme noun isya 'doctor'; sikaǐ means 'city council', a two-morpheme noun. The two words sound, of course, exactly the same; you cannot hear a hyphen.

0.3. SYLLABLES AND MORAS

In reciting poetry or spelling out the sound of a word, a Japanese will allow an equal amount of time for each vowel, so that a long vowel (here written double) counts as two timing units or MORAS: Tookyoo (Tōkyō) is pronounced as four moras to-ō-kyo-o, kei-zai 'economics' is pronounced ke-e-za-i. When a consonant occurs without a following vowel, it is treated as a separate mora: sinbun 'newspaper' is pronounced si-n-bu-n, and gakkoo 'school' is pronounced ga-k-ko-o. The Japanese term for mora is onsetsu and this is often loosely translated as ‘syllable’. In speech the Japanese may run two moras together to make a single syllable, so that the difference in length between Tookyoo (Tōkyō) and Kyōto (Kyōto) owes only to the extra mora, both words consisting of two syllables. We can think of two-mora syllables such as those heard in Tookyoo, kei-zai, sin-bun, and gak-ko as HEAVY (or LONG) syllables in contrast with the LIGHT (or SHORT) syllable that consists of a single mora, such as ko or kyo or o. Foreign loanwords and mimetic expressions even contain EXTRA-HEAVY syllables made up of three moras: hōon ‘horn’, booi ‘boy, bellboy’, sīn ‘scene’, sīn-to ‘very quietly’. The accent never lands on the added mora (or moras) of a heavy syllable. When you see too i desu ‘it is far’ you know that the syllable structure is too-i-de-su. The adjective ōōi ‘is much, are many’ is pronounced either as three syllables o-o-i or as a heavy syllable followed by a light syllable ō-o-i; ōōi is the common Tōkyō version, but ooi is more widely heard elsewhere.3 For the verb meaning ‘covers’ Tōkyō has both the historically expected atonic version oo-u (two syllables oo-u) and a tonic variant oo-u (three syllables o-o-u). In general, our notation indicates syllable structure only by implication, but you will notice that an apostrophe marks the beginning of a syllable in certain cases where doubt might arise: tān’i ‘unit’ has three moras, tani ‘valley’ has two; ko’oo ‘response’ consists of a short syllable followed by a long, kō-o ‘likes and dislikes’ consists of a long syllable followed by a short. (But in pā-t’i ‘party’ the apostrophe shows that the t is not to be affricated; the word contains two long syllables pā-a-t’ii.)

0.4. PHRASING AND JUNCTURE

The transcriptions in this book provide a good deal of information about accent and phrasing. If anything, you will probably feel overwhelmed with more information than you want, though you may eventually find reasons to feel grateful for certain of the notations which seem irritating at first. Freely ignore as much of the notation as you see fit. The devices are intended to be helpful for those interested, not to browbeat those seeking other information; each reader will have his own needs.

3. Hamako Chaplin freely varies the pronunciation of the infinitive of ookii ‘is big’ between ookiku (four syllables) and ōōiku (three syllables), but only the latter is recognized by the dictionaries. All sources give only ōōiku as the infinitive of oosii ‘is brave’; there is no *ōōiku. K implies that ookii and oosii differ in number of syllables, but H implies they are the same. Etymologically, the former word is built on a morpheme reduced from two syllables o[p]o- (identical with the base of ōōi), while the latter is a reduplication of a one-syllable morpheme o- ‘male’.
Every spoken phrase of Japanese displays a tune that is chosen out of a limited stock of arrangements of stretches of lower and higher pitches. The phrases are separated by boundaries we call "junctures". A major juncture (marked by the double bar II) tells us that the phrases on either side are pronounced rather independently of each other, with full value for each accent phrase. A minor boundary (marked by the single bar I) warns us that the pattern of the later phrase is somewhat altered by the preceding phrase; for example, if there is a fall of pitch it begins from a lower plateau. Depending on speed and emphasis, you may hear the same sentence spoken with somewhat different phrasings. In slow and deliberate speech the sentence will be broken into shorter phrases; in hasty speech phrases will be run together, with the major junctures reduced to minor and the minor junctures often dropping altogether. Some of our examples, especially those taken from recordings, are transcribed with typical junctures, but most are not. An appropriate phrasing can usually be inferred from the other information given.

Our punctuation conventions follow familiar English patterns. The capitalization of proper names and of the first word in a sentence conveys no phonetic information; commas and semicolons are used for logical rather than phonetic purposes, though they will often coincide with a major juncture. The original punctuation is usually retained for examples cited from written texts, even when it raises questions; you will find side comments on this from time to time. The sentence-final period is deferred until the end of the English translation, which is set off by inverted commas (' .. '), but a final question mark is included within the English translation (' ... '), and also at the end of the Japanese sentence whenever the original text contained the mark. The triple dot (...) is used to show omissions in a citation and at the end of a list to show that the list is not exhaustive. To save space the triple dot is often omitted, however, when it can easily be supplied by the reader.

0.5. ACCENT IN WORDS AND PHRASES

In order to appreciate the devices marking accent and juncture, it is necessary to take a brief look at certain facts about the way Japanese is spoken. Readers who find themselves puzzled by notations may wish to consult the following information for guidance.

0.5.1. Inherent word accents.

In addition to the consonants and vowels that make up its moras and syllables, each Japanese word has an inherent accent pattern, a tune that is appropriate to it in certain critical contexts. Those words which are TONIC are characterized by an inherent fall of pitch; the point of fall is here marked with an acute accent (') over the vowel. PROTOTONIC words fall to a lower pitch right after the first syllable: Nára 'Nara', Tiíba 'Chiba', Ákasi 'Akashi', Méguro 'Meguro', ótukisama 'the moon', Ámano-hasidate 'Amanohashidate'. When the first syllable contains two vowels or a vowel followed by n, the fall may be heard within that syllable: Kóobe 'Kobe', Kyóoto 'Kyoto', Shínbasí 'Shimbashi', Kyúusyuu 'Kyushu', Dóitu 'Germany', Súisu 'Switzerland', náiti 'Japan proper'.

MESOTONIC words have their fall of pitch somewhere in the middle of the word; the first syllable is pronounced rather low, but it often rises when it contains two vowels or a vowel followed by n: Nará-sí 'Nara city', Tiíba-ken 'Chiba prefecture', Koobé-eki 'Kobe station', Akásaka 'Akasaka', Nagásaki 'Nagasaki', Harázyuku 'Harajuku', lidábasí 'lidabashi',
§0.5.1. Inherent word accents

Ogikubo station’.

OXYTONTIC words have the fall of pitch on the last syllable, but if that contains a sin­
gle vowel you will hear the fall only when the word is immediately followed by a particle or copula: inú desu ‘it’s a dog’, onná wa ‘as for the woman’, otokó mo ‘the man also’,
oototó ni ‘for my younger brother’, Kitizyoozí ‘to Kichijôji’, zyuuitigatú ‘till No­
vember’. If the final syllable contains two vowels or a vowel followed by n, you may be
able to hear the fall of pitch even without a following particle: kohii [desu] ‘[it is] coffee’,
Ryûukyû [mo] ‘the Ryûkyûs [also]’, Tyoosén [de] ‘[in] Korea’, takái ‘it is expensive’,
yasuî ‘it is cheap’, kuroi ‘it is black’.

ATONIC words have no fall of pitch even when followed by a particle. All the syllables
two vowels or a vowel followed by n you may hear a rise: Oosaka [mo] ‘Osaka [also]’,

The inherent accent of a simple word cannot easily be predicted; it is something to
learn along with the consonants and vowels. But there are rules by which you can predict
the accent of compound words, which are newly created every day, and these rules are
mentioned in the appropriate sections of the book. Simple verbs and adjectives show only
two TYPES of basic accent: atonic or tonic. If you know the basic type, you can predict
the accent of a given form of the verb or adjective by rule or by analogy with similar forms
of the same type. Most simple verbs and almost all adjectives are the TONIC type.
On the other hand, many nouns of three or four moras—especially and most important­
ly those written with two Chinese characters—are atonic. Recent loanwords from
English will usually either follow the English patterns or put the accent on the third
mora from the end (or one mora earlier if that mora is the second part of a long syl­
lable).

If we leave aside certain special types and particular exceptions, the accentuation of
compound nouns \((N_1 + N_2)\) can be described as follows:

1. If \(N_1\) is tonic, the accent is removed. (Otherwise we know the structure is a syntac­
tic reduction rather than a compound noun.) The accentuation of a compound noun de­
pends on the last element.

2. If \(N_2\) contains more than one syllable and has an accent on any mora other than
the last, that accent is retained as the accent of the compound.

3. Otherwise the inherent accent is ignored and a new accent is put on the first syllable
of \(N_2\) provided that noun contains more than two moras; if \(N_2\) is only one or two moras
in length the new accent retreats to the LAST syllable of \(N_1\).

4. There are a number of ATONICIZING SUFFIXES which exceptionally remove all
inherent accents without imparting a new accent. Some of these are derived from free
nouns; those of native origin are mostly oxytonic. There appear to be no more than fifty
of these suffixes, but the list may be growing, since several of them (such as -syá ‘vehicle’
and -kin ‘money’) exhibit the regular pattern as well as the atonicizing pattern, which is
probably the newer variant.
0.5.2. Variations in inherent word accents.

In different parts of Japan the same word may be heard with different accent patterns, but the rapid spread of mass communications has led to wider and wider use of the standard accents of Tōkyō speech, and these are what we mark in this book. But even within the standard language certain words are said with more than one pattern; older speakers and younger speakers sometimes differ on the pattern they choose for a given word, and one and the same speaker may find himself freely varying the accent of certain of his words. In this book we attempt to show all possible varieties of accent in standard use for each word by placing an accent mark over the vowel at each point where a speaker might choose to locate the fall of pitch. In pronouncing the word kokoro [mo] ‘the heart [also]’, some people will say kokorō [mo] with the accent on the last syllable of the noun, while others—probably the majority—will say kokôro [mo], with the accent in the middle. In pronouncing zyusán-niti ‘thirteen days’ a given speaker may find himself sometimes saying zyúsán-niti with an accent on the first syllable and sometimes zyúusán-niti with the accent on the second. Certain tonic words are optionally pronounced as atonic, and this is shown by placing a raised minus sign in parentheses at the end of the word: éiga(¬) ‘cinema’ is prototonic for some speakers, atonic for others. The word zídóo-sya(¬) ‘automobile’ may be said by a given speaker sometimes with no fall of pitch and sometimes with the fall at the second syllable just as some English speakers will sometimes put the heavy beat of the English accent at the beginning of ‘AUTomobile’ and other times put it at the end ‘auto­moBILE’. The expression dôno-yôo na ‘what kind of’ will be said as either /dónoyóona/ or as /dónoyóona/, and that is why we write a single hyphenated word rather than two words. A phrase like kanemóti(¬) mo ‘the rich man also’ may be heard with any of three patterns: kanemotí mo, kanemotí mo, or kanemotí mo. Though some patterns are more common than others, our notation offers no prescriptions. As a rule of thumb, the foreign learner would do well to prefer the atonic variant of a noun (whenever one is available) and the tonic variant of a verb or adjective, since this appears to be a trend toward which the language is moving. In Nagoya and Gifu all adjectives are treated as tonic, as are all vowel verbs (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/2.169); this means that all passives, causatives, and desideratives (and negatives?) are tonic, even when they are made on an underlying verb that is atonic.

0.5.3. Variations due to vowel unvoicing.

In Tōkyō speech when the high vowels i and u appear between voiceless consonants they are usually unvoiced (whispered): kusá ‘grass’, sítá ‘tongue’, syúppatu ‘departure’, kíppu ‘ticket’, tukau ‘uses’, hitóri ‘one person’, hutarí ‘two people’, kikáí ‘machinery’, títí ‘father’, tutúmu ‘wraps’, susumu ‘advances’, sísoo ‘thought’, hí/síyó ‘secretary’, syussyoo ‘prime minister’, etc. When the unvoiced vowel is to carry an accent in certain verb forms, most Tōkyō speakers choose to shift the accent over to the following vowel, so that kíta ka ‘came?’ is made to sound like kitá ka ‘wore?’ Other speakers leave the accent alone, even while unvoicing the vowel; the listener must infer the location of the accent from the surrounding pitch levels. We might show this variation by writing kitá ‘came’, kíttá ‘cut’, húttá ‘rained’, tükú ‘arrives’, tükête ‘attaching’, and the like; but instead we will minimize the clutter of accent marks by regularizing our transcription to accord with those speakers who retain the basic accent (kíta, kíttá, húttá, tükú, tükête, etc.) and ignore the
§0.5.4. Word accent within phrases

common variant which delays the accent.4 Whenever you actually see two accent marks on a verb form, you will know that the basic verb has both tonic and atonic treatments; but two accent marks on an adjective form sometimes indicates variant treatments of certain classes of tonic adjectives, as explained in Martin 1967. (Only the more prevalent accentual variants are shown.)

After a voiceless consonant Tōkyō speakers often unvoice i or u at the end of a tonic phrase: Motōron desu ‘Of course’, Yōsī ‘OK’, Hāyaku ‘Hurry up’, Nagāsaki ‘(It’s) Nagasaki’. When the accent is expected on the immediately preceding syllable, you will hear no fall of pitch; the only signal that the phrase is tonic will be the whispering of the final syllable itself: Arimasu ‘I’ve got some’, Kore desu ‘It’s this’.

0.5.4. Word accent within phrases.

Within a single phrase the pitch can fall only once. And some phrases have no fall of pitch; they rise and stay up to the very end: kore wa ‘as for this’, sono teeburu mo ‘that table also’, akai denwa o tukau ‘I will use a red (= public) telephone’. That is because the component words are inherently atonic—or because the final word is oxytonic and its final accent must vanish when there is no further syllable left to carry the fall. When an oxytonic noun or adverb appears at the end of a phrase, we will show that it has an inherent accent by placing the accent mark in the appropriate place, but we will put brackets around the mark to indicate the automatic cancellation by which it sounds as if it were atonic:

Hutarî ga imáasu ‘There are the two people’. Cf. Hutarî ga imáasu ‘There are the two people’.
Takusán desu ‘It’s lots’. Cf. Takusán desu ‘It’s lots’.
Ik-kā itta ‘I went one time’. Cf. Ik-kā datta ‘It was one time’.
It-ido sita ‘I did it once’. Cf. It-ido datta ‘It was once’.

When you have used up the single fall of pitch allowed within a phrase, each basic accent expected to turn up later is automatically cancelled; once your tune goes down, it stays down. We will show this by putting brackets around the cancelled accent marks. But in the extremely common and familiar situations of noun + particle and noun + copula we will normally forgo reminding you of the cancelled accent. By recalling the phrases Yokohama made ‘as far as Yokohama’ and Yokohama dēsu ka ‘is it Yokohama?’ we know that the particle made and the copula dēsu are basically prototonic; accordingly, we will not bother to indicate the cancelled accents in Nāgoya made (= Nāgoya māde) ‘as far as Nagoya’ and Nāgoya dēsu ka (= Nāgoya dēsu ka) ‘Is it Nagoya?’ Moreover, we will mark the final accent of an inherently oxytonic particle only when it is heard. From the phrase Yokohama karā desu ‘it is from Yokohama’ we know that the particle karā is basically oxytonic so we will not bother to indicate the cancelled accent in Nāgoya karā dēsu (= Nāgoya karā dēsu) ‘It is from Nagoya’. The phrase koko dē mo ‘in this place also’ tells us the locative particle dē has an accent—as do all one-syllable particles—but we will not mark the accent when it is cancelled at the end of a phrase: koko de asobu = koko de [l] asobu ‘we will play in this place’.5

4. But the phrasal postpositions ni tukē, ni tuki, and ni tukete are cited with both accentuations in §9.7, though elsewhere we write ki o tukete for what Tōkyō speakers usually say as ki o tukete.

5. But in discussing particles or citing them in isolation we will usually mark the accent, especially for those such as tō or no or māde which might otherwise be misread as English words. And sentence-final particles such as nē or yō are written with the accent to indicate that a minor juncture may precede them.
An atonic phrase often drops its final juncture and gets pronounced as if part of the following phrase: Akai [I\[.|E\] denwa o [I\[.|E\] tumata ‘I used a red telephone’ consists of three underlying phrases but these are normally run together and pronounced as if one long phrase akaidenwaotukatta. An oxytonic phrase cancels its final accent before juncture and therefore gets treated as an atonic phrase when the juncture, in turn, drops out: Hutatu [I\[.|E\] tumata ‘I used two’ is run together and pronounced hutatutukatta, with no fall of pitch. Other tonic phrases, in which the fall of pitch is not exposed to cancellation, will retain their accent under similar conditions and the juncture will less readily drop. Should the juncture drop, later tonic words will automatically lose their accents. Instead of brackets around the cancelled accent marks we will sometimes use parentheses, to indicate that the dropping of the juncture is optional; the two phrases need not be run together, though that may be the common practice: Kae Sanaiyo desu ‘Apparently they’re not going to return it’ can be pronounced Kae Sanaiyo yodo desu in two phrases (with a reduced fall in the second), but commonly it is run together as a single phrase Kae Sanaiyo desu. In the sentence Kagami [I\[.|E\] mite kudasai ‘Look in the mirror’, the brackets around the first accent show that it is automatically cancelled, being at the end of the phrase, which is a short version of Kagami o and is run together to form a single phrase with mite; the parentheses around the final accent tells us that we can pronounce the sentence either as two phrases kagamimite [I\[.|E\] kudasai or as a single phrase kagamimitekudasai, the latter version being more likely.6

The inflected forms of verb and adjective are usually marked for the actual accent heard in the sentence, not for the basic accents from which this derives. The information given will permit you to infer whether the underlying verb or adjective is basically tonic or atonic. There is actually an inherent final accent on the ending of what appear to be unaccented forms of the “atonic” verb, but this will be heard only when a particle follows and we usually omit the suppressed accent, writing Itta [I\[.|E\] ka ‘Did you go?’ but Itta (= Itta\[E\] ‘I went’ and Itta kodomo wa … (= Itta\[E\] kodomo wa) ‘The child who went’. Inflected forms of “atonic” adjectives are similar, but the final accent is usually heard one mora earlier: Akai ka ‘Is it red?’ and Akai denwa … (= Akai [I\[.|E\] denwa) ‘A red telephone’—but Tooi ka ‘Is it distant?’ and Tooi kuni … (= Tooi [I\[.|E\] kuni) ‘A distant land’. In the infinitive form made with the suffix -kú the final accent, when called for, may optionally occur one syllable early if a particle is attached: Akaku mo nai. ‘It isn’t red, either’ but Akaku natta (= Akaku [I\[.|E\] natta) ‘It became red’.7

Some verbs and adjectives permit variant accentuations of either type, tonic or atonic. The imperfect and perfect forms of the atonic verb (like suru ‘does’ and sita ‘did’) and the imperfect and infinitive forms of the atonic adjective (such as akai ‘is red’ and akaku ‘being red’) will have basic accents on the endings (for the verb -ru and -ta; for the adjective -i and -kú but with a shift of the accent back one mora under certain circumstances); we will ignore this except when the form is followed by a particle or copula. The verb simesu(\[E\]) ‘reveals’ is treated as either tonic or atonic, and that is what the notation tells us. When a particle is added, for example ká, the two available pronunciations are marked: simesú ka. Other forms will also show two pronunciations, e.g. the conditional simésitára.

6. But in certain very common situations, such as those illustrated here, we will not always put parentheses around the later accents; the reader can infer them from earlier discussions.

7. Alongside Too kú natta (= Too kú [I\[.|E\] natta) ‘It became distant’ we find three versions of Too kú mo nai ‘It isn’t distant, either’, depending on whether the double o is taken as one heavy syllable or two light ones as well as on the option of anticipating the accent on -kú.
§0.5.5. Regressive cancellations

Certain particles are attached with an underlying juncture (optional or obligatory) which kills the basic final accent on such forms as suru and sita, akai and akaku. The particle to, for example, whether used as a quotation marker or in the meaning 'when(ever)', is attached like kā by many Tōkyō speakers, especially the younger ones, who say /suruto/ and /sitato/ for what other and more traditional speakers say as /suruto/ and /sitato/. Instead of showing this option every time it is available, we will follow the traditional speakers and ignore the common variant in our notation; rather than write "surū(−) to" we will write 'suru to' and let the reader remember that the other version is possible. Thus when you see "munasii(−) to" you will know that the adjective enjoys variant INHERENT accents, independent of its occurrence with to in the given sentence. Some speakers will say /munasīto/ because they treat munasi as tonic everywhere, others because they accentuate all a-tonic forms of verbs and adjectives before to. In general we have tried to let our notation maximize the accentual distinctions and for that reason we choose to ignore those systematic variants which obscure the differences between tonic and a-tonic verbs and adjectives. (See the remarks on accentuating the desiderative forms, §7, and compound verbs, §9.1.10.)

0.5.5. Regressive cancellations.

Many of the words we call restrictives and quasi-restrictives in §2.4 have basic patterns that DOMINATE in that they take precedence over earlier accents within the phrase; such a pattern is indicated by putting a raised minus at the beginning of the dominant word, after the space that separates it from the preceding word. When you see a word like “dōkoro or “gurai you know that all preceding words in the same phrase will lose their accents (if any), so we do not bother to put brackets around the cancelled accent marks: iti-izikan “gurai (= iti-izikan gurai) ‘about one hour’ is pronounced itizikangurai, iti-izikan “hān (= iti-izikan hān) ‘an hour and a half’ is pronounced itizikanhān, and iti-izikan “hān “gurai (= iti-izikan hān gurai) ‘about an hour and a half’ is pronounced itizikanhangurai. Not all of these dominant words have accents; some are a-tonic: nimotu “nami ni atukatta (=nimotu nami ni atukatta) ‘they treated them like baggage’ is pronounced nimotunamini atukatta. And some are oxytonic, with a final accent that will be automatically cancelled unless followed by a particle or copula: Hanbūn “dakē desu ‘It is (exactly) half’ is pronounced hanbundakedesu and Hanbūn “dakē herasoo ‘Let’s reduce it by half’ is pronounced hanbundakeherasoo.

The little word no, regardless of which of its many meanings it is expressing, has a unique effect. It cancels the final accent of a preceding oxytonic noun (as if it were a juncture), except under certain circumstances. The circumstances permitting the oxytonic noun to retain its final accent require a retained juncture AFTER no either in the surface form as pronounced or at that level of structure put together just before arriving at the surface form—at the point when last-minute phrasing options are to be selected. Predicting these circumstances is tricky, so we will put brackets around those final accents that are to be cancelled: Ikō no mawari o mawaru ‘We will go around the pond’, Kinō no ŭryō wa ‘Yesterday’s rainfall’, Ninohon no tetudoo wa ‘Japan’s railroads’, Otoko no gakusei wa ‘Male students’. When the final accent of an oxytonic noun fails to be cancelled before no, you can usually expect a new phrase to begin after no: Hutarī no sensēi wa ‘The two teachers’ is usually pronounced hutarinō sensēe wa. But sometimes the two phrases will collapse into one at the last minute: Yuki no yō desu ‘It looks like snow’ may be
pronounced yukinō yōōdesu as expected, but the commonly heard version is yukinoyōōdesu. (If the dropping of the juncture had been called for when packaging the constituents at an earlier stage, we would expect *yukinō yōōdesu.*)

When a dominant word follows an atomic word, application of the regressive cancellation is vacuous, since there is no accent for it to cancel. But we will usually indicate the accentual dominance of the word by the raised minus even when it has no work to do: kodomo "nami, nisen-en "gurai, etc.

0.5.6. Other accent cancellations.

In certain expressions accents are cancelled, obligatorily or optionally, for reasons that can be rather complicated to explain. Obligatory cancellations are indicated by brackets around the accent mark: Hitōtu mo kawanakatta 'I didn't buy even one', Hitōri mo kōnakatta 'Not a soul came', Dare mo inai 'No one is there'. Optional cancellations are shown by parentheses around the accent mark: Nan de mo i 'Anything will do' can be pronounced as nandemō l ̄ i, as nandemō l ̄ i, or as nandemō l ̄ i.

0.5.7. Accent shifts in certain verb forms.

The accentuation of a given inflectional form is predictable, once you know whether the verb or the adjective is treated as basically tonic or atomic. The accent will not necessarily fall on the same syllable in every form of the paradigm; the imperfect endings -ru (for verbs) and -i (for adjectives) attract the accent of tonic bases to the syllable just before the ending: tabete 'eating' but tabēru 'eats', takaku(te) 'being expensive' but takai 'is expensive'. Yet for certain verbs, when the accent is expected on the vowel before the ending, it is shifted back to an immediately preceding vowel; the two vowels are treated as a single "heavy" syllable. The relevant information is stated below.

(1) The following verbs always treat the vowel dyad as a single syllable, forcing the accent in the imperfect (-ru) and the provisional (-reba) to retreat one mora: kāer-u 'returns' (and huri-kāer-u 'looks back'), kāesu 'returns it' (and most tonic compounds with -kāesu such as hiki-kāesu, kiki-kāesu, etc.); gōtta-yō-gāer-u 'gets confused'; hirugāer-u 'flutters, reverses', hirugāesu 'reverses/waves it'; hāir-u 'enters', māir-u 'comes/goes'; tōoru 'passes', tōosu 'lets pass' (and tonic compounds with -tōoru and -tōosu). The infinitive, too, will place the accent a mora earlier than expected (kāeri, tōori, etc.) as will the imperative (kāere, tōore, etc.). The gerund and related forms (the perfect, etc.) of the potentials will also place the accent a mora earlier than expected: kāerete (from kāéreru), hāireta (from haihéru), tōoretara (from tooréru), etc.

(2) In the following verbs, the vowel dyad is OPTIONALLY treated as a single syllable; most (but not all) Tōkyō speakers move the accent back one mora from its expected location in the imperfect:8 aturāeru 'orders', humāeru 'treads', kāgāeru 'thinks', kōraēru 'withstands', kotāēru 'answers', matigāeru 'mistakes', modōēru 'agonizes', osāēru 'restrains', sakāēru 'flourishes', tagāēru 'violates' (NHK also recognizes an atomic version), tōnaēru 'chants, advocates', torāēru 'captures', tukāēru 'clogs up'; otorōēru 'is inferior', totonōēru 'prepares'; sii-kāēsu 'redoess'; ? ... . Also tonic compounds with -kāēru (such as kii-kāēru, sii-kāēru, nori-kāēru, hiki-kāēru)9 and with -tīgāēru (such as iki-tīgāēru), §9.1.10. The

8. And also in the provisional (kotāēreba) and, with the exception of si-kāēsu (si-kaesānai), the negative forms: kotāēnai, kotāēnakatta, etc.

9. A distinction is maintained between huri-kāēru 'transfers (money)' with the infinitive huri-kāēru
infinitive and the imperative of these verbs (with the exception of si-käesu) call for the accent to fall on the first vowel of the dyad in any event, but when the particle ro is added to the imperative both options are available: humäe yo and humäe ro both mean ‘tread!’ and the second form permits two different accentuations.

(3) Assuming that our lists are comprehensive, all other verbs with vowel dyads treat the two vowels as separate syllables so that the second vowel freely takes the accent: aëru ‘dresses (vegetables)’, háëru ‘grows’, kamaëru ‘builds’, kanaëru ‘grants (a request)’, kitaëru ‘forges’, nàëru ‘withers’; miëru ‘seems’, mazìëru ‘mixes’; huëru ‘grows’; hoëru ‘barks’, kazoëru ‘counts’, koëru ‘gets fat’, kokoroëru ‘realizes’, oboëru ‘remembers’, omoëru ‘seems’, soröëru ‘arranges’, suëru ‘sours’; ureëru ‘grieves’; siëru ‘coerces’, hikìëru ‘leads’; naëru ‘recovers’, naösü ‘repairs’, taëru ‘plucks’, taösü ‘topples’; koöru ‘packs up’; .... This group includes the short potentials made from tonic verbs: aëru ‘can meet’, háëru ‘can crawl’, kàëru ‘can raise’, kuraëru(-) ‘can eat’, nàëru ‘can plait’, naraëru ‘can learn’; kisoëru ‘can vie’, koëru ‘can love/beg’, toëru(-) ‘can inquire’, tukuroëru ‘can mend’; kuëru ‘can eat’, nuëru ‘can sew’; ....

(4) The following verbs are optionally atonic. When the tonic option is chosen the dyad is treated as two syllables and the second vowel freely takes the accent: amaëru(-) ‘coaxes’, kakaëru(-) ‘embraces’, kosàëru(-) ‘concocts’, kuwaëru(-) ‘adds’, saraëru(-) ‘dredges’, sasàëru(-) ‘supports’, takuwaëru(-) ‘hoards’ (K also has takuwaëru and NHK has takuwaëru), tataëru(-) ‘brims with; praises’, tukaëru(-) ‘serves’, tutàëru(-) ‘communicates’ (K also has tutàëru), uttàëru(-) ‘complains about’ (K and NHK both also have uttàëru); tuìëru(-) ‘is wasted’, katuëru(-) ‘hungers’ (obsolescent), mi-suëru(-) ‘gazes’; moyóosu(-) ‘holds (a meeting)’; ....

0.5.8. Accent in dialect forms.

Much of the information on dialect forms is taken from secondary sources which failed to note the accent. In isolated citations I have simply omitted information on accent; but in general, especially for sentence examples, I have marked the accent as if the sentences were said by a Tōkyō speaker, as an aid to identifying the component words. This compromise notation is less than satisfactory from a scholarly point of view, but there are two facts which make it seem better than marking no accent at all. One is that sentences with dialect vocabulary and grammar are sometimes heard from the lips of Tōkyō speakers, either reading aloud or playing dramatic roles, and few speakers are capable of making the subtle adjustments necessary for an authentic and consistent version of someone else’s dialect; none of the accentuations indicated here is totally artificial. Moreover, the accentuation across the various dialects is far from random; there is a correlation by word types, so that a speaker of a given dialect will find that the Tōkyō markings provide him with a fairly consistent clue to many of his own pitch falls, even when these occur on a different syllable from the one heard in Tōkyō.

0.6. MISCELLANEOUS CONVENTIONS

Brackets and parentheses are also used to mark various asides and shortenings in

and huri-kāër-u ‘looks back’ with the infinitive huri-kāeri. (NHK lists only huri-kāëru for ‘transfers’, but H and K give both versions.) To the list add hikaëru ‘refrains’ and sonäëru ‘provides’.
explanatory passages, according to familiar conventions which should cause no difficulty for the reader. In discussions of pronunciation, brackets sometimes enclose a quasi-phonetic transcription, as when we say that ee is pronounced [eː], slashes sometimes enclose a quasi-phonemic transcription, as when we say that ei is to be pronounced /eː/. A slash between two forms is the familiar convention to show optionality: \( a/b \) ‘either a or b’; \( a/(b) \) ‘either a or possibly b’; \( a/b/c(\ldots) \) ‘a or b or c or possibly others unmentioned’. When more than two sets of options are shown in a single formula, they are usually to be taken as independent of one another: \( \text{Dâre ni/ga kodomo ga irú/árú ka} \) ‘Who has children?’ tells you there are four Japanese versions of the sentence.

The asterisk * precedes an unattested form. In historical discussions this refers to a form hypothesized to have existed despite the lack of direct evidence, but in descriptive discussions an asterisk often marks a sentence (or other formation) presented as an example of ungrammaticality which is intended to shed light on the structure of those sentences which are grammatical.\(^{10}\) Arrows are used to show synchronic relationships, typically those of sentence conversion: \( a \rightarrow b \) ‘a yields b, a is converted into b, a underlies b’ or \( (^{*} a \rightarrow b) \) ‘b will replace the unacceptable a’; \( b \leftarrow a \) ‘a is a conversion from a, b results from a process applied to a’. When one form has replaced another historically, a different kind of arrow is used: \( a \rightarrow b \) ‘the earlier form a developed into the later form b’; \( b < a \) ‘the historical source of b is the earlier form a’. (In citing certain underlying forms, \(< \) and \( > \) are also used to mark accent shifts.)

Abbreviations for grammatical terms are generally explained where they first occur; they will all be found in the Index. Some very frequent designations are S ‘sentence’, N ‘noun’ or ‘nominal sentence (= predicated noun)’, A ‘adjective’ or ‘adjectival sentence (= predicated adjective)’, V ‘verb’ or ‘verbal sentence (= predicated verb)’, VN ‘verbal noun’ or ‘verbal-noun sentence’, AN ‘adjectival noun’ or ‘adjectival-noun sentence’, PCN ‘precopular (= quasi-adjectival) noun’, AUX (or Aux) ‘auxiliary’. Although V is also used as an abbreviation of ‘vowel’ (in contrast with C ‘consonant’), it should be clear when this is to be taken as ‘verb’. VI stands for intransitive verb, VT for transitive verb; VNI for intransitive verbal noun, VNT for transitive verbal noun. In addition to representing ‘adjective’ the letter A is also used in situational formulas, where A B and C stand for three different people, X Y and Z stand for three different things, and P and Q stand for two different places.

In the Japanese transcriptions square brackets enclose elements that are potentially or theoretically a part of the sentence, though not necessarily present in the example as given. When the brackets have a notch (or superimposed hyphen) \( \text{\broken} \), the material enclosed is optionally sayable; when the brackets have a double notch (or superimposed equal sign) \( \text{\broken\broken} \), the material enclosed must be suppressed. Unnotched brackets can be taken either way; usually they are to be considered optional. They are used, for example, to show various colloquial contractions, as in Mita n[ə] desu ‘I’ve seen it’ or Kaerö[a]! ‘Let’s leave!’; but sometimes contraction is indicated by an apostrophe: Matte ‘ru = Matte [i]ru ‘I’ll be waiting’. We must be careful not to use the apostrophe after the letter n unless the nasal forms a mora: the dialect contraction sen[eb]a cannot be shown as ‘sen’a’ because it is pronounced /senə/. In mentioning certain endings, a basic form is cited that sometimes includes parentheses or brackets; the hortative is given as ‘-[y]oo because the -y- originated

\(^{10}\) Degrees of unacceptability are suggested by marking a sentence with (\( ? \)), (\( ?^* \)), (\( * \)), (*).
by epenthesis, the negative is cited as -(a)nai because the -a- is part of the original formation.

In examples cited from written sources, the bracketed material was usually not present in the original text, but was added here to help explain the overt forms. When the brackets enclose a blank "[ ]" what is omitted is either left unspecified or is presumed to be obvious.

Certain short Japanese words have romanized forms that are identical with English words, and this can cause momentary confusion. Whenever it is possible to differentiate such words by writing the basic accent of the Japanese forms, I have done so: nó, tó, máde, sité, tamé, ... But for atonic nouns such as sake ‘rice wine’, sore ‘that’, are ‘that’, etc., the accent marking is not available; I have tried to avoid letting such words fall into positions within English sentences where they will mislead the eye of the reader, and I believe there will be few occasions for discomfort.
1 SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION: NUCLEAR SENTENCES (PREDICATES) AND EXPANDED SENTENCES (SIMPLEXES); SENTENCE CONVERSIONS

In this book we attempt to describe the wide variety of sentence types used by Japanese speakers to express meanings within the context of situation and discourse. We will concentrate on the sentence, rather than the situation or the discourse, though occasional attention is paid to the larger setting. Although we will not try to find an overall definition of “sentence” as such, some light will perhaps be shed on what might go into such a definition as we look at particular sentences and sentence types. The term “sentence” is used quite loosely—to refer both to relatively simple clauses and to extremely involved concoctions. In general we will explain longer sentences in terms of combinations of shorter sentences; yet a number of shorter sentences will be accounted for as reductions of something larger. In order to explain the structure of certain sentences we rely heavily on the concept of ELLIPSIS—the suppression of words or phrases presumably intended by the speaker and understood by the listener. Typically the suppression is optional, and the omitted material can be freely supplied to render the spoken sentence more explicit; when the ellipsis is obligatory, our interpretation assumes that a change has taken place (or is taking place) in the history of the language. But in some instances our assumptions, while valid within their narrow frame of reference, will prove historically false: we may be accounting for modern structures in ways that oversimplify the actual histories. Ellipsis is shown by putting brackets [ ] around the omitted stretch; for those omissions regarded as optional we can (when we wish to be precise) use brackets with a single cross bar ‖ and for those regarded as obligatory we can use brackets with a double cross bar ‖ ‖. Although this grammar does not seek to cover the history of the language, likely origins are suggested for some of the phenomena examined. At times our historical perspective will be perversely narrow; at other times we take a demandingly wider view.

In the main this work is simply a descriptive taxonomy of modern Japanese sentences. The framework for the taxonomy is partly arbitrary and thus can make no claim to ultimate reality beyond the needs of the work itself. It is my belief, however, that the major categories posited to describe the sentence structures are in some way functional parts of the Japanese language that can eventually be validated, directly or indirectly, not only as psychological realities but also as historical entities. I have sought to find order in the relationships that seem to obtain between the categories and in the ways the categories combine to yield the surface forms of the sentences I have examined. Though the reader may occasionally be dismayed by rules and formulas and algorithmic charts, this is not a “formal” grammar in the strict sense. Nor is it an attempt to relate the structure of Japanese to any notion of “universal” grammar; for, despite the concepts and terminology that have been freely borrowed from descriptions of other languages (and other descriptions of this language) as well as from discussions of grammar in general, the ideas presented here were developed through working independently with the sentences themselves. I have stuck fairly closely to the SURFACE forms of sentences; as far as possible I have chosen

1. If the reader misses familiar labels for particular categories of the grammar, he will probably find them listed in the Index, with a cross reference to the corresponding terms used in this book or a definition in those terms.
to avoid tackling the fascinating, but tricky, questions of relating these sentences to the elements of natural logic (whether universal or language-specific) that may be expressed within them.

The various sections of the book were written and rewritten at different times over a period of many years. I have not hesitated to retain conflicting explanations of a single phenomenon when I felt there was something worth considering in each; but I have tried to pull the sections together as much as I could and to call attention to my own inconsistencies whenever they have come to my attention.

At the outset I tried to catalog the sentence types of Japanese in three major steps, each encompassing a number of diverse operations. The first step was to take a relatively small stock of "nuclear sentences" (or predicates) and build them into a relatively large number of "simplex sentences" (or expanded nuclear sentences) by plucking a pure noun from the nuclear "nominal" sentence (N da 'It's N') and preposing it as an adjunct to some given nuclear sentence, marking whatever grammatical relationships might obtain between the two by a postposition of "case" relationship—either the core cases of subject or "nomina­tive" (gā), direct object or "accusative" (ō), and indirect object or "dative" (ni); or, the peripheral cases of allative (ē 'to'), ablative (karā 'from'), instrumental (de 'with'), locative (ni/de 'at'), and reciprocal (tō 'reciprocally with'). Within the operations of the same Step One, the noun could be delimited by one or more RESTRICTIVES such as dake 'only', the DISTRIBUTIVE ('zūtu 'distributively each'), the COMPARATOR (yōri 'than'), and a few other categories reduced from larger entities (nado, mitai, de mo, etc.); it could also be given FOCUS by the attachment of such particles as wa or mo and a few others of similar function. The essential notion is that a nuclear sentence—Yobu 'Someone calls someone', Ookii 'It's big', Hōn da 'It's a book'—will stand as a complete utterance in Japanese, though it may be expanded to give further information: Hāha ga yobu 'Mother calls', Kodomo o yobu 'Someone calls the child', etc. In Step Two, simplexes with the same nucleus can be combined to yield larger simplexes by sharing the predicate: Hāha ga kodomo o yobu (or Kodomo o hāha ga yobu) 'The mother calls the child', etc. Also, still within Step Two, it is possible to conjoin (by such markers as to 'and', kā 'or', etc.) two or more nouns that serve jointly in the SAME role: Hāha to kodomo ga yobu 'Mother and child call someone', Hāha to kodomo o yobu 'Someone calls mother and child', etc.

Thus, the first two steps should yield an enormous basic repertoire of simple sentences of the type some linguists have called "kernels". Step Three takes these sentences and exposes them to a number of operations whereby they are converted into many different forms. Most of these sentence CONVERSIONS enhance the underlying sentence with some category of meaning—such as Negative, Perfect, etc.—though some serve primarily as devices to relegate a sentence to a lesser role, as when Nominalization permits a sentence to function as a noun. To a large extent these sentence conversions correspond to what some grammarians have called "generalized transformations"; those readers who find it easier to think of "converted" sentences as "transformed" sentences are invited to do so.

As I worked on certain problems it became evident that at least two additional steps would be necessary. Step Four accounts for Thematization—roughly speaking, the source and expression of a "topic" for the sentence—and Epithematization, the source of a target for Adnominalization. These rather complicated concepts are explained in the relevant sections of the book. Finally, I set up Step Five to account for the peculiarities of those sentences that express Propredicatetion and Identification, as explained in the appropriate
§1. Sentence Construction

From this overview it will be obvious that the present framework is inadequate in terms of any of the currently popular theories of grammar, and I have not tried to adjust the framework to such theories, since each theory is in its way inadequate to account for such a wide sweep of data as I wish to encompass. It seems to me that recent attempts to apply insights of linguistic theory to Japanese (or even to English, from which most of the theoretical speculation stems) have been hampered by the lack of anything approaching an adequate description of the language. Perhaps this book will help fill some of the gaps in our information about the ingredients available to the Japanese speaker when he cooks up new sentences.

A word should be said about three areas of inadequacy in the present treatment, even within its own loose frame of reference. Firstly, I have assumed that all modification of nouns and of predicates is the result of sentence conversions of adnominalization and adverbialization, respectively. The devices work admirably—up to a point. But there remains a relatively small residue of non-predicable adnouns (or "prenouns") and adverbs that can be fitted into such an explanation only at the cost of arbitrarily positing certain nuclear sentences that are otherwise unneeded: there is no "Góku da 'It is very'. Moreover there are subtle problems within the processes of adnominalization and adverbialization that require special treatments. These leaky parts of the framework are patched up by explicit discussions in the appropriate sections of the book.

Secondly, I started off by positing only three types of nuclear sentences—verbal, adjectival, and nominal. It soon became apparent that among what looked like predicated nouns were some words that had special verbal properties and others that had special adjectival properties; these were set up as subcategories of VERBAL NOUN and ADJECTIVAL NOUN. (These terms are technical designations within the present treatment; since "verbal noun" is used to mean different things in other grammars, some readers may prefer to think of these categories as "nominal verb" and "nominal adjective".) The subcategorization of nominals, however, turned out to involve a good deal more than distinguishing just these two obvious types; the subject is treated extensively in §3, where the reader will find criteria to distinguish most of the major parts of speech, including various kinds of "pure" nouns.

Thirdly, I cite the nuclear (and the simplex) sentences as full-blown, usable surface utterances, in the relatively unspecific "imperfect" form, sometimes called "nonpast" or "present". But this form, like the "perfect" form, is the result of a process applied to a more abstract entity, here called the INFINITIVE. For convenience we assume that our conversions depart directly from the imperfect forms (such as Hâha ga kodomo o yobu 'Mother calls the child' or Hôn ga ookii 'The book is big', for example) rather than from the underlying infinitive forms (Hâha ga kodomo o yobi ... 'Mother call child ...', Hôn ga ōkiku ... 'Book be big ...'). Although the argumentation for the basic nature of the infinitives is quite convincing (see particularly §5), it will perhaps be easier to appreciate if approached from the outside rather than from within. When a Japanese speaker expresses a sentence conversion, what he actually manipulates—if anything—will be known only when we have more revealing techniques of psychological testing; the non-linguist foreigner (and perhaps the Japanese himself) is likely to find the imperfect forms the best point of departure in studying the conversions.
§ 1. Sentence construction

The order of presentation follows, to some extent, the order shown in the following two charts. These are to be regarded as rough maps of uncertain terrain, at best, and they may prove misleading to the unwary. The flow chart of STEP ONE gives a picture of how a noun can be marked in various ways before joining with a nuclear sentence to form an expanded sentence. I have not illustrated STEP TWO, whereby anything up to a maximally expanded simplex can be created by combining compatible single expansions of the same nuclear sentence so as to share the predicate (Hāha ga yobu + Kodomo o yobu yielding Hāha ga kodomo o yobu or Kodomo o hāha ga yobu etc.) and by conjoining adjuncts that enjoy the same case marker (Hāha ga yobu + Kodomo ga yobu yielding Hāha to kodomo ga yobu or Kodomo to hāha ga yobu—among other possibilities). In STEP THREE, the major sentence conversions are ordered and numbered according to a rough scheme of applicability, spelled out in detail in the appropriate sections of the book. Chart Two includes STEP FOUR and STEP FIVE, since the epithematizations of Step Four are needed to account for the conversions of Adnominalization and Nominalization in Step Three, and the Propredication of Step Five will perhaps explain the special nature among the nuclear sentences of those nominal sentences containing pure nouns. The chart suggests that Identification is a special case of Propredication; that suggestion is discussed in §3.10.

If the charts are confusing, they should be disregarded; the reader is invited to plunge directly into the description and look back at the charts at any point where they might be helpful in following the argument. Given a surface sentence, you can glance through the charts to see what operations may have gone into its creation, and in what order they were applied. Given a simple sentence that you wish to convert into more complicated structures, you may need advice on how to approach the problem of ordering your operations; the charts will not answer your questions in detail, but they provide a quick reminder of the common patterns available. By following the arrows you will find that it is appropriate to apply subject exaltation (kāku ‘writes’ → o-kāki ni nāru ‘someone exalted writes’) before applying the desiderative (kāki-tāi ‘wants to write’ but o-kāki ni nari-tāi ‘someone exalted wants to write’), though the parenthesized arrow from desiderative to subject exaltation allows for the less common pattern kāki-tākute irassyaru. On conversions applied to infinitive and/or auxiliary, to gerund and/or auxiliary (in the structures indicated by AUX in Chart 2) see §9.1.10 and §9.2.4, respectively.
§ 1. Sentence Construction

**CHART ONE**

**STEP ONE: From nucleus to simplex.**

**NUCLEAR SENTENCES**

\[ S = \begin{cases} V \text{-} ru. \\
A \text{-} i. \\
\text{AN da.} \\
\text{N da.} \\
\end{cases} \]

Recursion (to N da) is implied by each ... da.
Zero bypasses are not all shown.\(^2\)
For special problems with possessive and quasi-possessive predicates, see §3.5; desiderative and quasi-desiderative, §3.5a.

**RESTRIC TIVES**

\[ \text{bakari} \\
\text{dake} \\
\text{gurai} \\
\text{hodo} \\
\text{made} \]

**QUASI-RESTRICTIVES** (ate, darake, nami, nuki, tuki, ...)

**DISTRIBUTIVE**

\[ \text{N} \text{ zutu da.} \]

**PERIPHERAL CASE MARKERS**

\[ \text{N} \text{ kara ‘from’} \\
\text{e/ni, made ‘to’} \\
\text{de ‘at’} \\
\text{de ‘with, using’} \\
\text{to ‘reciprocally with’} \]

**NADO da.**

**< -- -- -- > PREDICATE VALENCES**

**MITAI da.**

**COMPARATOR**

\[ \text{N} \text{ yori da.} \]

**ADJUNCT FOCUS (+ S)**

\[ \text{koso [wa]} \]

\[ ... \text{sika} \\
\text{... wa} \]

\[ ... \text{o ba} \]

\[ ... \text{mo} \\
\text{... o mo} \]

\[ ... \text{sae/sura [mo]} \\
\text{de mo} \]

2. Since zero is always an option, the only misleading arrows are when a bypass is obligatory, as when you are not permitted to add a core case marker after selecting the comparator. These and other details are explained in the text.

**STEP TWO: Conjoining simplexes with shared nucleus:**

1. with identical case marker (or none)
2. with different case markers
**CHART TWO**

**STEP THREE:** From nuclear or simplex sentence to converted sentence.

Major recursions and constraints are shown in the chart; others are discussed separately. Zero bypass is permitted at every point. Each conversion (or set of conversions) is numbered. Before the number, N VA or S means that the output is Nominal, Verbal, Adjectival or Same as the input sentence. (After suru, V means 'when applied to verbal nucleus'; after aru, N A means 'when applied to nominal or adjectival nucleus'.)

0. V-ru. VN suru. \( \rightarrow \) V1. CAUSATIVE \( \rightarrow \) V2. PASSIVE \( \rightarrow \) V3. OBJECT (sase) \( \rightarrow \) V5a. Desiderative \( \rightarrow \) A5. DESIDERATIVE \( \rightarrow \) V4. SUBJECT EXALTATION (o-V-i suru)

A-i.
AN da.
N da.

2a. pure
2b. affective
2c. potential
2d. short pot.

V5a. Desiderative verbalization

S4. SUBJECT EXALTATION (o-V-i ni naru)

\( \rightarrow \) V6a. NUCLEAR RESTRICTION (bakari/made/ ... suru V, aru N A)

V6b. NUCLEAR FOCUS \( \rightarrow \) A7. NEGATIVE (wa/mo/sae ... suru V, aru N A)

V7. ADVERBALIZATIONS: Infinitive \(-/\text{-ku/ni} \rightarrow \) (AUX)
Gerund \(-\text{te} \rightarrow \) (AUX)
Conditional \(-\text{tara} \rightarrow \) (AUX)
Representative \(-\text{tari} \rightarrow \) (AUX)
Provisional \(-\text{reba} \rightarrow \) (+ S)

9. CONCESSIVE-CONCURRENT (nagara)

N10. EVIDENTIAL \(-\text{soo da} \rightarrow \) (0.)

V11. EXCESSIVE \(-\text{sugiru} \rightarrow \)

\( \rightarrow \) S. \( \rightarrow \) V

S12. PERFECT \(-\text{-ta} \rightarrow \) S15. TENTATIVE (daroo)

S15a. Literary tentative

N16. HEARSAY (soo da)

S17. SEMBLATIVE (rasii)

V19a. IMPERATIVE \(-\text{e} \rightarrow \) (S)

V19b. HORTATIVE \(-\text{[y]oo} \rightarrow \)

S18. STYLIZATIONS (desu, gozaimasu)

10. PROPRDICATION (\( \rightarrow \) N)

STEP FOUR: Extruded \( \rightarrow \) Thematization: Epithematization \( \rightarrow \) Extruded

Intruded

STEP FIVE: \( (S) \rightarrow \) Propredication \( \rightarrow \) N Identification \( \rightarrow \) (0. N da)
2 PREDICATE ADJUNCTS

Although the nuclear sentences of Japanese can be used as complete utterances, cited as they are in a finite “imperfect” form that means something like ‘it happens’ or ‘it is’, such utterances are relatively vague in content. To make the nuclear sentence more explicit, you can expand it by prefacing one or more ADJUNCTS, or “build-up” phrases. These adjuncts may be marked by one or more particles. The particles are often called postpositions because they are placed after the word (typically a noun) that they mark, conveying the kind of information that is sometimes carried in English by prepositions. In §2.2 certain of these postpositions are considered in detail, with a subcategorization of various uses of each. The postpositions examined are those which, among other uses, sometimes mark the CASE relationships (or “valences”) that obtain between particular predicates and particular “arguments”—pure nouns serving as adjuncts. Adjuncts that are not normally marked with one of these postpositions are here considered to result from one of the conversions of adverbalization (with or without some overt marking)—as if a reduction from a nominal sentence rather than the product of propredication, though that is elsewhere suggested for an alternative view. But ellipsis of case markers also occurs, leading to another kind of “unmarked adjunct”, as described in §2.2a. In §2.3 we will examine certain particles that serve to focus emphasis, notably wā and mó. In §2.4-5 we explore the distribution of those particles that serve to delimit a noun; those such as dākē ‘only’ which can also be used as epitheme (i.e. serve as the target of an adnominalized sentence) we will call RESTRICTIVES, those more limited in distribution such as “ôkī(–)” ‘skipping (every so many)’ we will call QUASI-RESTRICTIVES. The number and variety of these will come as a surprise to most readers. The quasi-restrictive “zūtē we will call the DISTRIBUTIVE; it is given separate treatment, as is the somewhat similar COMPARATOR yōri ‘than’, discussed along with expressions of comparison in §2.6. Certain quasi-suffices or quasi-restrictives which serve to specify a plural or a collective are considered in §2.7, where you will also find a discussion of devices available to express grammatical number. In §2.8 the conjoining of nouns is described, and the following three sections deal with somewhat related phenomena in attempting to account for nádo and its synonyms, for dāka, and for démo. Finally, §2.12 discusses the peculiar pseudo-restrictive mitaï.

It is usually assumed that forms of the copula (such as dā, nā, nō, nī, dé, etc.) and the various postnominal particles (such as gā, ō, karā, māde; “gūrai, “dōkoro, etc.) are attached to the noun to make a single phonological word, with no juncture between. That is why some writers of romanized forms will separate the noun from the copula and/or the particles by a hyphen rather than a space. But under various circumstances a minor juncture may be heard between a noun and the following copula or marker. A tonic noun phrase is sometimes emphasized by optionally inserting the minor juncture (here noted by a single bar) when a marker is focused with wā or mó: Nagásaki [1] karā mo, Sāto san [1] tō wā, Tyūugoku [1] “gūrai wā, .... The accent of the marker is suppressed when the juncture is absent, except in the instance of those particles that, as indicated by the raised minus in front of “gūrai, cancel the accent of the attached noun—yielding, in this case, /tyuugokugūraiwa/. Forms of the copula will sometimes be preceded by a juncture (or, in written texts, a hyphen) when the noun phrase is a sentence that has been quoted or
§2.1. Order of adjuncts

directly nominalized, as in this example:  Konó titi ni site, kono ko ári, NÁ no de aróo ka. Sore tó mo, kono ko ni site, kono titi ári, NA no de aroo ka ‘Is it a matter of “Like father like son”? Or is it a matter of “Like son like father”? ’ (SA 2651.72c).

By ellipsis, forms of the copula will sometimes begin a sentence, as described in § 24: Dá kara or De áru kara ‘Therefore’; Dá ga or Dá kedo ‘However’; Dé mo or D’átte ‘Still’.

In written Japanese, at least, it is possible to insert parenthetical material freely before a marker: Sinzyukú-syo (móto no Yodobá-syo) NO mae o ... ‘... in front of the Shinjuku (formerly Yodobashi) Police Station’ (SA 2651.24d). Compare the insertion of parenthetical material before collectivizers mentioned in §2.7.

Kuno (1973) notices an interesting “stutter” effect which is sometimes heard when wá or mó is added to a one-mora particle. I am unfamiliar with this phenomenon, but Hamako Chaplin tells me that she has heard it. Apparently there is always a minor juncture in the surface form: Kyóoto ni l ní wa = Kyóoto ni wa ‘in Kyoto’, NÁra de lde mo = NÁra de mo ‘in Nara too’ (not intended for ‘even being in Nara’), otoósan to l tó wa = otoósan to wa ‘with father’, ... Perhaps the first particle is repeated in order to permit the juncture to surface so as to lend extra emphasis to the following focus particle, which otherwise could not easily be set off by juncture. Or perhaps this is just a way of adding wá/mó as a quick afterthought.

2.1. ORDER OF ADJUNCTS

Ôide (1965.107–8) has compared the Japanese sentence to the furoshiki, that marvelous carryall kerchief which will expand or contract to just the size needed for the traveler to carry his belongings—and which can be tucked neatly away when not in use. It is of little concern that the contents may get rumpled in transit (or that the parts of the sentence may lose their overt signals of reference), since they can always be pressed out at the end of the journey (as the listener can infer the missing marks of reference). The English sentence, on the other hand, is like the unwieldy suitcase of the West—too big and too small at the same time, cruelly heavy, and cluttered with verbal coat-hangers piously designed to keep the contents unwrinkled to the very end of the journey.

Mikami (1963a.66) describes the Japanese sentence as a dragon that is “many-headed but single-tailed” (tatoo-tanbi) and that phrase is a good simile for the point of view taken by many Japanese grammarians who impute an equality among the adjuncts of the predicate. In general, the view taken here is similar, although we will have occasion to call attention to certain facts which seem to indicate that there is, after all, a kind of primacy enjoyed by the underlying subject of the simplex.

Japanese is usually said to have a “free” word order with respect to the adjuncts. This means that so long as you put the predicate (the nuclear sentence) at the end, where it belongs in a well-planned sentence, you are free to present each of the build-up phrases early or late as you see fit. To be sure, such freedom will not always be available when we are talking of a sentence that is the result of various conversions, rather than a simplex; thematicization, for example, will place an adjunct at the beginning of the sentence (§ 3.9).

But even within the simplex we can ask what makes the speaker see fit to choose one order rather than another; we can also ask which orders are more frequent. From a study of such questions we suggest that there is a neutral or “unmarked” order that is the normal or colorless way to present the information contributed by the adjuncts. Tentatively
we will assume that the neutral order is illustrated in this somewhat simplified diagram:

```
1 2 3 4a 5 6 7a 8
Time Place Subject Reciprocal Instrumental Ablative Allative Object
(locatives) N ga N to N de N kara N ne N no:

4b Nondirectional
datives

7b Direction-
al dative

N ni

8a Affective

8b Traversal

8c Cathectic
```

As explained later, it is not clear that the time and place (either marked as locatives or directly adverbialized) belong in the simplex, as such, but with respect to each other they stand in opposite order from the neutral English order, so that 'here and now' translates into Japanese as ima koko. Notice how a letter written in English will begin with place and date; the Japanese letterwriter ends his letter with date and place, in that order.

By "subject" (or "nominative case") we refer to the use of ga to mark a noun as agent, perceiver, cathector (= emotion experience), attributee, or identifier. Ga, of course, has many other uses—e.g., to mark the possessed in a possessive sentence, here regarded as something more than a simplex to begin with, as explained in §3.5 and elsewhere. Similarly, N to marks not only the reciprocal—considered an adjunct in the simplex—but also the "comitative", here considered an abbreviation of N to issyo/tōmo(−) ni 'together with', in turn an adverbialization of a separate nominal sentence that contains a reciprocal. It is possible that the reciprocal should be given two positions in the neutral order: directly after the object (thus final position) when the predicate is a transitive verb; directly after the subject (as above) with other predicates. I have assumed that the (intransitive) reciprocal (4a) is incompatible with (4b) the datives of BENEFIT (= no tame ni), of CONFRONTATION (= ni taisite), and of REFERENCE (= ni tote); and that (7b) the dative of DIRECTION (= ate ni) is in complementary distribution with the allative (7a). On the several kinds of dative, see §3.4.

Data supporting the "neutral" order here posited will be found in a number of studies, notably Miyajima 1962 and Saeki 1960. (I have followed Saeki rather than Miyajima in assuming that the dative precedes the accusative and that the ablative precedes the allative.)

Other kinds of adjuncts occur. In addition to time locatives ("when it happened"), there are temporal references of DURATION ("how long it happened") and of FREQUENCY ("how often it happened"). Duration is occasionally marked as if a traversal object; more often it is directly adverbialized (san-žikan arûku 'walks for three hours'); and sometimes it is stated as a conjoining of ablative and allative phrases (sân-zî kara rûku-zi made arûku 'walks from 3 o'clock till 6 o'clock'), as explained in §3.7 and §3.7a.

You will probably never come across a natural sentence that contains all of the possible adjuncts, clearly marked and in the neutral order. There are at least two reasons. To begin with, a Japanese prefers sentences that are not overly explicit; a few adjuncts are enough to suggest what the others might be. And then in a typical sentence the overwhelmingly
§2.1. Order of adjuncts

common devices of focus and thematization serve to obscure (and often extrude) one or more of the adjuncts.¹

The order suggested above is the result of comparing the relative order of two or three adjuncts in a given sentence. But natural sentences are often more complicated than one might think. Take, for example, this part of a longer utterance: ... konaida mo Oosaka kara yōgisya de onná-no-ko o turete, āsa no gō-zi “hān “gōro koko e tūita hitō ga arimāsu ‘just the other day there was someone who arrived here with a little girl at 5:30 in the morning on the night train from Ōsaka’ (Tk 2.321a). The first phrase konaida mo ‘lately even/too’ is, I believe, a highlighted thematization of the time locative extruded from the sentence ... hitō ga arimāsu ‘there is a person’. The subject of that sentence (hitō) has been epithematized from the object (= agent) of the adnominalized sentence [hitō ga] Oosaka kara yōgisya de onná-no-ko o turete āsa no gō-zi “hān “gōro koko e tūita ‘[the person] arrived here with a little girl at 5:30 in the morning on the night train from Ōsaka’, a sentence with an adverbial phrase onná-no-ko o turete ‘with a little girl’ that is the gerundized form of onná-no-ko o turebu ‘brings along a little girl’ and properly (i.e. neutrally) belongs at the beginning of the sentence; the remainder of the sentence (Oosaka kara yōgisya de āsa no gō-zi “hān “gōro koko e tūita) has reversed our neutral order of instrumental and ablative and has placed the directly adverbialed time expression right before the allative. We would have expected the colorless version of the sentence to be: ... āsa no gō-zi “hān “gōro [hitō ga] onná-no-ko o turete yōgisya de Oosaka kara koko e tūita. It is possible that the ablative was placed before the instrumental under the influence of such paraphrases as Oosaka kara no yōgisya de ‘by the night train (that is) from Ōsaka’—as implied by our original English translation—or Oosaka no yōgisya de ‘by the Ōsaka night train’. Since novel or critical information is saved for the end of a Japanese sentence, the reason for delaying the time locative is perhaps to emphasize the inconvenient hour of the arrival; and the added outrage of dragging a child along through the night may account for the delay in expressing the adverbial phrase of accompaniment. But an alternative explanation would treat the constituents of the entire sentence as more equally conjoined: the sentence [hitō ga] Oosaka kara yōgisya de onná-no-ko o turete (= turete kiita) ‘[the person] brought a little girl by night train from Ōsaka’ attached (by way of -te ‘and’) to the sentence āsa no gō-zi “hān “gōro [kā-re ga] koko e tūita ‘[they] arrived here at 5:30 in the morning’. Under this interpretation the overt adjuncts are in neutral order except for the switch between ablative and instrumental. It is also possible that the speaker intended to thematize the ablative, either to go with the adnominalized sentence ending in tūita ‘arrived’ or even as a second theme to share with konaida mo the embedding sentence that ends in arimāsu: ‘just the other day from Ōsaka there was a person who ...’. Close semantic ties between adjunct and verb will sometimes favor a neutral order that differs from what is suggested above, e.g. the instrumental in Tennō o pisutoru de ūte! ‘Shoot the Emperor (with a pistol)!’ (SA 2817.101ab), where pisutoru de ūtu ‘(pistol-)shoots’ functions as if a simple verb.

If, as has often been suggested, we consider the spoken sentences as representations of some underlying “natural logic” that is the result of a sort of “predicate calculus”, we will want to consider all possible adjuncts as present in the underlying form of each simplex, once we have decided just which simplexes lurk beneath our surface sentence in all its spare and murky

¹. Incidentally, Mikami (1963.70) suggests that the best way to disentangle a long written sentence is first to mark off the quotations, and then find the topics; I would have thought the first order of business would be a search for the conjunctional links and the predicates.
glory. The omission of particular adjuncts has been compared to the process of "pronominalization" in languages such as English, where typically an argument (= a predicate adjunct) once stated is later referred to by an anaphoric pronoun such as "it" ("he", "she"), "they", "this", "that", or "those". But there is no compulsion to omit any given adjunct in a Japanese sentence; nor does Japanese suffer from the severe strictures against repetition of a noun phrase that English insists upon. A suitcase is harder to pack than a furoshiki.

2.2. MARKING OF ADJUNCTS: NOUN POSTPOSITIONS ("PARTICLES")

Some of the build-up phrases can be SPECIFIED by particles that narrow (or sharpen) the grammatical relationship of the phrase to the rest of the sentence. Specification by attaching particles does not affect the freedom of order; that is controlled by relative emphasis (§2.1). The relational particles have a number of uses and meanings, so that it seems best to start by summing them up in a list which includes disparate uses and meanings that will appear at different points in the grammar.² The list thus includes not only all of the specification markers but also some other markers (such as the essive ni that underlies the copula and also underlies certain other particles—de, no, and ni—as explained later) which overlap in form and/or meaning. It is not clear to what extent the following breakdown of uses can be said to be grammatical as well as semantic, if indeed it is possible to draw such a distinction to begin with.

gá
1. "direct surface-subject" of a VERB:
   (1) active agent = initiator of a process (including kagu 'smells' and miru 'looks').
   (2) causative agent = instigator of a process; see §4.1.
   (3) the one affected by a mental process = he who perceives or reacts (with omóu 'thinks/feels', miru 'sees/regards', etc.).
      (3a) the emotionally affected (= the cathetic subject, with a desire, like, dislike, or fear; see §3.5a).
   (4) that which exists or is located (with áru, iru, etc.—with stasis, §3.8).
   (5) that which is possessed (with áru etc.) or quasi-possessed (with ir-u 'needs', wakáru 'understands', etc.); see §3.5.
   (6) the recipient:
      of a gift (with morau, etc.);
      of a favor (with -te morau, etc.)—the beneficiary;
      of a disfavor (with the ADVERSATIVE PASSIVE, §4.2)—the maleficiary, the disobliged, the discommoded, the inconvenienced.
   (7) the affective object of a transitive verb when it has undergone PURE PASSIVE (§4.2) or INTRANSITIVIZING RESULTATIVE (-te áru, §9.2.4(2)).
   (8) the cathetic object of a verb of emotion under the PURE PASSIVE conversion.
   (9) optionally replacing ó for the direct object of a verb under the DESIDERATIVE conversion.

2. The list should be glanced over for future reference; unless a particular item catches his eye, the reader will probably wish to move on to the next section, returning to consult this section from time to time as he continues through the book. Under certain of the headings you will find example sentences and explanations which did not conveniently fit into later sections.
§2.2. Marking of adjuncts: noun postpositions ("particles")

(10) optionally replacing お to mark the direct object of a verb under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).
(11) optionally replacing と to mark the reciprocal under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).
(12) optionally replacing に to mark the dative under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).
(13) optionally replacing で or に marking the locative (of place or time) under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).
(14) optionally replacing the usual markers of the allative ("to") and perhaps the ablative ("from") under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).
(15) optionally replacing the instrumental marker で under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).

2. "indirect subject" of a VERB:
(16) the possessor or quasi-possessor (= に).

3. "genitives" of various kinds—through ellipsis (§3.11.2-3):
(17) genitive.

4. "direct surface-subject" of an ADJECTIVE or ADJECTIVAL NOUN (or PRECOPULAR NOUN):
(18) attributive of an attribute.
(19) cathectic object of an adjective of emotion; cf (9) above. See §7.1, §13.1.2(3).

5. "indirect surface-subject" of an ADJECTIVE or ADJECTIVAL NOUN (or PRECOPULAR NOUN):
(20) cathectic subject of an adjective of emotion.
(21) subjectival genitive—through ellipsis, see §3.11.

6. "direct surface-subject" of NOUN + COPULA:
(22) the Identifier of an identificational sentence (§3.10).
(23) the Identified of an identificational sentence (§3.10) under those conversions (such as the provisional and certain adnominalizations) which neutralize the marking of Identifier and Identified.

7. "orphaned subject" stranded by elliptical propredication (§3.10):
(24) orphaned subject.

8. "emphatic locative" =
(25) the Identifier of a time or place in an elliptical identificational sentence (see end of §2.3.1).
(26) いまが いま 'right now' (= つゆと つま), いまが いま-ま つ 'up to this very moment'—usually treated as idioms; cf. p. 267.

9. antithesis—in tokorō/nō ga 'but'.
10. S + が 'but/and' (§17.5); by ellipsis が ... ‘But ...’.
11. literary tentative -[y]oo + が/tó 'whether ... or ...' (§17.6).
12. ほうが (§3.9, pp. 231-2).
13. ところが ..., ふつびとんさが ... (§24).
14. N ni sitē kara が; V-te kara が—see karā 8.
16. [dialect] = 3 (pronominal 'one/fact/it')—see Note at end of this section.
1. direct object = the affected of a verb; see §3.3: AFFECTIVE object, CATHECTIC object.

2. place traversed, with quasi-intransitive (= motion) verbs, both those that imply total traversal (wataru ‘crosses over’, tōru ‘passes by/through’, etc.) and those that imply partial traversal (aruku ‘walks’, tobu ‘flies’, etc.): TRAVERSAL object.

3. (= karā) place departed from (with quasi-intransitive verbs of leaving such as deru ‘leaves’, tātu ‘departs’, orīru ‘descends from’, etc.): ABLATIVE object.

4. time spent: TEMPORAL object, as in Tookyoo de issyoo o kurasu ‘lives all one’s life in Tōkyō’; nanazuu-nendai o ikiru ‘living (in) the seventies’ (SA 2660.58—heading), Tuki e mo ... ryokoo ni ikeru yō no zai di o ikiru no da kara ‘For we live in an era such that we can travel all the way to the moon’ (CK 985.372); Niti-yōobi o iti-ni deta neta ‘I stayed in bed the whole day Sunday’.

5. “orphaned object”—stranded by ellipsis (§9.1.12, §14.3, §28; §13.1.5): Iti-kiro no mito o [ ] yōnzyuu gō-hun mo kaka’ru hazu ga nai ‘Covering a one-kilometer route shouldn’t take a whole 45 minutes!’ (SA 2642.32d)—the ellipsis is something like [aruku no ni wa] ‘to walk’; Yuki no naka o [ ] dōo-mo osore-irimasita ‘Thank you for coming [to officiate at the wake] in the midst of the snow’ (Ariyoshi 34).

6. antithesis: S + monó-o, §17.4; S + nó o, §14.2; Sore o, ... ‘Despite that ...’ (= Sore nā no ni).

-notes

0. esseive (‘being’) = copula infinitive, §9.1.11, a predicator of nouns; those uses marked E below can be treated as this, as probably also can those marked (E).

1. indirect object (with verbs of giving, informing, etc.): DATIVE OF BENEFIT ‘for’ = [no tame] ni ‘being for the sake/case of’; DATIVE OF CONFRONTATION ‘towards, with respect to’ = ni [tai-site] ‘being opposed to, confronted with’—as in hāha ni sinsett da ‘is kind to mother’, sake ni yōwai ‘is easily affected by drink’, keiken ni tobosii(‘) ‘is wanting in experience’, keiken ni tōmu ‘abounds in experience’. See §3.4; for the DATIVE OF DI-RECTION, see 5 below.


1b. objective stimulus; reason, cause (cf. dé 6, karā 5) binbō ni kurisumu ‘suffers from poverty’ (cf. binbō de kurisumu ‘is distressed at one’s poverty’), byooki ni nayamuu ‘agonizes over being ill’ (cf. byooki de nayamu ‘is afflicted with an illness’), kodomo ni odoroku ‘is surprised at the child’ (cf. kodomo de odoroku ‘is surprised by the child’), kodomo ni gakkāri suru ‘is disappointed in the child’, te-busoku ni komāru ‘is embarrassed by a shortage of personnel’, (āme de) miti ni mayōu ‘is confused about the road (owing to the rain)’, kosame ni nureru ‘gets (pleasantly) wet in the shower’ (cf. āme de nureru ‘gets drenched from the rain’): Monō no neagari ni kurasi-nikku no natta ‘With the rise in prices of things life became difficult’ (cf. ... dé ‘Due to ...’); Inakā-mati no tetudōo ni no mizime na seikatu no saimoku [sic] ni, kanyakuu wa waaruu ‘The onlookers laugh at the petty details of the wretched life of a railroadman in a country town’ (Ig 1962.70); sore ni ‘by that, for that reason’; cf. §17.1 V-rū karā ni wa, V-tā karā [ni] wa.

3. Sometimes contracted to n[i] before t, d, or n: kore n[i] tomonatte, sōto n[i] deru, byooki n[i] nāru. The particle sequence ni wa is sometimes pronounced nyya[a], as in Yasumi no hi nyyo, ..., ‘On days off, ...’ (BJ 2.139.17). According to Jorden (BJ 2.141 n17) this is more common in the speech of men. In such phrases the kana spelling “niyya” is to be interpreted as nyya[a].
§ 2.2. Marking of adjuncts: noun postpositions ("particles")

1c. ‘(dependent etc.) on’ with you ‘depends/relies’, sitagáu(-) ‘conforms (with), is consequent (upon)’, motozuku ‘is based’, ... (Is this from 5?)

1d. ‘from/by’ an agent (= kará, but with subtle differences of nuance requiring further study), as in sensei ni/kara piano o naráu/osowaru ‘learns piano from a teacher, studies piano with a teacher’, hito ni/kara nyúusu o kiku ‘hears the news from others’, tomodati ni/kara hón o kariru ‘borrows a book from a friend’, háha ni/kara tegami o morau ‘receives a letter from one’s mother’. See §10 (favors), §4.2.

1e. ‘by = at the hands of’: marks the underlying agent in a passive conversion, §4.2 (can also be expressed by ni yori; cf. kará).

1f. ‘by = at the instigation of’: marks the instigator of a passivized causative.

1g. marks the underlying agent of a causativized conversion.

1h. pseudo-agent ‘by/at’, with tutomeru ‘works for, is employed by’—ginkoo ni tutoméru ‘is employed by the bank’, cf. N [no tamé] ni tutoméru ‘endeavors for N’ (8), ... .

2. indirect subject: possessor or quasi-possessor (= ga); see §3.5.

2a. [now obsolete] a highly exalted subject: Tenno-o-hei ka ni wa ni zyuu iti-ni sütsumo o go-syutunom ‘His Majesty the Emperor left the palace at 7:20 on the 21st’ (Nagano 1970.183).

3. specific time ‘at’: see §3, §9.1.13.

4. static location (LOCATIVE) ‘at’ (with áru ‘is’, súmu ‘lives’, iru ‘stays’; móte iru ‘possesses’, etc.); see §3.8 for special problems.

5. DATIVE OF DIRECTION = [-ate] ni ‘being aimed at’; target ‘to’, direction ‘toward’ (= é).

5a. change of position (MUTATIVE-LOCATIVE) ‘onto, into, ...’—probably to be treated as an automatic reduction of locative ni + mutative use of the essive ni (6), ‘so as to be at/on’; with noru ‘boards, mounts’, oku ‘puts, places’; perhaps tasu ‘adds (to), kuwærú(-)’ ‘adds (to)’, kasaneru ‘pies on’; itarú(-) ‘arrives (at), reaches’, sugíru ‘exceeds’, kosu ‘exceeds’, ... .

5b. change of state (MUTATIVE) ‘into’, ‘so as to be (something new)’: with kawaru ‘it turns into’, kaeu ‘turns it into’, ..., and especially náru ‘becomes’, suru ‘makes it (into)’—see §9.1.11. But the following expressions are perhaps better treated as examples of 8 (purpose): onná o hisyó ni tanómu ‘asks (= hires) a woman to be one’s secretary’; heyá o zimú-syó ni kasu ‘lets a room out as an office’; monó o miyage ni kau ‘buys a thing for a souvenir’; Amerika o réi ni tóreba ‘if we take America as/for an example’; ... . (The adjuncts are freely permutable.)

E 6a. ‘(treated) as’ (PUTATIVE or EVALUATIVE; §9.1.11).

(E) 7. antithesis: S + nó ni ‘despite that S’; see §14.2.2.

(E) 8. purpose ‘for’ = no tamé [ni] (see §13.2, §9.1.13, cf. §17.1): iwái (o-iwái) ni ‘as a celebration, in order to celebrate’; V-i ni iku ‘goes to V’, VN [si] ni iku ‘goes to VN’ (§9.1.11). Does tabéru no ni yó ‘is good for eating’ belong here? See also 6 above; §14.2.2.

E 9. appearing to be (= da-tó): with omowáréu, miéru, etc.—see §9.1.1.

E 10. manner ‘-ly, -wise’: see §9.1.11(3).

(E) 11. enumerative ‘and’: see §2.8 on conjoining. Cf. Sore ni ‘And (then/also)’.

12. See §14.6 (directly nominalized S + ni tigai ná, ni sugínai, ni kimatte iru, ni kagíru, ni koto-kaité); §17.8 (daróo ni); §17.7 (literary tentative + ni with several meanings);

§9.1.1a (V_i ni V_i-rul); ...

(E) 13. DATIVE OF REFERENCE = ni [totte] ‘taking it as being (with reference to)’ → ‘for’ (cf. 1): Anáta ni tiisa-sugíru kara ... ‘Since it is too small for you ...”; Tosiýóri ni wa mukaka ni desyoo ga, wakái hitó ni wa heiki désu ‘For old people it’s probably too hard
but for young folks it's nothing at all'.

?E 14. Ní wa ní-syu áru 'There are two kinds of N'; Hitótu ni wa ... (moo hitótu ni wa ... ) 'For one ... (and for another ... )'; ... haná no sukí ni hitó ni wa akunín wa náí ... 'there are no evildoers among those who love flowers' (Tk 2.64a); Gokái ni wa iiroiro na monó ga áru ga ... 'There are various kinds of misunderstandings ... ' (Nagano 1966.89); Sibusawa san ni níte 'ru hitó ni, Yamada Koosaku san ga áru 'Someone who resembles Mr Shibusawa [among the others who resemble him] is Mr Kósaku Yamada' (Tk 4.21); Watasi no tízin(’n) ni Q [Kyúú] to iu hitó ga áru 'Among my acquaintances there's a man named Q' (Nagano 1966.75); Hurúi zinzya ya terá ni wa utukusui tatemó no óói 'There are many beautiful buildings among the old shrines and temples' (this ni could also be interpreted as locative or possessor). See pp. 251-2.

E 15. the CORELATIONAL MUTATIVE (465-6): yuuméi-zin o yuuzin ni mótu 'has a celebrity for a friend', ...

16. Problematic: génki ni ahúrete iru 'is overflowing with pep', kiboo ni mítite iru 'is full of hope' (? 1b); [no yóo] ni tátu 'is useful' (? 4 metaphorical); go-sankoo máde ni for your reference/information (?! 8); is-syúukán ['gató] ni iti-dó 'once a week (? 0, ? 3); zyúu-nin ni hitóri wa 'one out of ten persons' (? zyúu-nin [no uti(”)] ni [áru] hitóri 'one [who is] in [the midst of] ten'; Mizu no obóréru 'drowns in water' (? 4, ? 1b); zyúu-zí no basu ni okureru 'is late for the ten o'clock bus' (? 13); hitó-iki ni nóbó 'drinks it at a gulp'; kámi ni tutúmu 'wraps it in paper' (cf. kámi ni káku 'writes it on paper' 5a); kyoosoo ni kátu/makeru 'wins/loses at the competition' (? 4 metaphorical); Ní húswássii 'is suitable for/as N = makés a nice N' (? 6, ? 9, ? 8); mé ni mítte 'visibly, remarkably', mé ni mienai tokóró de 'in a place invisible to the eye' (SA 2647.119e), mé ni/de mienai hodo tisái 'so small it is invisible to the eye' (mé ga mienai 'the eyes cannot see = is sightless' would be used only of a blind person); Sono sukááto wa ... gaisyútu ni mó hokémásu 'I can wear that skirt ... for stepping out, too', Nán ni tükaimásu ka 'What will you use it for?' (? 8); ... tizyoo gozyuu-méetoru no táka-sa made zyoosyoo surú no ni seikoo sita 'succeeded in rising to a height of 50 meters above the earth (= off the ground)' (SA 2647.4).

E 17. odoróíta (etc.) kóto ni 'to my surprise (etc.)'; sinai kóto ni wa 'unless' (pp. 396, 552); dáre no syoookai ni 'at whose introduction'.

de'

0. [< ní-te] = gerund of copula or essive, § 9.2. The uses marked E below can be treated as this. But it has been suggested that only those uses for which the polite désite can be substituted (§ 22.1) are appropriately considered the COPULA gerund as such.

1. general locative of place: dynamic location 'happening at' (with verbs); location of a scope of reference (with adjectives, etc.). Cf. kará 9.

2. material '(made) out of' = kará 3 (but preferred to kará in speech): kámí de tukúru 'makes it (out) of paper', kí de dékite iru 'is made (out) of wood'.

3a. means, instrument 'by, with, using': o-hási de tabéru 'eats with chopsticks', enpitu de káku 'writes in pencil'.

3b. vehicular means 'riding on (a vehicle)' = ni noette: kurúma de ikú 'goes by car'. Cf. kará 10.

3c. means of communication or information 'through (the medium of)' = o tuu-zite: sinbun de yómu 'read it in the newspaper', ráazio('n') de kiku 'hears it on the radio', térébi de míru 'sees it on television'; eigo de hanáasu 'speaks in English', kana de káku 'writes in
§2.2. Marking of adjuncts: noun postpositions ("particles")

kana'; kookūu-bin de okutta 'sent it (by) air mail'.

3d. pseudo-agent, with passive: denwa de okosaréru 'is awakened by the telephone'; Nippón wa mawari o ūmii de kakomarete iru 'Japan has its circumference surrounded by sea' (lg 1962.72). Or is this cause (6)? Cf. §4.2; Alfonso 950-1; BJ 2.306.

?E 4. impersonal (institutional, group) subject—always agent?: Wá-ga syá [= sinbún-sya] de wa sêkyōku(”) no kôozi(”) o isóide iru 'Our newspaper expedites notices from branch offices'; Keisí-tyoo de happyoo sitá no to kui-tigatte iru 'There is a discrepancy with what the Metropolitan Police Office published'; Tôô yakkyoku de zîsin o môtte o-susume simâşu 'This [=Our] drug store recommends it to you with confidence'. Cf. Alfonso 991, where dé is said to be used more frequently than gá when the subject is an institution or moral entity; the examples given are Hitâti de uri-hâzîmeta ... 'Hitachi has begun selling ...'; Kimi no uti(”) de ... katta zidóö-sya(”) 'The car your family bought ...'; Ano kaisya de ... koon o atûmête iru 'That firm is gathering workers ...', Gakkoo de meirei suru koto ... 'What the school is ordering ...', Ano misé de kookoku o dásite imasu 'That shop is putting out ads'. Yoshida speaks of "collaborators" and (Y 399) gives the examples:examples: E 5(”) 'zyuu de hisyô ni iku 'The whole family flies the summer heat', San-nín de utyuu-ryôkôo suru 'Three men go on a space trip'. Cf. 9 (exclusive agent).

?E 5a. 'within' a time or limit: iti-nitl de dekiru 'gets it done in one day', yaku mikkâ de mo dotte klta 'returned in mere three days', Ano naâlken o is-syûukan de kaiketu sitâ 'They got that difficult matter settled in a week'.

?E 5b. 'by' (a time): g0-zi de owaru 'it will be over by five o'clock' (made ni or just ni would be more common).

E 5c. made de 'doing till then': see pp. 489-90.

E 5d. Kotosi wa nf -nen -bu ri de Toodai no si ken ga atte, ... 'This year for the first time in two years Tokyo University [entrance] examinations are taking place, and ...' (SA 2673.16a).

E 5e. Nippon-zikan de l kesa l mimei l ... 'Before dawn this morning, Japan time, ...' (R); Ottoot wa san zi-sai de osanî ko to tûma o nokôsite, kootu-ûko de sokusi simâsita 'My younger brother at the age of thirty was (instantly) killed in a traffic accident, leaving behind wife and small child' (SA 2684.123a)—the second dé is cause (6).

E 6. cause or reason (= no tame; cf. nî 1b): soko dé 'for that reason'; byookii de yasu 'stays home with illness'; Nân de sindâ daroo 'I wonder what he died of/from'; hisyô-ti de sirarete iru matî 'a town known asfor a summer resort'; kane de komâru 'is embarrassed by the money' (cf. kane ni komâru 'is embarrassed for [=lacks] money'); eigo de hito ni sugîrê 'surpasses others in English'; S nó de, §14.2.1; ti de yogorete iru 'is stained with blood', âse de surete iru (bîssyôri da) 'is wet (is drenched) with sweat'.

E 7. sán-bon de yzu-en 'ten yen for three (pencils, etc.)'; náma de tabûré 'eats it raw'; minná de ikôo 'let's all go together' (?4, ?9); anâta no kàngâe de wa 'in your opinion'; Ima [no yzyootai/kotobâ] de ieâ ... 'Put into today's terms ...' (SA 2672.118c); Sore ga, Ginza âtari o tuke-mâtûge de arûîte 'ru yzosei ga, konô-goró(-) ikura mo iru 'But, lately there are ever so many women strolling around the Ginza in false eyelashes' (Tk 2.103a).

E 8. Kore de o-simai (dâ) 'This is all; This is all that's left'; Sikên wa kyôô de o-simai desu 'Examinations are over with today'; Moo sukôsi de wasureru tokorô datâ 'I was just about to forget'; Zikan de harâu 'We pay by [according to] the hour'.

E 9. exclusive agent: Zibun de iû no mo hên da ga 'For me to say it is odd = Even
if I do) say so myself': Syuuzen wa yorokun de yorokun de itakete mo yorokun de syuuzen ne 'The repairs wouldn’t have to be made by the tenant, would they?' (BJ 2.201.23); 11 sigoto wa minna zibun-tachi de tori, wareware ni wa saitei no sigoto saisaenakatta 'All the good jobs they took themselves, and wouldn’t let us do anything but the most menial jobs' (SA 2678.42e); Atasi-tachi de ato de tabemasisu kara ‘[Don’t worry—]—we women will eat it later’ (KB 45a); Katuyoo maede wa onnade zuyubun dekiru to oomomasisu ‘Up to the job of section head a woman can get along quite well, I think’ (SA 2672.62c); Hitotu no hakama o oyato ko de tukau, omosiroi kyoogen desu ne ‘It is an amusing farce in which father and son use a single hakama (formal skirt)’ (SA 2659.49b)—perhaps to be taken as 4 (group subject); Hutariko de ikoo ‘Let’s go just the two of us’. More examples will be found in V 1967b.44. Cf. Alfonso 992, who speaks of ‘exclusive amount” but gives as examples only agents.

tó
0. subjective essive4 ‘[thinking it] to be’: § 13.5a, § 21.4, § 21.7; for quotative uses, see § 21, § 17.6, etc.
1. ‘and’; see § 2.7.
2. RECIPROCAL ‘(reciprocally) with’ (cf. ní 1a); ‘from’ (N to tigau ‘differs from N, is other than N’); ‘with = against’ (A ga B to tataku/arasou ‘A fights/struggles with B’, A ga B to roonoo suru ‘A argues with B’). See § 3.6.
3. COMITATIVE N to [issoyotomono] ni ‘(together) with N’. See § 3.6.
4. S + tú ‘when, if, ...’; § 17.2.
5. S + tú ‘(saying/thinking) that S’ (= 0.): § 21.
nó5
1. ‘of’—see § 13.4 (possessive nominals), § 3.11.3.
2. (subdued) subject in adnominalized sentences—see § 13.1.5-6.
3. pronominal ‘one/fact/it’ etc. in nominalizations—see § 14.2, § 15.13; also § 15.17. (Historically, a truncation of monó?)
4. ‘(which) is (a case of)’ = ná (from ní [tel] áru) in certain adnominalizations of the copula; see § 13. (Historically, a reduction of ní áru?)
5. an obligatory reduction of nó no (4 + 3) ‘the one which is’ or (if the derivation is not ultimately the same) of nó no (1 + 3) ‘the one of (or belonging to) ...’.

kará6
1. SOURCE ‘(starting) from’: a PLACE (koko kara ‘from here’) or quasi-place (kokóró

4. The distinction of subjective essive (tó) from objective essive (ní) will be drawn repeatedly in this book. Cf. Kinoshita 21: ‘TO wa gaiken-teki ryoo-teki de, Ní wa honshu-teki de áru ‘TO is phenomenological and quantitative, Ní is intrinsic’. I use ‘subjective’ to refer to what is subject to variations in individual perception rather than judgment; I use ‘objective’ for that which is independently judged (or intersubjectively verifiable). Japanese grammarians (e.g. Mabuchi 212) sometimes use the corresponding Japanese terms syukan-teki ‘subjective’ and kyakkan-teki ‘objective’ in precisely the opposite way. Caveat lector.

5. Sometimes contracted to nó, especially before t, d, or n: nore nó tóko ‘my place’, boku-ra nó tóko ‘our place’ (Ariyoshi 20). And since /nn/ automatically reduces to a single /n/ all trace of the contracted nó is lost in Tatibana san [ ...] tóko wa ‘Mr Tachibana’s place’ (Ariyoshi 71). Nó wa sometimes shortens to naa; N teji naa = N to iu naa (an example in Okitsu 1.96).

6. For some speakers prototonic kara. The particle is also pronounced kkará (or kkará): mukasi kkará
§2.2. Marking of adjuncts: noun postpositions ("particles")

kara ai-súru 'loves from/with one's heart'); a TIME (kore kara 'from now on', kinóo kara 'since yesterday'); an ORDER in sequence (go-ban -me kara 'from the fifth one'); a SUM (sanzen-en kara suru 'it costs at least 3000 yen') or other QUANTITY (hyakumon-nin kara 'over a million tourists'); a VIEWPOINT: kázu kara iu to (kázu kara iéba) 'when it comes to numbers, from the standpoint of numbers, in terms of number'; kanzyó-suú kara ittara 'speaking from the point of numbers of patients' (SA 2649.39d); bunsyó kara site (suru to, miru to) 'judging from the (sentence) style'; kono kóto kara wakárú yóó ni ... 'As is clear from this fact ...'; Síkáí, beto no kákudo kara kánjáéru to, ...

'But, when considered from a different angle, ...' (Tanigawa 139). Notice that where English prefers to begin AT a time, Japanese prefers to begin FROM a time: yó-zi kara hazímaru 'it starts at four'. Perhaps this accounts for yuugata kara dekákeru 'will go out toward evening' (BJ 2.45). Some uses seem a bit obscure: ... kónniti kara wa yómenai hodo ... 'to the extent that they cannot be read (by us) today' (Onó 1966.205); ... syóó ni katákáno o yómu kóto wa, kónniti kara wa nakanaka muzukáši ni de aru 'reading early katakana is extremely difficult (for us) today' (ibid.). On kara used for gá to mark the agent of "verbs which express the idea of TELLING or INFORMING"—hánásyú, týúüi suru, tutsáéru(—), tegami o okuru, denwa o kákéru, etc.—see Alfonsó 993. Várdul (1967.42), noting that the predicate must be affirmative, interprets certain of these examples of kára as '(doing it) oneself': Anááta ga ienai to iú nara watási kara kótotáwátte yarimáyóó 'If you can't say it, I will refuse him myself'; Okaásaan ni wa ore kara hanášite okóo 'I'll let mother know, myself'. But when the act need not rely upon the volition of either party, it is possible to use both negative and affirmative predicates (ibid.). Teki kára no koogéeki mo náí kawári ni kóti kara mo koogéeki suru tıkárá(—) o usináte itá kara de aru 'It is because, to make up for the lack of any attack from the enemy, our side had also lost the strength to attack'; Watási kara nakigóoto o kikáserú no sae, hu-yúkai ni omowäréru desyóó 'You even seem unhappy that I let you hear me weep'. To Várdul's examples we can add: ...

yóóó zá attára zibun no hóóo kara iku ... 'when there was some business to attend to THEY would decide when to go do it' (SA 2642.44d); Watási kara ií-tai kóto wa ... 'What I want to say is ...'. But these may be extended uses of the "set-opener ablative" (§3.7a): Anááta kara itte kudasáí means both 'YOU say it [for us] = YOU do the talking' and 'You tell it (your way) first'; Watakúsi kara hanášité mímasáyóó ká means 'Shall I try speaking [for you/us]? or 'Shall I be the first to speak? = Shall I say my piece first?' According to Várdul the predicate for the set-opener ablative must be affirmative: "Arukímasáyóó" to, Mítíko kara aruki-dásita 'Saying "Let's walk", Michiko was the first to start walking' (V 1967.42).

2. '(leaving/removing) from' a place—cf. ó 3.

3. (= dé 2) 'composited of' (X to Y kara nátté irú 'is composed of X and Y'), material '(made) out of'. Notice that Dántai wa A to B (to C) kara nátté irú 'The group consists of A and B (and C) amounts to the same thing as Dántai ni wa A to B (to C) ga árú.

4. (= ní 1d) 'from/by' an agent. Hun'íki kara nái ga umareru 'Something is hatched by the atmosphere'—or is this 5?

1 'from way back' (Tk 3.35a, Kb 389a); hazíma kkára 'from the start' (Maeda 1962.209); ima kkára 'from now on' (Kb 141b); kóndo kkára 'from this time' (Fn 131b, Kb 329a); kono-aidá kkára 'from not long ago' (Kb 140a); asá kkára 'from morning' (Tk 2.307a, Zhs 2.179); o-híróo kkára hazímatte 'beginning at noon'. Cf. -te [k] kára, §9.2.3. The vowel of a preceding k-sylable (especially ku) sometimes drops in rapid speech: ... gaikóó kára no | atýyóoku desu | née 'it's pressure from abroad, you see' (R); kok [o] kára wa 'from here on'.
5. (= dé 6, no tamé ni) cause, reason: Ryóoke no syakai-teki ti no mondad kara kono kekkon no hanasi wa hadan ni nátta 'The marriage talks were broken off because of the (difference in) social position of the two families'; Kisyá no tukaré kara súgu nemutta 'I fell right to sleep with weariness from the train'.

6. S + kará—see §17.1 ('because').

7. V-té + kará—see §9.2.3 ('after doing').

8. N ni sité kara ga/mo/sae = N dé sae mo 'even (being) N': Senséi ni sité kara ga/mo/sae, kyoositu de nóndari tábetari surú n da kara, gakusei ga gyroogi ga wáruku náru no mo móto-mo daroo 'When even the teachers are eating and drinking in the classroom, we can surely expect the students to worsen in deportment'.

9. [dialect—e.g. Tottori] dynamic location (= dé 1).

10. [dialect] vehicular means (= dé 3b).
§2.2. Marking of adjuncts: noun postpositions ("particles")

nátta desyoo 'He had a good head on his shoulders, too; if he'd worked for a bank, say, I bet he would've become a section head at least' (SA 2665.118d).

The source of some of these morphemes is unclear, though I have elsewhere (Martin 1968) suggested Korean cognates for the essive ni and the subject marker ga, relating the latter to the morpheme ka which serves both languages as a postadnominal noun meaning 'the question of ...'; an intermediate stage perhaps being -n-ka with the adnominal marker -n- that is found in a number of the languages of northern Asia.

Each of the particles to and no is probably a convergence of several different etyma. Thus some of the uses of to ('with'—perhaps 'and') are likely to be cognate with the Altaic comitative case marker, despite the apparent lack of a descendant from that etymon in Korean; other uses (the subjective essive, 'thinking/saying that ...') may be the deictic to = só 'that'—there are cognates in the Korean deictics—or developments from the focus marker -do 'even/indeed (being)', for which we cite Ryūkyū and Korean cognates in §2.3.4; while still other uses (when/if') may be truncations of toki 'time' and/or toko [ró] 'place, circumstance', both of which enjoy Korean cognates.

Some uses of no ('the one which ...' etc.) may result from a shortening of mónó 'thing (etc.)'; one use (as subject marker) remains obscure in origin though it also may be from mónó; the adnominalized forms of the copula nó/ná are variant reductions of járu = ni'árú (attributive form of the literary copula, made up of essive + auxiliary 'be'); other uses, including the genitive 'of', result from ellipsis involving one or more of the preceding forms, as explained in appropriate sections of this work.

The particle é < pé is usually assumed to have developed from the noun hé < pé 'vicinity' (now found mainly as a suffix -bé), sometimes taken to be an early loan from Chinese but perhaps to be ascribed (along with heré 'edge?') to the verb hé-ru < p(é) 'passes by'. The particle ó < wó is obscure in origin. An emphatic object-marker bá which occurs in the Ryūkyūs and also in northern Honshū suggests that wó may have come from bá, by assimilation of the vowel to the initial labial; it has been speculated that wó and the focus particle wá < pá are divergent developments in the same etymon.

It is reported that é is sometimes pronounced wé in dialects (e.g. Nagano, Zhs 2.473) and ó is sometimes pronounced wó.

The etymology of made is discussed on p. 137 (§2.4). The origin of kará is a puzzle. I know of only one good suggestion, that described in Ōno 1966.181, according to which the particle is related to the morpheme -kara that appears in ya-kará(‘) 'tribe' and hara-kara 'siblings' and to the morpheme -gara that appears in tomogará(‘) 'group of fellows' and in kuni-gara 'national character' and hito-gara 'personal character'—with gara 'pattern, character' itself to be considered a truncation?—for which there are Mongolian and Manchu cognates kar(é), har(é), etc., to which we can relate the Korean kyelay 'tribe'. (Note also the obsolete kará 'stalk, stem; handle; spatula' as well as kará 'husk, shell' and kará 'empty'; karada 'body' may be connected.) But I wonder if the particle may not, instead, turn out

9. Also in the old word úkara 'relatives' (said to be from umi-kara with the noun derived from the infinitive umi 'giving birth'), best known in the compound ukara-yákara 'people around one'. Ya-kara contains ya = ie 'house', and hara-kara contains 'belly'. Otsuki would take -kara as a variant of kó-ra 'children' in these words.
to be somehow related to the Korean verb ka-‘go’ with a possible cognate in the Japanese verbs ki-<kó-‘come’ and/or kayow-‘commute, go regularly’.\textsuperscript{10} See also the discussion on nágará, §9.1.3.

Above I have suggested that some uses of nó may result from a shortening of monó. But very disturbing to this notion—and to the speculations about origins of the subject particle gá—is the use in dialects of gá for those constructions where the standard language uses the pronominal nó ‘the one/fact that... (etc.)’. This first came to my attention in the Kóchi dialect, and I confirmed with a native speaker such forms as atarasií ga ga = atarasií no ga ‘the one which is new (as subject)’ suggested by Doi 1958.267-8. Since then I have come across the usage in reports of a number of different dialects: un ga = úmu no o ‘giving birth’ (Ishikawa, Zhs 3.113); kuru ga noo = kúru no o ‘coming’ (Zhs 1.26, Niigata—noo = née?); moro ga morote = moráu no o moratte ‘receiving what one receives’ (Ishikawa, Zhs 3.121); atarasií ga koote = atarasií no o katte ‘buying a new one’ (Toyama, Zhs 3.30, 35); ii ga tanomu zo = íi no o tanómuyó ‘Be sure to get me a good one’ (Ishikawa, Zhs 3.181).

According to Kgg 82.41a n.13, in Matsuzaki-machi in Kamo-gun of Shizuoka prefecture, gá is used for pronominal nó in the two senses ‘the one that...’ and ‘the act of...’—as it is in Kóchi: Kakoo e ikú GA o kirau ‘I hate to go to school’, Watasi ga tabe-tái GA wa ringo no aói GA da ‘What I like to eat are the green ones of the apples’. But it is not used for S no da ‘it is a fact that...’ (equivalent to literary surú nari, not to be confused with su nári ‘they say...’) for that is said by direct nominalization S fó: da: Gakkoo e ikú da = Gakkoo e ikú no da. Yet in Niigata we find S ga da: Nai ga da = Nái no da (Zhs 2.336). And in Niigata and Toyama even nó de ‘since’ and nó ni ‘despite the fact that’ can be said with gá for nó: si-tái ga de = si-tái no de ‘since I want to do it’ (Zhs 2.341)—Niigata), nai ga dee = nái no de ‘since I have none’ (Zhs 3.79—Toyama); kono attui ga nii = kono atuí no ni ‘despite its being hot like this’ (Toyama, Zhs 3.42; on 3.45 we find atuí ni).\textsuperscript{11} The use of gá ni for purpose, like the standard use of nó ni, may be treated as ellipsis (see p. 858) V-ru ga/no {tame} ni: mí ni yuku ga ni = mí ni ikú no ni ‘in order to go look at it’ (Zhs 3.62—Toyama); this also occurs in Shikoku, according to Doi 1958.271. From Ishikawa these are reported: ikú ga ya te = ikú no da to (itte) ‘saying I would go’ (Zhs 3.173—ya is the copula); yattee ga de = yari-tái no de ‘since I want to do it’ (Zhs 3.180).

In Chiba n[o] ga is apparently used to mean no [mo] nó ‘the thing of...’: hoka n ga de = hoka no monó de ‘being something else’ (Zhs 2.220 fn); yoso n ga wa = yosó no [monó] wa ‘a different one’ (Zhs 2.223).

In central Niigata prefecture for S no da you hear S ga n da and this has become known as ‘Echigo no gan-kotoba’ according to Zhs 2.29.

The use of gá to mean ‘the one that belongs to’ is found in older Japanese; one of the

\textsuperscript{10} Aston 49 says ‘kara is contracted for ka areba ‘since this is so’,...’ and suggests it must have been earlier NO kara, deriving ono-zukara and te-zukara from -n-tu-kara with the old (locative-)genitive marker -tu-. According to Ishigaki Kenji the original meaning of the particle was abstract ‘according with’, whence there developed use to mark a traversal object. The ablatives of place and time were always marked by yóri before the Kokin-shú (Ishigaki K. 149-50, 153). V-té kara first appeared in colloquial texts of 1593 (id., 171-2).

\textsuperscript{11} Gengo-Kenkyü 47.66-7 (1965) reports that nominalizing gá and gá ni/de are common in the Suzu dialect of the Noto Peninsula.
examples in Meikai kogo jiten (204c.10) is ... Kakinómoto [no] Hitomaro ga nári = K. H. no monó de áru ‘is one of K. H.’s’, cited from a note in the Kokin-shù.

In general, the various dialects of Japanese use case markers in very similar ways; a few differences have been noted in the lists above. For the allative e (or ni) and the dative ní (or ã), there are three different etyma which have figured prominently in the development of the language. Fluctuations in the use of e and ní have been described above and elsewhere; the third etymon is a group of variants that derive from the noun samá, which now means ‘appearance’ but earlier had the meanings ‘way, method’ and ‘direction’ (equivalent to katá). The forms are SA (originally an earmark of the Kantó plain but now of the entire northeast, according to Zhs 2.19); SANE and SINE (East Kyúshú); SAMYAA, SANYAA, SAN (West Kyúshú); SAME, SAN, SE (South Kyúshú). Cf. Zhs 6.17 n.10. Shimamura says SA was a dialect form in literature of the Muromachi period (1338-1573). And a sixteenth-century proverb is quoted by Maeda 1961.137 and Zhs 5.15 to the effect “Kyoto E, [Northern] Kyúshú NI, and Kantó SA”.

It is interesting that we can find examples of sa used for ní in other uses, in addition to the dative and allative:

(1) dative: hotóke-sama sa agete ‘giving it to Buddha’ (Miyagi, Zhs 1.170).
(2) allative: yakuka sa itta ‘went to the government office’ (Fukushima, Zhs 1.278);
    saihu sa ire-be [= ireyoo] to site ‘when I tried to put it in my purse’ (Iwate, Takeda
    1970.60).
(3) mutative: N sa naru ‘becomes N’ (Aomori, Zhs 1.64 etc.).
(4) purposive: V-i sa iku (etc.) ‘goes to V’ (Iwate, Zhs 1.94, 96); asobi sa kita ‘if you
    come for a visit’ (Miyagi, Zhs 1.160); si sa kita ‘coming to do it’ (Yamagata, Zhs 1.240);
    mukee sa igu bee (= mukai ni ikoo) ‘let’s go to meet him’ (Fukushima, Zhs 1.264); mi sa
    itte ‘going to see’ (Fukushima, Zhs 1.275). This is not to be confused with a northeaster
    use of sa as an abbreviation of the dialect particle sakai ‘because of’ (= kará), nor with
    the sentence-final sá of § 15.2.

In § 13.5 you will find a few Ōsaka forms such as dona i = doná ni ‘in what manner’
that appear to be the essive (or adverbialized copula) ní with the initial nasal suppressed.
Similar Ōsaka examples of [n]i in other uses are also found, e.g.: saki i = saki ni ‘ahead =
first’ (temporal locative, Zhs 4.202), tabi i det[e] = tabi ni dete ‘leaving for a trip’ (pur-
posive, Zhs 4.227), otumu i = atamá ni ‘onto the head’ (mutative locative, Zhs 4.202), ....
Maeda 1961.139 says that Ōsaka also has i as a variant of e, used in situations where
ni would give a different meaning as in Soko e suwan-nahare = Soko e suwari-nasá ‘(Move and)
sit there’, cf. Soko ni suwatte [i-nahare = Soko ni suwatte i-nasá ‘Stay seated there’—
Ōsaka will also allow dé for ní in the last example (Maeda 1961.140).

We have noted the confusion between e and ni among standard speakers, some of whom dis-
tinguish these particles part or all of the time, while others relax the distinction or lack it altogeth-
er. The latter category includes most modern Kyúshú speakers, who lack e and use ni instead. In
modern Ōsaka, according to Maeda 1961.141–2, when the dative is used with a donatory verb the
particles are distinguished depending on whether the recipient is a superior or is an inferior such
as oneself; we can presume this reflects examples like sensé E ageru ‘I give it to the teacher’ and
úti NI kureru ‘he gives it to me’.

A fourth etymon for the dative-allative is ge ‘to a person’, found frequently in Chiba
(Zhs 2.206n), but also in Kanagawa (Zhs 2.304 n1), and other parts of the northeast
Kantó area (Zhs 2.26). Zhs 2.26 says this form is probably a contraction of an old particle
or pseudo-restrictive (”)gári ‘to (where one is)’ as found in the example kimi gári íkéba ‘if I
come to my lord' (MKZ 154a). (The Niigata form songe = sonna ni, Zhs 2.365, must have a different source, perhaps the evidential -gé of § 20.)

In the Ryūkyū a particle saa[n]i is used for the instrumental and material uses of standard de, and the northern Ryūkyū particle syi (Martin 1970.111b) in some of its uses may have come from a contraction of that, unless all uses are derived from the infinitive of 'do' (cognate with standard si). Cf. Hōgen-gaku gaisetsu 130, which states that in the Ryūkyū [n]kaï is used for 'to a place' and nkai, nai, or nee for 'to a person'; all these forms are probably reductions from nakai, which means '(in)to' and perhaps derives from a reduction of [no] nāka [n]i 'to inside of'. But reflexes of simple ni are found in all Ryūkyū dialects, I believe, as expressions of the personal dative and some of the other meanings found in the standard language. In the northern Ryūkyū (Martin 1970) there are also such forms as k[hi] atyi < kati 'to (ward) (=é) and gadi ?< gade < kade 'up to, as far as' (= móde).

The pronominal use of nó 'one/fact/it' (nó 3 above) is expressed by gá in some of the dialects, as we have observed. In Okinawa (cf. Hōgen-gaku gaisetsu 131) there is a particle of similar use that has the shape si, which must derive from an earlier su, since it has an un-palatalized sibilant. This particle appears in the northern Ryūkyū in such expressions as was[i] 'mine', nas[i] 'yours', and qar ga si 'his/hers' (Martin 1970.123).

### 2.2a. UNMARKED ADJUNCTS

Not all adjuncts are marked; a few, adverbs par excellence, are never followed by a relational marker, as noted in § 13.7. Other unmarked adjuncts are the result either of direct adverbialization of a nominal (§ 9.1.13—a process we can treat as ellipsis of the esse or copula infinitive ní) or of the application of a marker of focus, such as wá/mó, that regularly suppresses the subject marker gá and the object marker ó and sometimes ní (in several of its uses).

The surface versions of sentences—what we hear and see—often contain an optional omission of a marker, the result of ellipsis. The object particle ó is very frequently dropped, especially in dialects; the subject particle gá somewhat less frequently,¹² and the so-called "topic" particle wá still less frequently. In western and central Japan (most noticeably in Hiroshima) the quotative tó '[(saying/thinking) that ...]' drops readily before a quotational verb. Maeda (1961.82 ff) suggests that the ellipsis of ó is quite old and the other droppings are more recent but gradually gaining in frequency. For Ōsaka, he gives frequencies as high as the following for ellipsis within discourse:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drop</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ó</td>
<td>.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó</td>
<td>.88 before iu 'says'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.75 before omóu 'thinks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gá</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wá</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the frequent dropping of ó and quotative tó by Kansai speakers, see also Zhs 4.17.

¹². But when gá marks an underlying (semantic) object, the frequency of omission is probably the same as for ó.
In the standard language, the quotative ト will not normally drop, except for oblique requests, where V-ru you ni [to] iu ‘asks one to V’ is more often heard without ト; and dropping of お, が, and わ is less common. But you will run across other omissions of expected relational particles from time to time; it is not always easy to tell, especially in written texts—and with adnominal adjuncts, even in speech—whether a given expression is to be taken as a lexical compound or as a loose phrase with dropped markers. Kankei ga nai ‘has no relevance’ shortens to kankei ni nai ‘is irrelevant’ and kakko ga nai ‘has a nice appearance’ shortens to kakko ni nai ‘is attractive’. Sometimes it is unclear just which marker may have been omitted, since the grammar will allow more than one valence: Yuukoku [ni/ga] tikai ga mada hi ga kurete inai ‘It was close to evening [or: Evening was close] but the sun had not yet gone down’ (SA 2674.110a).

Examples of dropped が: ... rekisi-syo ku [ga] yū taka na, ottōri to sita mati da ‘it is a quiet town, rich in historical color’ (SA); ... irō [ga] azayaka na hān kati ‘a bright-colored handkerchief’ (SA 2793.95c); ... en-suto no sinpai [ga] nāku sutāto de kīru no wa ‘to be able to start without fear of killing the engine’ (SA 2684.23b—the first word is an abbreviation of enzin-sutōppu); ... monogəkōro [ga] tūtē ‘reaching the age of discretion’ (R); Sensēi [ga] māda 0-sake o nōnde ‘ru toki datta ‘It was when you were still drinking’ (Tk 3.214a); Saihu [ga] karappo no rentyuu ga ... ‘Those whose pocketbooks are empty’ (SA 2835.7); Hanasi [ga] kawarimāsu ga, ... ‘(Not) to change the subject, ...’ (R); ... kāzoku [ga] issyo ni ... ‘(having) one’s family with one’; Dāi wa moo tukēru hitu yoo [ga] nai desu nē ... Sore nāra, dāi wa hitu yoo [ga] arimasēn nē ‘There’s no need any more to attach a title [to a painting] ... Then, there’s no need for a title, is there?’ (Tk 3.258b); ... sen-nen [ga] iti-niti no gōtoku ‘a thousand years (is) like a day’ (Ishigaki Kenji 55); ... anāta to atai to [ga] mē no tuke-dōkoro ga ona zi de atō kotō wa, omosōri ni n desu ‘I think it is interesting that you and I had the same point of view’ (Tk 3.198b); Tyōt-tō hēn datta no wa sono ik-kāi ‘de, āto wa dōko e ittē mo kimo ti [ga] yōkattā ‘Only that once was it a bit odd, wherever else I went it felt good’ (Tk 3.75a); Bōku(++) wa hoo soo [ga] kirai, koogi (‘’) (ga) kirai, taidan no kirai de nē ‘I hate broadcasts, I hate lectures, I hate dialogs (=interviews), too’ (Tk 4.279a); Kaimaku [ga] semāru bankoku-haku de, Nippō-iti sabissi otōko wa dāre darō ‘With the International Exposition about to open, who do you think is the saddest man in Japan?’ (SA 2670.22b); Atamā nānō, sırō no ga o-arī de nāi desu nē.—Sırō no [ga/mo] arimasu yo. Ōoi ni āru n da, wakō no hōo ni ‘You have no white [hairs] on your head or anything, I see.—I’ve got white ones all right. There are lots, toward the part’ (Tk 3.179b).

Kuno has suggested that the が which marks an underlying subject is never dropped in an independent sentence, though it may be dropped when the sentence is adnominalized or adverbialized; what appear to be unmarked subjects in independent sentences are, he says, wā-marked themes with the wā omitted. I have found no convincing counterexamples, but in some cases the unmarked theme may simply be unmarked from the start, with either wā or mō appropriate. The following adnominalized sentence seems to omit both wā and mō: Annā no [wa] dōo tte kotō [mo] nai wāke desu yo ‘I mean there’s nothing special about one of that sort’ (SA 2685.26e).

Examples of dropped お: Sore o saikin, kusuri [o] kau no ga urūsāku natta n de, yamētā n da ‘But lately it’s become such a hassle to buy drugs that I’ve quit’ (SA 2792.29d); Nēko wa hoo ziro no su(++) [0] nerau n da nē ‘The cat has its eye on the hunting’s nest, you see’ (Tk 4.291a); ... honto ni kinfōkō na kotō [0] simāsita yo ‘I really did a pitiful thing (to him) ...’ (Tk 3.105a).
The locative marker de drops in a few expressions of the type Nihón [de] saidai no N ‘the largest N in Japan’; see § 13.5, § 13.7. And the stative locative marker ni often drops in expressions of the type watasi wa Tyüugoku [ni] taizai “tyuu ‘while I was staying in China’ (cf. § 14.4, § 25).

Here are examples of ellipsis of the allative marker e under subdued thematization (§ 3.9): Kyookai wa yóku ittá wa ‘I went to church a lot’ (Tk 2.129b): Kyúusyuu e wa ikú ka mo siremasén keredo mo, Hokkaidoo wa ikimasén ‘I may go to Kyūshū but I won’t go to Hokkaidō’ (Tk 4.209a). Ueno nánzō e wa, irassyaimasén ka.—Ueno wa ikimasén. Tatta iti-dó ittá ná ‘(Don’t you =) Do you ever go to Ueno [Zoo]?—I don’t go to Ueno. I’ve been only once’ (Tk 2.140b).

In a few expressions the reciprocal marker to and/or the dative marker ni will often drop: N {to} dooyoo, N {to} tomódomo (“”) (§ 3.6); N {ni} to} sokkúri (§ 3.6, § 25); N {ni} sooo (§ 25): ... . The following example drops the dative marker after the first adjunct and the subject marker after the second: Anáta [ni] seihuku [ga] niáu wa yó, nán te iu to, mottai-nái kara kiyoo nánté ‘When I said something like “The uniform looks good on you”, he replied something like ‘I might as well wear it since it would be a waste not to’’ (SA 2655.39d).

2.3. FOCUS OF ATTENTION: BACKGROUNDING (“SUBDUEING”) AND FOREGROUNDING (“HIGHLIGHTING”) OF ADJUNCTS

The particles wá and mó signal opposite focus: mó highlights, wá subdues. Attention is concentrated by mó, it is shifted elsewhere by wá. Choosing wá for an adjunct at the beginning of a sentence is like raising a stage curtain or lowering a backdrop in preparation for a scene. We can speak of the function of wá as backgrounding or “out-focusing” and that of mó as foregrounding or “in-focusing”. But generally we will speak of a phrase marked by wá as SUBDUEED, and one marked by mó as HIGHLIGHTED.

When indeterminates (i.e. interrogative-indefinite words) are in a tonic phrase marked by mó and followed by a negative predicate, the entire phrase is stripped of its accent: 13 Dôre mo inai ‘There is no one there’, Nání mo nái ‘There is nothing’: Dóko de mo hataraita imásen ‘I’m not working anywhere’ (BJ 2.152.H), Dôre ni mo iremasén desita ‘I didn’t put it in any of them’ (ibid.). But dônna/dôno N mó will usually retain its accent: Dônna | haná mo | saisai imásen ‘There’s no kind of flower blooming’ (BJ 2.151.H). And if the indeterminate is followed by a highlighted gerund, the accents will normally persist: Dóko ni oite mo | kamaimásen ‘It doesn’t matter wherever you put it’, Nán-do | míté mo | kamaimásen ‘It doesn’t matter how often you look at it’ (BJ 2.141.F). But you will sometimes hear these longer stretches losing their accents, too: Dóo suru kotó mo dekimásen ‘There’s nothing can be done about it’ is often said with only the final accent remaining. Certain of the quantity words obligated lose their accents when marked by mó and followed by a negative: sukoshi mo nái ‘doesn’t have even a little’, hitóri mo inai ‘not even one person is present’, hitótú mo nái ‘hasn’t even one’, ... .

Virtually any predicate adjunct can be backgrounded or foregrounded. The only exceptions are certain adverbs such as góku ‘extremely’, which never takes focus; on the focus of adverbs, see § 13.7. Focus can be applied to gerunds (-té wa/mó, § 9.2.2) and to

13. But itu mó ‘always’ is an exception, for reasons explained below. And the accent suppression is optional for iku-tu, iku-ra, ....
infinitives (-i wa/mo, §9.1). The latter situation, however, calls for special consideration, since the resulting forms are limited to constructions with the semantically empty (or dummy) auxiliaries si- ‘do’ and ár- ‘be’, constructions which split the sentence nucleus in order to highlight or subdue the nucleus itself, as explained in §5. As we will remark below, the PROVISIONAL form (-réba = -té wa) contains a built-in variant of wá, a variant that optionally can be used also with the conditional -tára [ba] and, by category slippage, with the present-day provisional of the copula nára [ba], which comes from the literary conditional; as well as with the direct-object marker ó [ba], at least in Literary Japanese. Literary Japanese also has a concessive form -ré-do = -té mo, which contains a built-in synonym of mó, as is explained below.

The subdual and the highlighting are expressed by adding wá or mó, respectively. These particles attach to the phrase, directly following any particle that marks the adjunct, EXCEPT when the particle is gá or ó. In standard spoken Japanese these two particles are obligatorily suppressed when focus is applied (for exceptions with mó see below), so that where we would expect *N gá wa/mo and *N ó ò wa/mo (by analogy with N ní wa/mo, N kárá wa/mo, N é wa/mo, etc.) we find only N wa/mo: the opposition of the prime cases of subject vs. object is neutralized. The marker for the other core case the dative, often drops when subduded, but I am not sure that the option is always available: Míta mé [ní] wa onazi suika dé mo, suika ni yotte nakámi gí tigau ‘To look at they may be the same watermelon but the inside differs with the watermelon’ (SA), presumably a dative of reference (méni [töte]), cf. míta mé ni íi ‘is nice to look at’. See also §3.9, p. 227. Examples of optionally dropped allative marker N [é] wa will be found in §2.2a.

In the Ryûkyûs, at least in certain dialects spoken in Okinawa and in Yonaguni, the appropriate reflexes of gá wa, gá mo, and gá zo (= f:ga:} kóso) all occur. In written Japanese we find the expected ó mo,14 but there is no *N gá mo, and in place of *N ó ò wa you find N ó ba (though not *N gá wa). But the function of ó ba differs from that of wá, being closer to the meaning of kóso ‘indeed’ (often equivalent to colloquial sál) since it pinpoints the spotlight on the object, rather than shifting attention away: Watakusi no káko o ba kaerimímasu to ... ‘As I look back upon my past ...’ (in a formal speech). Kánsya(‘) no í(‘) ó ba arawasimášu ‘I express my feeling of gratitude’; Konorippa na kein ó ba, anátha ni go-syoookai itasi-tai to zon-zimášu ‘I would like to introduce this splendid young man to you’. Like many another literary expression ó ba can be used as a jocular variant in the colloquial: Sitürei o ba itasimášu ‘I bid thee good-bye!’

Since wá and mó are opposites, we expect them to be mutually incompatible; accordingly we must reject such a text example as ‘... tango wá mo hakkíri sinai ‘nor is the vocabulary clear’ (Mikámi 1963a.62) as a mistake, probably an attempt to substitute mó for wá in the proofreading—or, at best, a blend of two sentences (such as tango wa hakkíri sinai + tango mo hakkíri sinai) that would be rejected by the writer or speaker upon reflection.

14. Examples: ... to i múzán na žíkengá ōkite, kootuu-zíko no gekizoo nádó de hitóry ya hetári no siboo ni wá donkan ní nátte iu watsá-táti o mo sausá ni dorókášeta ‘A tragic event happened in which ... and it startled us who had grown callous at the death of an individual or a couple with the sudden increase in automobile accidents’ (SA 2666.36a): ... Amerika dé wá kono hooohoo o hiki-túgi réedá o mo kuwaéte(‘) harikéen—taíhú—no sinó o hakátta ga ... ‘In America they have extended these methods and have added radar, too, in plotting the course of hurricanes—typhoons—and ...’ (KKK 3.212). For more examples, see KKK 3.235. A similar example of ó made will be found in §2.3.3, along with examples of máde ga. Examples of nani [w]ó mo occur in the romanized version of Aesop’s Fables (413, 414), published in Amakusa in 1604; there are examples with ordinary nouns, too: “fagiuomo” = hazi o mo ‘even shame’. 
But a sequence of mó wa is possible under certain circumstances, which require us to undergo more than one cycle of derivation. The most prominent situation is when the mó is part of a generalizing expression built on an indeterminate, perhaps as a reduction of... dé mo 'even being' as suggested in §9.2.2: dáre mo 'not anybody', nání mo 'not anything', etc. Alfonso 769 lists acceptable examples with dé mo wa: Dáre ni de mo wa dekimasen 'Not just ANYBODY can do it', Dóko ni de mo wa utte imasen 'These aren't sold just ANYPLACE'. (In these expressions the accent may appear on any member: Dóko ni de mó wá—if it is on the last syllable the accent is automatically cancelled by the juncture.) Another such situation is with the generalized NUMBER words: íkutu mo wa nái 'We do not have an indefinite number of them (though we DO have some)', Cf. íkutu mo nái 'We haven't got very many of them'. Additional examples of mó wa: Tooi tokoróró da Kara nándo mo wa kaerénaí 'It is such a faraway place that I can't return just any number of times'; Kantan dá Kara sûgu dekimásu—ni-zíkan mo san-zíkan mo wa kakarakání 'It is so easy I can do it right away—it won't take any two or three hours!'; Mittú 'bakari hituyoo dá ga, tóo mo nizuyó mo wa iranai 'Just three are necessary; we don't need a whole ten or twenty!'; Iti-nihai nára sakes mo noméru ga, nán-bái mo wa noménai 'I can drink a cup or two of sake, but I can't drink very much'. (More examples: Okutsu 1974.175, 177.)

The focus permits us to make a difference of meaning between Ítu mo sinai 'always refrains from doing it' and Ítu mo wa sinai 'doesn't ALWAYS (= usually) do it' just as there is a difference between máiniti(') sinai 'refrains from doing it every... máiniti(') wa sinai 'doesn't do it EVERY day'. (But *Dáre mo wa sinai 'Not everybody does it' is rejected.) This use of wa to play up adverbial contrasts is a frequent source of confusion for the foreigner: sukósi dékurú 'I can DO it a bit' is not the same as sukósi wa dékurú 'I can do it A LITTLE (but not much)'. Cí. Ítu ka WA, aa itta àkíen ga okíuru to omôtte 'masíta yó 'I thought such an incident would arise SOONER OR LATER'(SA 2660.39b). An added problem with these mó expressions is that they cannot undergo propredication (§3.10) unless somehow quantified. Exceptionally, however, the TIME expression with mó is just the opposite in this respect, and that is one of the reasons that Japanese grammarians would prefer to treat ítu-mo as a single lexical unit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mó da</th>
<th>'it is always'</th>
<th>nán-zi/nan-doki mo da</th>
<th>'it is ever so many'</th>
<th>o'clocks'</th>
<th>BUT:</th>
<th>nán-do/iku-tabí mo da</th>
<th>'it is ever so many'</th>
<th>times'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*dóko mo da</td>
<td>'it is everywhere'</td>
<td>nan-kásyó mo da</td>
<td>'it is ever so many places'</td>
<td>Íku-tu mo da</td>
<td>'it is ever so many'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nání mo da</td>
<td>'it is everything'</td>
<td>nan-X mo da</td>
<td>'it is ever so many'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dáre mo da</td>
<td>'it is everyone'</td>
<td>nán-nín mo da</td>
<td>'it is ever so many people'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To say the things forbidden on the left you would use... dé mo da. There is a difference of meaning between ítu mo da 'it is always (= usual)' and Ítu de mo da 'it is any time', But to say 'it is anywhere' you have to choose between 'it is somewhere' (dóko ka da §15.6) and 'it is everywhere' (dóko de mo da). On the other hand, in the negative form both the left and right columns are possible:

| dóko mo zya nái | 'it isn't anywhere' | nan-kásyó mo zya nái | 'it isn't ever so many places = it isn't very many places' |
| nání mo zya nái | 'it isn't anything' | Íku-tu mo zya nái | 'it isn't ever so many = it isn't very many' |
§2.3. Focus of attention: backgrounder and foregrounding of adjuncts

BUT:

itu mo zya nai ‘it isn’t always’ (NOT ‘it isn’t ever’)  
nán-zí/nán-doki mo zya nai ‘it isn’t ever so many o’clocks’

Cf. nan-zi kan mo da ‘it is ever so much time’ : nan-zi kan mo zya nai ‘it isn’t ever so much time = it isn’t very much time’

The question arises whether it might be possible to generate a double mó mó, but all attempts to do so have failed the test of acceptability; we will have to say there is no * ... mó mo, nor any * ... dé mo [dé] mo, much less * ... wa wa or * ... dé wa [dé] wa. 15 Accordingly, the following sentence must contain a misprint of a double for a single wa:  
*Mori Ōgai wa wa semai imi de no būnshi de wa naku ... ‘Mori Ōgai is not a literary man in the narrow sense but ...’ (CK 985:292a.8). But an unmarked quotation will sometimes lead to a double-wa: Dé wa, hái.—Dé wa wa yokei da ‘Well then, yessir.—The “well then” can be left out’ (Fn 164a).

While ... wa da is relatively rare, though not unknown—tōo no renzyuu wa desu né ‘the [political] party men, you see’ (Tk 4,212a)—and perhaps needed in our grammar for further derivations, sentences with ... mó da are not uncommon: Zyanbō ni nakü no wa zeikan daké de wa nai. Kookuu-gāisyaa ya ryookoo-dairiten(−) no sēerusū-man mo da ‘It isn’t just the Customs who are crying over the jumbo [jets]; it’s also the salesmen for the airlines and the travel agencies’ (SA 2670.139e); Kono zubō ni mo desu ka? ‘(Do you mean) these trousers too [go to the laundry]?’ (BJ 2.46). These examples result from propredication (§3.10). We would require a source with ... mó da in any event for certain further derivations: a sentence such as watasi no ikutu mo no bunshi de wa nai ... (SA 2830.88a) ; ... nan-nin mo nanzyuu-nin mo ga, arūi-wa kizu-tuki, arūi-wa koo tai site hisōmu(−) gōō ga ... ‘the trenches where soldiers by the dozens hid, either wounded or in retreat’ (SA 2670.45a); Taidan wa dāre mo ga dekīru monō de wa nai ‘Not just everyone can do dialogue interviews’ (Endō 245); Minsyu-syūgi to iu kotōba nara-ba dāre mo ga sitte iru ‘When it comes to the word “democracy” everybody knows it’ (KKK 3.211); Sikāši kyōōsoo-aite ni nāru monō ga, tān ni kyōuu-nōmī de wa naku, kyōōsoi mo ga sono taisyoo to saremasu ‘But it is not just classmates who become rivals in competition, teachers also get treated as targets of it [the competition]’ (Matsuda 24); ... dāre de mo ga keiken suryō koto ga dekīru ‘anybody can experience it’ (Nagano 1966.127). Another example of dāre de mó mo ga will be found on p. 170; I have also found an example of dāre si mo ga: Sore wa dāre si mo ga tuyunen ni nāreba iti-dō wa kangaeru koto da ‘That’s something that must occur to everyone when he gets middle-aged’ (Endō 264). Examples of mōde mo ga and sāe mo ga will be found in §2.3.3. We might expect a similar recycling to yield

15. There are Old Japanese examples of wā mo: ... ħiru wa mo ura-sābi kurasu, yōru wa mo iki-zūki akasi ... ‘the days, I worry them through till dusk; the nights, I sigh them through till dawn’ (Man’yō-shū 210).
Even the mó ga examples are not without critics: dislike for the sentence Dāre mo ga odorōite ita ‘Everyone was surprised’ (though ‘it is often seen in newspapers’) is expressed in SA 2658.39b, which points out that you don’t say *Nāní mo ga nāi or *Dōko mo ga ippai da. Cf. Alfonso 747-8 with the example Dāre mo ga sitte iru ‘Everyone knows it’; examples from the speech of the Emperor’s brother Tskahito and of the critic Tokugawa Muri will be found in Tk 2.123b.

Recycling may occur for other particles as well: ... nan-dānkai mo ni hiyaku sita ... ‘(which) has jumped over ever so many stages’ (Yoshida 1973.11). From the point of view of what we hear on the surface, mó may turn up either before or after any particle other than wā (which it occurs before but not after), depending on whether the speaker wants to highlight the entire phrase or the noun only. In this respect, at least, mó differs from wā, for wā closes the phrase to any further internal structure.

It is sometimes assumed that because wā is—mistakenly, in my opinion—taken as the marker of a “topic” (= THEME), phrases with wā belong in the theme position, i.e. at or near the beginning of the sentence. It is true that themes (§3.9) are very often subdued with wā, but any of the adjuncts can be so subdued without moving to the thematic position. Below are examples in which the wā phrase follows the direct object (more examples will be found in §3.9a); the first three examples are marked for juncture to show how the ó-phrases has undergone thematicization: Sonna baka na l hihan(–) o suru ningen o l watasi wa l keibetu simāsu l yō ‘I simply DESPISE a person who makes such stupid criticism’; Tatōe(–) (l) kutuu o tomonatte mo l nikutai-teki na zyuusokû-kan o l onnā wa l motomēru no l yō ‘Women SEEK a feeling of physical fulfillment even if it is accompanied with anguish’; Soko no tokorō o l watasi-ra wa l mayoimāsu l nē ‘THAT’s the place we get CONFUSED, you see’; ... “Nissin-kōoku” to kāita, sono insatū-buto o watasi wa mōte imāsu ‘the printed matter with “Nissin School Ward” written on it is in my possession’ (Shibata 1965.39); Kūniko no é o Ayao wa mukasi kara mite iru ‘Ayao has been looking at Kūni­ko’s painting for a long time now’ (Ig 1965.70); Kono haru [r, sude ni zuu-suu-tuu no syookai-zyuu(–) o, Sāeki(–) wa kuhi sitte iru ‘Just since spring Saeki has run through a dozen or more letters of introduction with no results’ (Ig 1965.69); Ōita hāha no karada no, onnā de aru utukūsi-sa o Kūniko wa koohuku ni kan-zita ‘Kuniko felt the womanly beauty of her aged mother’s body to be a blessing’ (Ig 1965.76); ... kore o wakati-gaki to wa iwanai ‘this we do NOT call word-spaced writing’ (Shibata 1965.183).

Normally we do not expect to find a theme in an adnominalized sentence (§13.1). At one time I took the position that within an adnominalization any adjunct might be highlighted but only the subject could be subdued—with the subdual achieved by substituting nō for gā (§13.1.6). Accordingly, while admitting that you could say such things as otokō mo nōmu o-sake ‘liqueur that the man, too, drinks’ and uti(–) dé mo o-sake o nōmu otokō ‘the man who drinks liquor at home, too’, I predicted that parallel sentences with backgrounding would be absent except for otokō no nōmu o-sake ‘liqueur that the man DRINKS’—the others maintaining their simplex forms o-sake o nōmu otokō and uti(–) de o-sake o nōmu otokō, etc. But now I question and largely reject that position, as can be seen from the discussion in §13.1.6. In any event, my earlier view would have to be ad­justed to allow for the adnominalization of sentences that point up two contrasts: Šake

15a. Yet an acceptable example is offered in Nihongo-kyōiku 16.85 (1979): Dōtti mo o kobanda ‘I opposed both’.

\[N mó o \text{ (or even } *N mó o \text{ ba) but native speakers are adamant in insisting such phrases be redited to } N ó \text{ mo.}^{15a}\]
wa nōmu ga tabako wa nomáinai otokó da ‘He is a man who drinks but doesn’t smoke’; Otokó wa nōmu ga onná wa nomáinai o-sake da ‘It is a liquor that the man drinks but the woman doesn’t’; Inú wa tabérú nikú desu ga, ningen wa tabénai nikú desu ‘It is meat that dogs will eat but it is meat that men won’t eat’. We must also take account of subdual in sentences adnominalized to certain postadnominals such as koto, nō, or hazu; though most such cases will probably turn out to be subdued themes.

Another example of wa within an adnominalization: ... meisi to site sono mamū kotei surú ni wa igi-teki ni hu-těkitoo na monó mo, sukúnákú nákatta ‘And there were quite a few that were semantically unsuitable to be directly fixed as nouns the way they were’ (Sákakura 301)—surú ni is a direct nominalization equivalent to surú no ni ‘for the doing’, and the backgrounding by wa is applied to bring out the negative prefix in hu-těkitoo ‘unsuitable’ for which ... surú {no} ni is the complement. And this example has both highlighting (of gerund) and subdual (of adverbialized copula) in an adnominalization: ... mimi de kii té mo kantan ni wa wakaranáin katakana-eigo ‘Japanized English that is NOT easily understood even when HEARD BY EAR’ (Ōno 1966.238). The following example is an adnominalized conjoined sentence that subdues the subject of the first predicate and highlights the subject of the second, both of which are the “possessed” of the epitheme (syōonen ‘youth’), which is an extruded genitive serving as subject of the larger sentence: Gakkō no seiséki wa wáru ku, taiso mo hu-tōkui datta syōonen ga, itu-no-má-ní-ka, kēži ni sótā o makaseru hodo “atamā no ii dorōbo” ni hensin site ita ‘A youth who had bad grades and was none too good at athletics, either, had all too soon turned himself into enough of a “clever thief” to set the detectives’ tongues clicking (in admiration)’ (SA 2645.110). There are also quasi-idiomatic cases, as in ima wa l mukasi no {i} haiyyu mitai ni ‘like an actor of days gone by’.

From what has been said it follows that any or all of the adjuncts can be subdued or highlighted, and our grammar must admit all possible combinations of focus-marked phrases, however far we must look to find the situation that will fetch each of them:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{N wa N wa N wa V} & \text{N mo N mo N wa V} \\
\text{N mo N mo N mo V} & \text{N mo N wa N wa V} \\
\text{N wa N mo N mo V} & \text{N mo N wa N mo V} \\
\text{N wa N wa N mo V} & \text{N wa N mo N wa V}
\end{array}
\]

(By “N” here we mean noun or noun + case marker, with the understanding that gā and ó are obligatorily suppressed, as noted earlier. The marker ni is also sometimes suppressed—at least when the phrase is thematicized; see p. 227.)

In the following example of three wa-marked adjuncts in a row, the first and last are subdued adverbials: ... Kokugo-singikai, monbu-syoo to iu monó ga áru kágiri WA, sore WA, osóraku WA eien ni áru ka mo siremasēn ga, ... ‘As long as the institutions of the Language Council and the Ministry of Education are with us, that, I daresay, may exist forever’ (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.204). The sentence Síkási káno-zyo wa wareware ní wa, títí wa sinda to itta ‘But she told us her father was DEAD’ (Ig 1962.89) has three instances of wa-marked adjuncts following each other, but the third is embedded in a quotation, so for our purposes here it will count as an example of two in a row.

Past discussions of the particle wa have typically dwelt on the somewhat narrow question of when to use gā and when to use wa; the title of Imbrie’s insightful 1914 treatise

§ 2.3. Focus of attention: backgrounding and foregrounding of adjuncts
is simply "Wa and Ga". And in 1973 Kuno devotes two carefully written chapters to the differences between wā and gā. Following Kuroda’s observations, Kuno tells us that when the particle gā marks the subject of a statement, that subject may either represent part of a NEUTRAL DESCRIPTION, as when the sentence answers the question "What happened?", or an EXHAUSTIVE LISTING, as when the sentence answers the question ‘[Just] who did it?’. If the predicate expresses a PERMANENT STATE, N gā can express only the exhaustive listing; that is why Watasi ga isya da ‘I [and only I] am the doctor’ does not answer the question ‘Who am I?’ but rather ‘Just WHO is the doctor?’ (the ordinary question Isya wa dāre ‘Who is the doctor?’ will be answered with Isya wa watasi da ‘The doctor is me’). If the subject is quantified, however, N gā can be taken as a neutral description even for a permanent state: Hutarī ga Nihon-zīn da ‘Two of them are Japanese’ (or, ‘Two [and only two] are the Japanese’). With predicates that do not express permanent states (instead expressing action, existence, or temporary states) N gā is ambiguous as to whether it represents the neutral description (‘What happened?’) or the exhaustive listing (‘Just who did it?’). But with a first-person subject (Watasi gā), or with other persons who are described as moving or located with respect to oneself, the interpretation as neutral description is apparently precluded because “It seems that the speaker is not allowed to look at his own action or existence objectively, and describe it as if it were a new event.” According to Kuno, if there is more than one N gā in the sentence that might be taken as exhaustive listing, only the earliest (the leftmost) will receive that interpretation. (Possible exceptions like Dāre ga dāre ga kowai ‘Just who is afraid of just whom?’ are slightly removed from normal patterns.) Moreover, “The distinction between the thematic wa and the descriptive ga and the exhaustive listing ga neutralizes in subordinate clauses. All three are realized as ga ...’. What this helpful description of Kuno’s boils down to is that N gā in all sentences MAY localize the emphasis (so that the question is about N, not S) and in certain situations can ONLY do that, as in the un=subordinated identificational sentence; but in many situations it is not required to do so: most sentences with N gā are ambiguous as to whether they are answering questions localized on N gā or questions about the sentence as a whole (or localized on some other adjunct), just as sentences with N ō are usually ambiguous in the same way—unless the localized emphasis has been preempted by a specifically interrogative adjunct elsewhere or by an N gā that can only be interpreted as ‘N and N only’.

Although to some extent I have broken with traditional views of wā and gā, I feel it is important to consider some of the factors that have favored the persistent discussion in terms of that dichotomy. First, the traditional question points to the special nature of the SUBJECT (= gā-marked adjunct) in the surface structure of the sentence. To be sure, at a deeper level of structure—following the view of modern Japanese grammarians that the sentence is “a dragon that has many heads [= adjuncts] but a single tail [= predicate]”—we can assume a simple dependency for the various meanings of the surface subject (viz. agent, attributee, identifier, etc.) that seems little different in importance from various kinds of direct and indirect objects, etc.; but a closer examination will reveal a number of reasons to assign special primacy to the subject in Japanese—and perhaps in all languages. Some of these reasons are:

(1) Separate from thematization, there is a process of SUBJECTIFICATION, whereby under certain conversions various adjuncts are marked as if the subject (see § 7.1, § 9.1.8).

(2) Virtually any predicate can take a subject but objects are more restricted—by the
transitivity of the verb, for example. Direct objects are highly verb-specific; there are only certain things one can "tweak" though anyone with fingers can play the game.

(3) In the "neutral" surface order (see §2.1) the subject precedes indirect and direct objects.

Probably related to the latter point is the fact that both ellipsis and thematization appear to be more common for subjects than for objects. And so, we can ask whether a careful study would not show that wa (in all its functions, here put together as "subdued focus" or "backgrounder") more often represents a subdued SUBJECT ga → wa than any of the other cases—perhaps even than all combined? In any event, from the remarks about the primacy of subjects that we made above, it follows that ga → wa is almost bound to be more common than ó → wa, unless the amount of subject ellipsis in a text should prove overwhelming.

I once wondered whether statistics might show, conversely, that ó → mó is more common than ga → mó, but the evidence does not support this speculation. From the statistics on modern written Japanese in KKK 25 it appears that mó marks a thematized subject almost seven times as often as a thematized object; and wa marks a thematized subject THIRTEEN times as often as it marks a thematized object, bearing out my remarks on wa above, which were written before these statistics had come to my attention. It is interesting to figure some ratios from the raw figures given in KKK 25.74-90:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent of set</th>
<th>Surface particle</th>
<th>Percent of subset</th>
<th>Syntactic role</th>
<th>Percent of roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.3519</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>.7595</td>
<td>thematized subject</td>
<td>.6119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thematized object</td>
<td>.0475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thematized other</td>
<td>.0458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>non-thematized</td>
<td>.2949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.1114</td>
<td>mó</td>
<td>.2405</td>
<td>thematized subject</td>
<td>.4131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thematized object</td>
<td>.0629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thematized other</td>
<td>.0293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>non-thematized</td>
<td>.4947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.3206</td>
<td>ó</td>
<td>.5973</td>
<td>(of which .0437 are not direct object)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.2161</td>
<td>ga’</td>
<td>.4027</td>
<td>(of which .0143 are not subject)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. This includes adverb, gerund, infinitive, etc. + wa.
b. This includes adverb, gerund, infinitive, etc. + mó.

From these statistics we conclude that the subject is focused and thematized rather more often than not—almost 56 percent of the time; that the object is overwhelmingly NOT focused—being marked by ó almost 90 percent of the time; and that the ratio of all subjects to all direct objects is about three to two. It should be kept in mind that we have excluded statistics on less common markers of focus, restriction, etc., and that the grammatical analysis in KKK 25 differs in a number of ways from the one in this book. Moreover, the figures largely reflect unreduced surface sentences; this means, among
other things, that extruded epithemes are not counted for the roles they play in the ad-nominalized sentences from which they were extruded. Statistics on these roles would be of considerable interest, but unfortunately none are available.

An illuminating discussion of the Ryūkyū reflexes of the wá/mó opposition will be found in Chamberlain 1895, especially p. 39: AGGREGATION [= mó] is the opposite of Isolation [= wá]. While the latter process singles out a word and puts it in a place by itself, Aggregation joins it to other words and shows that there is nothing special or peculiar about it, somewhat as “too,” “also,” “and,” “even,” “do in English.

And, p. 29: “Isolation” corresponds to the use of an emphatic accent, or to such phrases as, “with regard to,” “quant à,” or [mén] and [dé] in Greek (when two “isolated” words are opposed to each other antithetically). Perhaps its grammatical nature may be still more aptly illustrated by such current expressions as Le convoi, quand part-il? Cette guerre, qu’en pensez-vous? where le convoi and cette guerre are, so to say, lifted out of the regular context of the sentence, and put away in a place by themselves. What we should term the subject of the sentence is sometimes thus isolated; but as often as not it is some other word, and sometimes a whole phrase.

No attempt is made by Chamberlain to disentangle the matizatation from focus; thus by “isolation” he refers primarily to SUBDUE D THEMATIZATION, while subsuming simple backgrounding or subdual under that heading; and he is probably unaware of the existence of HIGHLIGHTED thematization, as well as peripheral forms of focus marking.

It is sometimes claimed that there are dialects which do not distinguish gá from wá (or its local equivalent ýá), e.g. A waji-jima in Wakayama (Zhs 4.23). I suspect that what is involved, however, is a phonetic convergence that produces identical surface representations such as kazzya and ussy for kaze ga/ya and usi ga/ya (Zhs 4.25); cf. ame ’á = áme [g]á in Mie (Zhs 4.51). Notice that bá, an etymological reflex of wá, is used to mark the direct object—perhaps as an abbreviation of ó ba?—in widely scattered parts of Japan, e.g. the Ryūkýús, Kyūshū (Zhs 6.17 n10), and (Zhs 1.21) northeastern Honshū (including Chiba, Zhs 2.225, 244).

2.3.1. Uses of wá.

The tag translation of wá usually favored by the foreign student is ‘as for’; sometimes, especially when the phrase is a subdued theme, the translation ‘guess-what’ will bring home the flavor of the shift in focus. In addition to the application of wá to a theme—optional, since the theme could be left unsubdued or could be highlighted with mó—there are three distinct situations that will lead the speaker to choose backgrounding with wá for one or more of the predicate adjuncts. And, interestingly enough, none of the resulting sentences will be grammatical if mó is substituted for wá.

Thus these three situations will conjointly indicate the meaning of wá—and, by exclusion, also of mó, serving to define the difference between the two markers. The highlighting or subdual of the THEME, on the other hand, puts the difference between the two into minimal contrast.

The three situations are these:

(1) You are asking—or answering—a question about some other part of the sentence: Anó-hito wa dare ga yonda ‘Who called him?’; Anó-hito wa dāre o yonda ‘Whom did he
call?’ Notice that Anó-hito wa ... would normally call for major juncture (for that is usual before an interrogative) and thus look like an instance of thematization; but since Anó-hito mo î dare ga (or î dare o) yonda is unacceptable, we must conclude that here the major juncture is not diagnostic of a theme but rather is called for (more or less obligatorily) to reinforce the shift of focus onto the interrogative word. This use of wá is so common that a fragmentary sentence N wa ... will usually be interpreted as ellipsis of an interrogative adjunct along with the predicate; thus O-namae wa ... ‘Your name?’ is short for something like O-namae wa nân desu ka (or ... nân to ossyaimasu ka) ‘What is your name?’—cf. Sikási, sono zissai-teki zîgyôo wa to iu to, ... ‘If you ask what about (= When it comes to the question of) practical undertakings ...’; Kôôkaî(“) no hîô wa to iêba, ... ‘[If you ask about =] When it comes to the matter of the voyage’ (SA 2679.150). That may be the origin of the common greetings Konniti wa ‘Today [how are you] = Hello’ (said from late morning till evening) and Konban wa ‘This evening [how are you] = Good evening = Hello’ (said from dusk on); since these are greetings, they are usually said with a deadpan intonation that removes the basic accent of kôôban and kôôni, utter seriousness being the appropriate stance for most Japanese formality. The implied question can be yes-or-no, often âru ka or its negative: Yüûbin wa?—Nâi ‘Mail?—None’ (SA 2674.91a); Kore kara kurasikku-gîtâa o kokorozâsú hitô-tati ni nânî ni kyûûkoku wa [arîmasen ka] ‘[Do] you have [any advice for those who aspire to the classical guitar in the future?’ (SA 2679.119de). Advertisements and slogans sometimes take advantage of the appetite-whetting characteristics of subdued focus: Sen-en de bîrû wa nomi-hîôdai ‘For a thousand yen—all the beer you can drink’ (CK 985.268). Since every statement potentially answers a question, it follows that virtually ANY sentence may contain an adjunct with wá. But wá almost never follows a question word such as dare ‘who’, nani ‘what’, itu, when ’, etc., for you do not want to focus attention AWAY from the heart of your question. 16 Yet you may find times when this rule (‘Avoid wá after a content-interrogative’) is overridden by the third use of wá—to set off an item in contrast. Some speakers will apparently accept the sentence Dâre wa moratte dare wa morawanai to iu no wa yoku nai ‘It isn’t nice to talk about who gets some and who doesn’t’, but most speakers will feel more comfortable with gá instead. An authentic example: Dôkô ni dônna tabemônô-ya ga âtte, soko no nânî WA taihen kókkûo da o-nédan mo mata kókkûo da to ka, ... ‘(talking of) what kind of eating places are where and what they have there that is handsome but so is its price, and ...’ (CK 985.393). Something of this sort probably accounts for such clichés as these: nânî wâl tó-mo-are (= tó-mo-kaku = tó-ni-kaku) ‘anyhow, in any case, nevertheless’; nânî wâl sate-okí ‘above everything, first of all’; nânî wa l naku to mo ‘at least, only’ as in ‘Nânî wa naku to mo Edo muråsaki’ ‘All you need is Edo Purple [brand of seaweed]’ (CK 985.380); âtu

16. Both the juncture and the initial accent of the interrogatively used indeterminates (dâre, dôre, nânî, dôkô, itu, dôo, etc.) may be part of the realization of the interrogative sememe, since for many speakers the words are atomic when they are used in generalized expressions such as dâre de mo ‘anybody at all’ and dâre mo ‘[not] anybody’. It is unclear to me at the moment whether the generalized phrases are to be accounted for in terms of a suppression of underlying accent or whether the interrogative phrases, together with the generalized, are to be derived from abstract underlying forms that are atomic (*dâre as an equivalent of dâre ka ‘somebody’ or, better, of hito ‘a person’) and acquire their initial accents and concomitant major junctures as a representation of the interrogative meaning. The indefinites such as dâre ka ‘somebody’ are clearly derived from full nominal questions—Dâre [da] ka ‘Who is it?’—as explained in § 15.6.
to wa l nási ni ‘before you know it, in no time at all’ (SA 2659.33d); nan-to-wa-nási ni = nan-to-náku ‘somehow or other; vaguely’. It is not inevitable that a content interrogative will subdue some other adjunct; even N gá INTERROGATIVE occurs: Kore kara Karuizawa ga dôo kawaru ka ‘How will Karuizawa change next?’ (SA 2642.46a); Mírái no Nihon-go ga dôo náru ka wa, ... ‘The question of what will happen to the Japanese language of the future ...’ (Shibata in Ōno 1967.104); Onná-no-ko no kao ga dôo, tosí ga dôo, to itta misé ya [= zya] nái ‘It isn’t an establishment of the sort where you worry about how the girls look or how old they are’ (SA 2793.123b).

(2) You are denying something about some other part of the sentence. Thus Tabako wa nái ‘There aren’t any cigarettes’ negatively answers the question (or the possible question) Tabako ga áru ka ‘Are there any cigarettes?’ What is being denied is the statement contained in the NUCLEUS (here existence vs. non-existence). Compare the sentence Tabako ga nái ‘It is cigarettes we’re out of’ which does not deny any statement of the nucleus (existence vs. non-existence) but instead answers a question about the subject of a negativized statement: Náni ga nái ka ‘What don’t we have? = What do we lack? What are we out of?’ Notice that Tabako mo nái ‘We haven’t any cigarettes either/even’ is not used to deny the statement questioned as Tabako mo áru ka ‘Do we have cigarettes too/even?’ (the appropriate denial being Tabako wa nái) but rather to confirm the negation of a questioned negative statement Tabako mo nái ka ‘Haven’t we any cigarettes either/even? = Do we lack cigarettes too/even?’. (The answer to the negatively put question Tabako wa/ga nái ka ‘No cigarettes?’ will usually omit the adjunct: Nái ‘No cigarettes’ or Áru ‘Yes, there are’.) The polarity of wá and mó is nicely displayed in sentences that deny permission vs. those that grant it: -té wá ikenai ‘mustn’t do it’ vs. -té mó i i ‘may do it’, the particles (especially mó) imparting an optional emphasis; see §9.2.2.

Observe these examples that use adjunct subdual in order to play up the negative:17 Sikási kore wa, karada ni i i ka dôo ka, isya ní WA mada kíite inái ‘But I haven’t yet asked the doctor whether this is good for the body (= one’s health) or not’ (CK 985.368); ... kosi o orósu isu o mitukeyoo to sitára, aita isu WA maru-de nái ‘when I tried to find a chair to sit in there just wasn’t a single vacant one’ (CK 985.269); Góhan WA nákereba náí de sumimáSu ‘If there’s no rice, we’ll get along without it’ (SA 2684.18d)—cf. § 9.2.4 (10); ... isyoku no hitó da ga, hakusí-goo WA tótte inái kara, Dóitú de wa huutu, kyóózyu(−) ni mo nárenái ‘... is an unusual person but in Germany he could not actually become a professor since he lacks a doctor’s degree’ (SA 2656.153b); Ží no kakéru hitó wa è WA kákená ‘People who can write can’t draw’ (SA 2633.44d)—cf. Ží no kakéru hitó wá è MO kakéru ‘People who can write can draw, too’; Syobun-nákama no D [D’ii], É [li] kyóóyu(−) wa itígaú[i] ituka ni ‘“taisyoku-tódóke” o dásíta mamá [l] gakkoo è WA déte kónai ‘Instructors D and E of the group under disposition sent in their resignations on January fifth and haven’t shown up at school since’ (SA 2665.26c); Móo áto è WA híkei nai ‘Now we can’t retreat’ (SA 2671.28b); ... sore tó WA sirazu ... ‘not realizing it to be that’ (Shibata 1961.85); Ooyake ní WA sárenái ga, kono kíti ga erinto-kíti de aru kóto wa tášika da ‘It is NOT made public, but the fact is beyond question that this base is an elint [electronic

17. The wá in question in each sentence is written in capital letters, but this should not be misinterpreted as calling for special stress, intonation, or juncture. Such phenomena occur, but we are disregarding them in this book; in any event, the particular sentences given here do not illustrate the situations where the special stress would be appropriate.
§2.3.1. Uses of wa

intelligence) base’ (SA 2685.29d)—the focus is applied to a passivized (sareru) transitive
mutative (ni suru) conversion, §9.1.11; Genbaku ga dekite mo, unpan-syūdan no misairu
ga nākerēba, yaku ni WA tatānai ‘Even if they make an atom bomb, without a missile as a
means of delivery, it won’t be of any use’ (SA 2678.136c); Kēredo mo, dekite simatta
monō wa, mōto ni WA modorānai ‘But what has been accomplished will not return to its
former state’ (SA). The last example might be regarded as an instance of loose reference
(§5.4), i.e. meaning mōto ni modōri wa sinai (what, other than mōto, COULD it return
to?), as might many of the other examples.

By ‘negative’ we refer to a semantic category that encompasses more than just the
negative conversions of §8. An example of subdual to play up a lexicalized negation repre-
sented by the prefix mu-: Dāi yōn-syōo de wa, sore māde no tōozyōo-zinbutu to WA
mattak ū MU-KĀNKE! no hūuu ga toozūgyō suru ‘In the fourth chapter, a married couple
appear who are totally unconnected with the characters in the story up to that point’ (SA
2688.89a). And the predicate tigau ‘it differs’ is similar: ... Tooei no monō to WA tigatta
omosūro-sa ga āru ... ‘has a delightful quality different from Tooei’s films’ (SA); Mukasi
tō WA tigatte ‘Different from days gone by ...’ (SA 2689.17a); Hōn ya ēiga(·) de miru no
to WA tigatte ... ‘Different from what you see in books and movies ...’ (SA 2673.47a).

The verbal noun taisyo ‘contrast’ is apparently also similar; in the following example it
has been lexicalized (§3.8a) into an adjectival noun with the suffix -teki and then adver-
bialized (§9.1.11): ... Súwān sēntyōo-ra to WA taisyo-teki ni, ‘in contrast with Cap-
tain Swan and his group ...’ (SA 2674.129e). Expressions of difficulty (i.e. lack of easi-
ness) have negative implications: ... yōo ni WA hanzi-gatai koto datta ‘it was a matter
difficult to judge’ (Fn 237b). The negative domain for purposes of focus is thus somewhat
larger than that for sika (see p. 80) or for dōkoro (see p. 931). We might do well to in-
clude, for example, certain privative verbs; that would help explain the subdual of the ob-
ject of the gerund in this sentence: Kyūusyō(·) WA hāzusite ūta no ka ‘Did you shoot
aiming AWAY from vital spots?’ (SA 2681.128d)—perhaps freely to be translated as ‘Did
you shoot so as not to kill?’ There is also the precopular noun betu ‘separate/distinct
(from)’ with its reciprocal valence (§3.6): Kore tō WA betu ni, ‘Apart from this, ...’;
Pikaso to WA mattaku(·) betu no gaka ‘An artist quite distinct from Picasso’. And several
other words that contain the morpheme betu, e.g. the precopular noun bekkon(·) ‘sepa-
rate’: ... ko kugo-sēisaku to WA bekkon(·) no tokorō de, ‘quite separately from the poli-
ties toward the national language’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.271). Sometimes with betu the reci-
procal adjunct is highlighted: Hāmako ūsin wa, titō to MO betu no kantēn(·) ni tātē irū no da
to kangaleta ‘Hamako felt herself to have quite a different viewpoint from her father’ (Fn
236b). Notice also the use of wa in ... kāzin ni WA naisyō(·) de ... ‘without letting anyone
in the family know about it’ (Endō 115).

(3) You are supplying information about the points of contrast between grammatically
parallel adjuncts in two sentences, e.g. between two subjects or two objects. In English
you will normally use stress (= accentual prominence) to call attention to the two ITEMS
in contrast, but Japanese subdues both the items (with wa) in order to play up their points
of DIFFERENCE: Kore wa ooki ga, sore wa tiisai ‘THIS is big, but THAT is little’;
Ryōori wa ore ga suru ga, kaimono wa oootō ga suru ‘The cooking is done by ME and the
shopping by my little BROTHER’—or, reversing the adjuncts to prevent any assumed
thematization of the wa phrases: Ore ga ryōori wa suru ga, oootō ga kaimono wa suru ‘I
do the cooking and my little BROTHER does the shopping’. Notice that a sentence like
*Kore mo ookii ga, sore mo tiisai 'This too/even is big but that too/even is little' will generally be rejected not merely as anomalous but as ungrammatical. A sentence like Kore mo i ga sore mo kamawanai 'This is OK but that is all right too' is different in structure; although Kore wa i ga sore wa kamawanai is possible, the meaning is not 'This is good but that (by contrast) is all right', a semantic incongruity, but rather 'This (in contrast with your expectations or denial) is good, and that (in contrast with other expectations or denials) is all right', a more likely sentence being Kore wa i ga sore mo kamawanai 'This is good, to be sure, but that is all right too'. Other possibilities include (?) Kore mo i ga, sore wa kamawanai 'This too/even is good and that—in contrast with your expectations or denial—is all right'.

In the following example the first wá subdues a thematized subject ('dog') and the other two point up the contrast between two different verbal nouns (syóo = syoobén 'urinating' and dai = daihén 'defecating'): Utí(−) no o-inu-sama o oogata no kórii de, syóo wa sanpo no tokí ni surú ga, dai wa dōo sita wáke ka, niwa no undo-yoyo de suru 'Our "Sir Dog" is a large collie and he does his sprinkling as he walks but for some reason he does his dirtying on the playground in the (public) gardens' (SA 2671.118d). An example in which the subduced time of an adnominalized sentence is balanced by the subduced time of the predicate of the matrix sentence: Máe wa i-ko ni hyakú-en mo sitá no ga ima wa hàn-ne(−) [dé], ... 'What before cost a whole two hundred yen each is now half price, and ...' (SA 2679.115a).

Perhaps the expression "grammatically parallel adjuncts" used above is too strict, since it is ultimately MEANINGS that are put in contrast. The following sentence uses a subduced ablative balanced by a subduced dative(-allative) so as to play up the contrast between antonymous predicates: Seisan-sya KARA WA takaku kai, syóo-f-sya NI WA yasuku uru. Kono syok-kan [= syokuryoo-kánri] wa ií séido da 'They buy from the producer [= rice farmer] at a high(er) price and sell to the consumer at a low(er) price. This Food Control is a good system' (SA 2684.20c).

Are all three of these situations to be regarded as phases of a single situation? It has been suggested that perhaps "contrast" is always involved, and that will serve as an argument in favor of the traditional view that there are two and only two uses of wá—to mark "topics" and to show "contrast". But when we consider that the negative answer to the question Sóra ga/wa kumóta ka 'Did the sky cloud up?' is Sóra wa kumóranakatta 'The sky didn't cloud up' it is clear that there is no contrast with any other adjunct—for what, other than the sky, COULD cloud up? Thus, "contrast" in such a sense must be broken up into three specific kinds in any event: contrast with the grammatically parallel counterpart in a paired sentence, contrast with an interrogated adjunct within a single sentence, and contrast with a negativized nucleus of a single sentence. Since we regard questioned statements as an interrogativization of the entire sentence and not just the nucleus but leave open the possibility that the negativization may apply to the nucleus instead of (or as well as) to the sentence as a whole, it might be possible to regard interrogative and negative as aspects of the same thing—shall we call it the UNCONFIRMED?—and treat the contrastive pairing of sentences as a kind of contingent confirmation, i.e. UNCONFIRMED + UNCONFIRMED = JOINTLY CONFIRMED, that being the meaning of the construction.

There are a number of other factors that go into the selection of subduced focus. The tendency to subdue a THEME (see §3.9) reflects the fact that backgrounderd suggests the
OLD (the KNOWN) where normal marking of subject and object (gā/o) and the like presents the NEW (the UNKnown). Thus a subduced subject or object (N wa) often is understood as definite (SPECIFIC) ‘the N’ or general (GENERAL) ‘(any) N’ where the unsubduced N gā/o will often be taken as indefinite (UNSPECIFIC) ‘a/some N’.

Quantity words are sometimes subduced or highlighted for reasons not immediately obvious:18 Syūu ni san-kāi WA kūru ‘I come A GOOD three times a week’ (SA 2662.97a); Hahassy ga tukī ni iti-dō WA Kōbe e yooosu o mī ni ikō kotō ni natta imāsu ga, ... ‘We have it arranged so that his mother goes to Köbe once a month, AT LEAST, to see how things are, but ...’ (SA 2676.30d).

On the obligatory subdual of the Identified in an identificational sentence when, as in the unmarked situation, the Identifier N gā is predicated (becoming N da), see §3.10.

There are certain puzzling occurrences of N1 wa N2 that are to be explained as subduced thematization of various kinds of genitives, as described in §3.11.3. But there are also sentences which apparently subdue a genitive without actual thematization, since the phrase is buried in the heart of the sentence, as illustrated by this example of a partitive (or, conceivably, a locative) genitive Tōkyō to no ‘of/in Tōkyō’ that has been subduced to Tōkyō wa: Sendatte ni yōru kū-zi ‘gōro, Tōkyō WA Den’entyo-ō-hu-ekimāe(‘) no rōtōtarii de, eiga(‘) no rokkēseyon ga okonaware ita ‘The other evening around nine, in the traffic circle in front of Tōkyō’s Den’en-chōfu station there was a movie being shot on location’ (SA 2681.117a). And here, perhaps, is a similar case: Watasi wa, daigaku WA gengōkā-ka o demāsita ‘It was the linguistic faculty of the university that I graduated from’ (Shibata in Ōno 1967.69)—in the translation the major stresses go on ‘linguistics’ and ‘I’.

For further discussion of phrases of this type, and examples with highlighting (N1 mo N2), see p. 664.

Vardul (52) presents some examples of an “emphatic GA” which might seem to call in question our treatment of all instances of gā as marking a basic case and all instances of wa as the result of some secondary process. The examples, from various modern authors, are these: Itiniti-itiniti GA ll nān to mo l kakkoo no tukānai ll kawaisō no l sūgata de ll seikatsu site iru ‘Day after day I’m [?] living an indescribably ugly and pitiful existence’ (Ishikawa Tatsujiro); Sore yūe ni ll gōzen ‘tyuu no yo-zikan GA ll otitukanai kimoti de Atatürk ‘For that reason the whole four hours till noon I was disturbed’ (Ishikawa Tatsujiro); Akari no tuku made GA ll myōo ni ll otitukanakatta ‘Until the light came on I was strangely upset’ (Shiga Naoya); Sā sā ll dóo zo ll o-agari asobase ll koko GA ll itiban suzusii kaze ga ll kimasu ni wā ‘Come come, please come up here, HERE is where the coolest breeze comes’ (Ishikawa Tatsujiro); Hī1 ll nazo wa ll bōku(‘) ga taku yo ll atūi ll tokī ni wa l sore ga ll kātte ll hisyō no ll ryoochoo nā n da. ll Āto GA ll suzūsikute ll bāka ni ll kurasi-ii ll ‘The fire and all / take care of setting; at hot times that is, surprisingly, the best way to cool off; afterward it’s so cool you feel mighty comfortable’ (Fujimori Seikichi).

These examples all involve TIME or PLACE, they smack of written-style versions of speech, and they are probably best explained by ellipsis of somewhat unusual sentences like these: Itiniti-itiniti GA ... seikatsu site iru [AIDA DA]; ... yo-zikan GA ... kimoti de Atatürk [AIDA DA]; Akari no tuku made GA ... otitukanakatta [TOKI/AIDA DA]; ... koko

18. Cf. Aston 51: ‘Frequently the force of wu is very faint, and its presence or absence makes no appreciable difference in meaning.’
GA ... kaze ga kimāsu (= kūru) [TOKORÔ DA] né; Āto GA ... kurasi-ii [TOKÍ NI NÁRU] ze—or could this one be explained as from Āto ga suzusii?

What we propose is that these sentences can all be regarded as identificational, with the ga-marked phrase being the identifier of the omitted abstract noun of time or space. (For a somewhat different explanation of what is omitted, see §3.10a). The unusualness of the sentences is due to the special emphasis put on the identifier, since the more usual form of the identificational sentence puts the identifier into the essive predicate and obligatorily subdues the identified (see §3.10): ... oitukanakatta aida wa ... akari no tuku made da; ... kaze ga kūru tokorō wa ... koko da.

The sequence de wa in any of its uses optionally contracts to zya[a]: Tyūugoku no hōo zya, donnā hitō ni o-ai dēsita ka ‘What sort of people did you see (when you were) in China?’ (Tk 2.261a). Cf. remarks on the negative copula de/zyā nai, §8.

2.3.2. Uses of mó.

The particle mó is usually translated ‘even’ or ‘also’, with appropriate adjustment of ‘also’ to ‘either/neither’ in negative sentences. These two translations seem to correspond to two distinct uses of highlighting: to call attention to the phrase in relationship with SOME other (‘also, too’) or ALL other (‘even’) similar phrases, which may or may not be explicitly mentioned. Extending from the ‘also’ meaning, pairs of grammatically parallel phrases can be translated ‘both ... and ...’, with adjustment to ‘either ... or ...’ or ‘neither ... nor ...’ in negative sentences.19 Such constructions are reductions from a double sentence with identity of nucleus, specifically a pair conjoined by the provisional as described in §9.3.2, where we suggest that Tabako mo mátti mo árú ‘We have both cigarettes and matches’ is to be treated as a reduction of Tabako mo äréba mátti mo árú ‘If [it be true that] we have CIGARETTES EVEN, then [it is true that] we have MATCHES AS WELL’ and Úmi e mo yama e mo ikanai ‘We will go neither to the sea nor to the mountains’ is to be regarded as a reduction of Úmi e mo ikanakereba yama e mo ikana ‘If [it be true that] we do not go TO THE SEA EVEN, then [it is also true that] we will not go TO THE MOUNTAINS EITHER’. Thus a surface sentence such as A mo B mo yobu can be ambiguous—in theory, at least—to the extent of ten meanings:

(1) Both A and B call someone.
(2) Someone calls both A and B.
(3) A too (as well as C) calls B too (as well as calling D).
(4) B too (as well as C) calls A too (as well as D).
(5) Even A (as well as everyone else) calls B too (as well as calling C).
(6) Even B (as well as everyone else) calls A too (as well as calling C).
(7) A also (as well as C) calls even B (as well as calling everyone else).
(8) B also (as well as C) calls even A (as well as calling everyone else).
(9) Even A (as well as everyone else) calls even B (as well as calling everyone else).
(10) Even B (as well as everyone else) calls even A (as well as calling everyone else).

The ambiguity results from these factors: case-marking is neutralized with the application of highlighting so that either A or B might be the subject (though more frequently

19. This use need not be limited to pairs; if more than two parallel phrases are included, the translation will be something like ‘A and B and C, all three’ or ‘A (n)or B (n)or C, none of them’.
§2.3.2. Uses of mó

the subject precedes), the other remaining to be interpreted as the object; highlighting itself has two meanings, depending on whether the intended cross-reference is specific or general; and a pair of highlighted phrases may represent a reduction of two sentences connected by a provisionalized form of the same nucleus. When ALSO and EVEN appear in the same translation, the entire sentence stands in an implied relationship of a similar sort with some unstated provisionalized sentence that contains a specific parallel highlighted phrase (C mó) understood for the 'as well as C' part in parentheses above.

Some of the sentences may be disambiguated by a difference of junctures. Notice how the English translation shifts with the negative: A mo yobanai 'A doesn't call someone either' or 'Someone doesn't call A either', A mo B mo yobanai 'Neither A nor B calls someone' or 'Someone calls neither A nor B = Someone does not call either A or B', etc.

Although we assume that a parallel pair of highlighted adjuncts represents a reduction of predicate-identical sentences conjoined by the provisional S-reba (by way of optional ellipsis of the provisional form), there are other ways of conjoining predicate-identical sentences such as the gerund (§9.2) and the infinitive used as equivalent to the gerund (§9.1):

... kazu wa, heru koto mo arī, hu eru koto mo āru ‘the number ... sometimes decreases, sometimes increases’ (Ōno 1966.170); Terebi mo naku, sinbun mo naku, zassi mo naku, rāzio(‘) mo nāi ‘There’s no television, no newspapers, no magazines, no radio—nothing’ (SA 2684.101a). But when there is ellipsis of the first predicate, we will arbitrarily assume that the missing form is the provisional: Kuti kāro mo hana kāro mo tī ga hukidasite kūru ‘Blood starts to pour both from the mouth and from the nose’ (SA 2679.39a); Kono kuni de wa dōko made ittē mo yama ni mo kī ga nāi ‘In this country [= Greece] wherever you go there are no trees either on the mountains or in the fields’ (SA 2677.72a); Tyūugoku wa hazime te?—Hazime te. Senzen ni mo sentyuu ni mo itte ‘nai ‘[Was this] your first time to visit China?—Yes, it was. I didn’t get there either before the war or during the war’ (SA 2679.46c). The example Mukasi mo ima mo kodomo no kokorō wa sonna ni kawaranai ... ‘Children are not all that fickle, neither today nor (were they) in years gone by’ (SA 2676.20a) seems to have thematized the highlighted pair after they were conjoined; the immediately preceding stage would be kodomo no kokorō wa mukasi mo [sonna ni kawaranakereba] ima mo sonna ni kawaranai. Perhaps the earlier examples too have thematized the highlighted pairs in question.

A pair of highlighted adjuncts may get stereotyped with use and acquire idiomatic meanings: Mi mo huta mo nāi kōtō o kuti ni sitē wa nara nāi ‘You mustn’t say things that have “neither content nor lid” (= that are lacking in substance)’ (SA 2651.69d). For expressions such as N mo kuso/hetima/he mo nāi ‘surely not N,’ see p. 899.

When we come across N1 mo N2 mo PREDICATE it is normal to assume that we are faced with the reduction of conjoined sentences as described here, and the two nouns will be objects (with obligatorily dropped ő) or subjects (with obligatorily dropped gā) of the predicate unless they are in a directly adverbial relationship (such as time). Thus in Kippu mo yakusoku mo irazu ... ‘With neither ticket nor reservation required’ (SA 2673.137b) and Mōo yokū mo tōku mo nāi ‘I no longer find anything in it of (desire or profit =) interest’ = ‘I have lost all interest’ (SA 2687.141e—cf. the noun yokutokū(‘) ‘self-interest’) each of the adjuncts in the highlighted pairs has obligatorily dropped the gā which marks the possessed, the immediate subject (= underlying object) of the verb of possession. And in Tabako mo sake mo yameta ‘I’ve given up both cigarettes and liquor’ the marker ő has
section 2. Predicate Adjuncts

obligatorily dropped in each of the highlighted adjuncts. But the surface structure $N_1$ mo $N_2$ mo sometimes comes from other sources; in the following example the first adjunct has an obligatorily dropped $g$ and the second an obligatorily dropped $ô$: ... Ráosu seihý-
gun mo té mo daséñai to iwareta ‘... and the Laos government forces [themselves] were
told to do a thing (about it)’ (SA 2673.23b)—the highlighted object is an
instance of loose reference, encouraged by the idiomatic meaning of té o dásu ‘turns one’s
hand to’.

Although the conjoining is usually of a pair (as in Hutarí wa gakkoo no kotó MO uto no
kotó MO wasureta ‘The two of them forgot both about school and about home’—SA
2652.119b), there are examples of larger conjoinings: Sóra ni MO, tutí ni MO, kabe ni
MO otó ga nái ‘There wasn’t a sound anywhere—not in the sky, not on the earth, not in
the walls’ (SA 2669.89b); Asa MO, hirú MO ban MO, syokuzí no zíkan ga tikazúku to ...
‘Morning, noon and night, when mealtime approaches ...’ (Maeda 1962.206); Kora wa
mukasi MO ímá MO, nisi MO higásí(‘) MO kawaranai ninzyoo no aru ‘This is human
nature which does not change in either past or present, in either east or west’ (Öno
1966.115); Zen-zen-zénpu MO zen-zénpu MO kóibito MO, minná sóo ìmášíta yó ‘That’s
what they all said—my ex-ex-ex-husband, my ex-ex-husband, my ex-husband, my lover[?],
all of them’ (SA 2685.46c). The expression sore mo kore mo (minná ‘[both that and
this =] each and every one of them (=, all’) implies more than the two adjuncts expressed.
The adverb íti-mo-ní-mo-naku ‘readily, without a quibble’ is from the phrase íti mo ní mo
naku ‘with neither one nor two’.

When followed by a negative, mó (or indeterminate + mó) often is translated as ‘at all’:
Ori-tatamérú kara basyo MO toránai ‘Since it can be folded up it takes no space at all’
(SA); Ore wa mó daígakú é MO ikanai tumori da ‘I don’t intend to go (to the university =)
to school any more at all’ (SA 2651.25d). Alfonso (740 ff) notes that a number + mó
translates as ‘not even’ when followed by a negative but ‘all of’ when followed by an affir-
mative predicate, as in Iti-žíkan MO kakáránai ‘It doesn’t take even an hour’ and Iti-žíkan
mo kakaráu ‘It takes all of an hour’ or ‘It takes one whole hour’; cf. zyúu-nen MO sinai
utí(‘) ni ‘within ten years’. Sentences with mó and a following negative sometimes sup-
press the accents of adjuncts in order to emphasize the negation; this is especially common
when the earlier stretch includes an indeterminate: Dáre ni áu hituyoo mo nái ‘There’s no
need to see anyone’ will sometimes be heard as Dare ni áu hituyoo mo nái (but never as
‘Dare ni áu ...’)

Adverbs are sometimes highlighted to emphasize unexpectedness (‘surprisingly enough’):
kooun ni mo ‘luckily enough, by an extraordinary stroke of good fortune’, igá(‘) ni mo
‘most unexpectedly’, mezurásku mo ‘curious to tell’, háyaku mo ‘quickly indeed’; Saiwai
ni mo šíkén o pásu sita ‘I was fortunate enough to pass the exam’; ... guuzen ni mo Híno-
zín wa sono yóo na ten ni ki ga tuku yóo ni náí ‘quite by accident the Japanese came
to notice such matters ...’ (CK 985.295). On -kú mo as an abbreviation of -kú mo átte,
equivalent to -kute mo, see §9.2.2. And there are other examples of highlighting for some
sort of subtle emphasis that easily evades the translator: Kóndo de Ameríka MO náná-kai
“mé [da] ‘This will be my seventh time in America’ (SA 2664.97a).20 Cf. Alfonso 742.

20. Perhaps the flavor of mó can be captured by an introductory ‘Why, ...’ in the English. Cf. Aston
54: ‘Mo is in many cases nothing more than exclamation of surprise, and has no specific meaning.’
But in O-híma gà áttara utí no hóo ni MO o-asobi ni dóo-zo ‘Please come to visit at my house (too)
Alfonso 740 remarks on the tendency to highlight a nominalized sentence before certain predicates: S nó mo toozen/atarimae dā ‘It is (only) natural (that S)’; S nó mo husigi zya nā ‘It is not (is hardly) strange (that S)’; and we can add S nó mo doori dā ‘It is (but) natural/reasonable (that S)’. Cf. p. 248. A similar type: S nó kara(’) mo akiraka na yöö ni ‘As is clear from the very fact that S ...’.

Sometimes the reference of mó is loose and the sentence implies highlighting of the nucleus rather than of the adjunct(s): N-i-nen no toki no seiseki MO warū; benkyoo MO suki de wa nāi ‘Sophomore year his GRADES are bad; he is not fond of STUDY, either’ (SA 2652.118b—the meaning is ... seiseki ga wārūku mo āru; ... benkyoo ga suki de mo nāi). See § 5.4. Perhaps loose reference will account for the highlighting in this sentence: Kōoti ni sünde iru hitōbito ga oōi no de, Betonamu no tokusyu-būtai no heīsi-tati ni kao MO yōku nite iru ‘The people living in the highlands are numerous and (in) their faces much resemble the troops of the Vietnamese special forces’ (SA 2673.23c).

Loose reference may be the best explanation also for such examples as Migi ni mo itta yöö ni ... ‘As I have (already) said above’; cf. ... migi ni yooyaku mo sita hoohoo no syatei o hirogeru to tōmo(’ni), hoohoo to sitē no konpon-sei hūhen-sei o mi-kiwametai no de āru ‘While widening the range of the methods that I have (already) outlined above, at the same time I wish to ascertain their essentiality and universality as methods’ (Morishige 165—yooyaku is a verbal noun, and the nuclear focus is masked by ellipsis: yooyaku [si] mo sita). In the following sentence, it is unclear whether loose reference is a better explanation than simple emphasis: Sābakun(’ni) no naka no tokai desu kara, dōoro mo suite ‘rū de yoo yoo ’It [= Phoenix, Arizona] is a city in the middle of the desert, so the STREETS (even/too?) should be empty’ (SA 2664.96e).

Elsewhere I suggest that we might account for the two principal meanings of N mó by different types of ellipsis: N mo [māta(’)] ‘also’ versus N [māde] mo ‘even’ or perhaps N [dē] mo ‘even’. Norito Fujioka has suggested to me that a third meaning should be differentiated from the latter: ‘all of (a quantity)’, a meaning that we could perhaps account for as an ellipsis of N [sae] mo as in iti-doru [sae] mo ‘even a dollar’.

A componential treatment of the meaning of mó might take a form somewhat like this:

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MO [undifferentiated]
  aggregative
    mo [māta(’)]

  emphatic

  individuating
    [māde] mo

  quantitative
    [sae] mo

  [dē] mo
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But there would seem to be some overlap in the usage of māde and sae, so that I am uncertain whether the elliptical interpretations can be maintained as anything more than

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when you have the time’ the highlighting adds a conventional touch of modesty to the invitation. On the literary abbreviation N ni mo āre ≈ N ni māre, see p. 962.
suggestive. The individuating mó will sometimes best translate as ‘the very’ or ‘itself/oneself’ as in inōtī mo kākete ‘at the risk of my very life’. And sometimes the appropriate translation is the unstressed indefinite article (singular ‘a’, plural ‘söne’): ... to iū no ga kyootuu-iken datta ga, naka ni wa tugi no yōo na kōe mó [ ] ‘It was the consensus that ... but in the midst there were some voices [heard] as follows’ (SA 2673.110c—the ellipted predicate might be áru or átta or déta or kikoeta).

The view of wa and mó presented here can be visualized as a sort of seesaw or teeter-totter, with the focus particle at the fulcrum:

Notice that usually what occurs after wa is NEW information (Kore wa enpitu desu—sore WA pén desu ‘This is a pencil—that is a pen’) and what occurs after mó is OLD information (Kore wa enpitu desu—sore MO enpitu desu ‘This is a pencil—that is a pencil, too’).

2.3.3. Other particles of focus: máde, sáe, súra, dání; sika; náráde-wa.

In the meaning ‘even’ sáe is a stronger equivalent of mó, and sáe mó is used for still heavier emphasis. The meaning ‘even’ is also conveyed by máde or máde mó, and we might consider accounting for the two principal meanings of mó (‘also’ and ‘even’) by saying that mó ‘even’ is really a shortening of máde mó; a similar explanation is needed—even more obviously—to detach máde, ‘even’ from máde, ‘up to’, an approximate synonym of the allative marker é. Thus we would be attributing all instances of ‘even’ to an underlying máde mó[1] that is frequently abbreviated to máde and even more frequently abbreviated to mó. The suggestion is not intended to be historically realistic, and it could be upheld only to explain mó attached to nuclear adjuncts; the occurrence of mó after gerunds (-té mó) would be treated as a special case of simple mó even though the meaning would seem to be more ‘even’ than ‘also’. But the mó of -té mó is something of an oddity, in any event; the force of the polarization with wa (as in -té wa) is probably responsible for the appearance of mó where we would have reason to expect something like tó as in the literary opposition of suré-ba to suré-do, from a more abstract suré’”-pa/-to as shown later (pp. 87, 89). Compare the colloquial sit’átte =sité mó (15.11).

Examples of máde as a focus particle: ... taityuu-kánkei kaizen ni kóo MADE tikará(”) o irerú no wa ... ‘That all this stress is laid upon improving relations with China ...’ (SA 2668.118c); Burúutusu, o-mae MÁDE ka ‘Et ûo, Brute?’—also (SA 2668.98a) quoted as Burúutusu yo’, o-mae máo ka; Šsosite, kikoo MADE MO kawatta “Then even the climate changed” (SA 2660.12a); Itží wa huttobóoru o tanosimu hodó NI MADE kaihuku sita Bureibáagú-si datta ga ... ‘At one time [South African heart-transplant patient] Mr. Blai-berg had recovered even to the point of enjoying football but ...’ (SA 2641.118)—on the truncated identification sentence, see § 3.10a; Amerika dé wa konpyúutta ga, tūi ni daidokoro NI MADE háiru ‘In America the computer at last gets even [or: all the way] into the kitchen’ (SA 2660.21); Hurú no naka DE MADE dōkusyo(””) suru ‘He even reads
while in his bath’ (SA 2551.71c); Utí DÉ MADE hón o ýómu hituyoo wa nái ‘There’s no necessity to read books even at home’; Moo hitóto wa, Asida ñan názo wa, konaídá áru syuppan-syukugákai no séki DE MADE saigun-bi ron o buppanásíte(‘) óaráte ‘For another, Mr Ashida I believe recently was arguing for rearmament even at a party celebrating the publication of a new book’ (Tk 2.244a); Básu ga áru no ni, tákusíi DE MADE ikanákute mo ii ‘We need not go by taxi when there’s a bus’.

Although ordinarily the case markers gá and ó will be suppressed, in written Japanese you will find both máde ga (also máde mo ga) and ó made; notice the difference in order:

Koomei ga kawátá ka to itte, dentoo MADE GA kawaru hazu arimasén ‘Just because they’ve changed the name of the school it doesn’t follow that all the traditions, too, will change’ (SA 2665.127e); Hooka-gurúpu roku-ní no utí, yo-nín MADE GA osanái toki ni tìtí ya háha o nakusi, keihúbo ni sodateráreka kinodóku no katei-zíyoo no náká de seityoo si, seikatu site irú ‘Of the six in the arson group, fully four had lost father or mother when very young and had grown up living in the pitiful family circumstances of being raised by step-parents’ (SA 2652.121b); ... yako sanman-mai urete irú mae-uri no nánà-wari MADE GA dantai-kyaku da sóo da kara ‘...Since up to seventy percent of the advance sales of around thirty thousand tickets are to customers in organized groups ...’ (SA 2671.111d); ... ús-sai ya ní-sai no akenbóó MADE MO GA ... [útatta] ‘even babies one or two years old ... [sang]’ (SA 2654.58b); B [Bii] kun no sono táido ga, myóó ni zisin ári-ge na úé ni, hoka no kodomó-táti máde mo, B kun no ii-bun ga mótto-mo da to iu háu ni unazúkú(‘) ‘Young B’s manner was wonderfully self-assured, so that even the other children, too, nodded in agreement that what he was saying made sense’ (SA 2830.98bc).

And, with the object marker suppressed: ... kensa-iínkai [o] MADE mókete ... ‘setting up even an investigating committee’ (SA 2668.123d)—loose reference, so a better translation would be ‘going so far as to set up an investigating committee’.

Focus in the following examples is applied to a mutative conversion of a nominal sentence (dá becoming ni + náru, §9.1.11): ‘... “Yoake” no koohii(‘) ‘to iu káisí, hitóto no syakai-teki ryuuukoo ni MADE náta ‘... the lyrics of “Coffee at dawn” even became a social fad’ (SA 2654.58b); ... daigaku no owari góoro kara hutori-haze, nanázyuyu háti-kiro ni MADE náta ‘1 started getting fat about the end of college and got up to 78 kilograms’ (SA 2651.16c).

Máde can occur before or after case particles other than gá and ó: Kodomo MÁDE NI kureta ‘You gave some to even the child’ means much the same thing as Kodomo NÍ MÁDE kureta ‘You gave some even to the child’. But a time word + máde ní often means ‘by the

21. Yet as a postadnominal (§ 13.2) máde can be FOLLOWED by ó: ... zíinzi kara keei no bänpan(‘) ni itáru máde o kanzen ni kontórooru site ita ‘They had perfect control over everything from personnel matters all the way to overall business operations’ (SA 2689.17a). But this is the set-closer allative (§3.7a, p. 209), also found in ... máde o mo: ... sasi-simesite irú zíízito máde o mo dooítu to kanááru kóto wa dekinai no dé wa nái ka ‘surely one can hardly go so far as to consider as identical the facts shown’ (Kokugogaku 23.83).
time) and a time word + ni made means 'even at (the time)'; yó-zi MADE NI dekiru 'it will be done by four o'clock', ása yó-zi NI MADE kane ga naru 'the bell rings even at four in the morning'.

Even when ni is used to mark the underlying agent of a passive, replacing the ga marker of the unconverted active sentence, made can follow (as well as precede?): Syoonen-mánɡa NI MADE koogai-món dai ga tori-ageraru génzai, ... 'Today when the problem of pollution is taken up even by children's comics ...' (SA 2688.36a). In Okutsu's example Íkura komátte mo aitu ni made wa tasúkete morai-taku nái 'However much of a fix I may be in, I don't want to have HIM help me' the subdued focus (wa) is used to anticipate the negative.

Place word + máde would seem to have at least two interpretations: one is a simple equivalent to the allative é or ni so that Asoko máde iku can mean just 'I will go over there' (= Asoko é/ni iku); the second means 'all the way to' or 'even to' and thus might be regarded as an optional reduction from é made, so that Asoko máde iku can also mean 'I will go even (or all the way) over there' = Asoko é made iku. Dóko máde mo means both dóko mo 'everywhere/nowhere' and 'to everywhere/anywhere/nowhere' = dóko é (de) mo.

Apparently 'máde made 'even until' never occurs, being replaced by (PLACE) é/ni made and by (TIME) máde mo. But kará máde 'even from' (and máde kará?) is possible: ... Toóhoku ya Kánsái(-) kará made hwán ga osi-kákete kita káizyoo ... 'the auditorium to which fans had come crowding in all the way from the Northeast and Kánsái even' (SA 2674.94a).

Like dake, máde is sometimes used as if a postadnominal, probably a reduction of S no máde: osoku nárú MADE 'until it gets to be dark'; ... toden ni notta MÁDE wa yókatta ga, ... 'It was all right as far as managing to get on the streetcar, but (then) ...' (Shibata 1961.180); ... sinbun-kiisyá wa, sore o tyuuzitu ni hoodoo sita MADE no kótó daroo 'the journalists will have done no more than report it faithfully' (SA 2662.28a). See §13.2 for more examples. Go-sankoo máde ni 'for your information' may belong here by way of ellipsis: go-sankoo [ni nárú] máde ni 'being to the extent of your considering', perhaps with the infinitive of the copula used in an elliptical mutative conversion itself: Go-sankoo [ni nárú] máde ni [site] 'making it to the extent of your considering'. See also V-ru máde = V-(a)nai uti, pp. 387-8.

The expression ... ni itáru máde occurs in written Japanese as an equivalent of simple máde 'until'; all the way to; to the point where' after time and place words and after directly nominalized sentences (§14.6), as well as in tandem with kará (cf. §3.7a).

The particle sáé<sup>22</sup> <sáé>is said to be a variant of the verb infinitive só[p]e 'adding on'. If that is the correct identification, we should perhaps call só[p]e the variant and assume that the original /a/ assimilated to the -p-, which later weakened and dropped. The etymology is supported by ámari-sáé 'moreover', usually abbreviated to ámássáé(-); the form ámatusáé looks like a reading pronunciation of the abbreviated form, spelled ...tu-sa ... in kana.<sup>23</sup> In any event, if sáé was originally a verb infinitive, that would account for the

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22. Also pronounced sée: ... nnō kore de yome sée kúryaa [= yome sée kúreba] ii n da 'now if only the bride will arrive!' (Okitsu 1.466).

23. K 1966.182 calls ámatusáé a "mistake" brought about by the failure of earlier orthography to distinguish the use of kana tu for -q- (doubling of oral consonant) from its regular use for the syllable /tu/.
§2.3.3. Other particles of focus: máde, sáe, súra, dání; sika; nárade-wa

freedom with which mó attaches to it. (Apparently *sáe wa does not occur.) The etymology suggests that the basic meaning of sáe is ‘additionally, in addition, what’s more, on top of everything else’ as in the example Miti ga kurai ué ni áme sae hurí-dasita ‘The road was dark and on top of that it started to rain, too’. A more frequent meaning is one of analogus entailment (‘by mentioning this all others follow or all else follows’), and the usual translation is ‘even’. In these two meanings, sáe can be followed by mó or replaced by the more literary synonym súra {mó}. But in a third meaning ‘(if) just’, only sáe can be used; neither sáe mo nor súra {mó} will be accepted. In the third meaning, the particle sáe is used to narrow the focus on an adjunct—or on the nucleus itself (§5.2)—in anticipation of the provisionalization (§9.3.1) of the nucleus: Hima sáe áreba ‘If there just be time’, Kusuri sáe nómeba ‘If you just take your medicine’; Káre to sae hanásérebá ii ‘If I can just talk with him it’ll be OK’; Anáta kara sae itte kurerébá káre wa kikú desyoo ‘If YOU just say it, surely he will listen’; Káre no ié e sae ikéba wakáru desyoo ‘If we just go to his house we can find out’. That such expressions are slightly stilted follows not only from the fact that sáe is less than thoroughly colloquial but also from the fact that the provisional itself is uncommon in modern speech except for certain set constructions—being replaced, for its other uses, by various other forms as explained in §9.3: the subdused gerund (-té wa §9.2.2), the conditional (-tára §9.4), or the conjunctionalization -ru to (§17.2). These replacements can NOT be used in the phrases translated ‘(if) just’. Examples of ò sae.24 Rúpo no naiyoo wa watasi no yóó na, súde ni zyuu-súu-nen mo seisín-ka o senmon ni site iru ningen Ô SAE odorokásérú ni taru [= tarirú] monó de aru ‘The content of the report is enough to startle even a person such as me, one who has specialized in psychiatry for more than ten years’ (SA 2673.42a); Ômatúsáe(‘), Sugáwara wa káta o iitámete, yakyuu Ô SAE akiriméneba naránu mi to náta ‘Moreover Sugawara injured his shoulder and had to give up even baseball’ (KKK 3.55). Sono ten Ô SAE sirábéreba mondai wa kaiketu suru ‘If you just check that aspect the problem will be solved’; Iyarása-sa Ô SAE kan-üziró kotó ga áru ‘I sometimes even feel a disgust’; ... baai ni yotté wa haradaátá-sa Ô SAE oboérú kotó ga áru monó da ‘... on occasion it is natural to remember a feeling of irritation, too’ (Maeda 1962.196).

Although typically ga will drop when sáe is added, I have elicited examples such as Tanaka san sae ga [= máde ga] soo iú n desu kara ‘Well since even Mr Tanaka says so ...’; and I have come across a few examples of sae mó ga: Getemono ‘izyoo no getemono de áru zinniku SAE MO GA, tyósa ni yoréba tokubeto no kotó de nái ‘Even human flesh—more repulsive yet than other repulsive things to eat—is nothing special [according] to the author’ (SA 2679.105a—most dictionaries have missed this common meaning of getemono ‘delicacies generally considered repulsive’); Sore SAE MO GA ... ‘Even that ...’ (Maeda 1961.42:3); Sore ‘dókoro ka kaki-simesarete iru kagiri de wa, “Kore kará no keigo” zisin SAE MO GA, wareware no ití-mi no yóó de wa nái ka ‘Quite to the contrary, even [the official publication] “The future of Keigo” would seem to be a party to our ideas’ (Maeda 1962.179): “Surángu’ ... to iú syó SAE MO GA ... to nóbete iru ‘The book “Slang” actually even says “ ... ’” (Maeda 1962.185). But *ga sae and *sáe o apparently are not used.

24. Although sáe is normally attached to a preceding particle without a juncture and thereby loses its inherent accent, a juncture is sometimes inserted in order to lend special emphasis to sáe; in such versions, an accent on the syllable before the juncture will disappear and the juncture itself will then vanish, so that you hear kore o sáe (from kore o [i] sáe) rather than kore o sae (from kore o sáe).
The sequence お さま is classified with お さ and お そ as "literary" by Ishigaki (Ig 18) who also gives examples for お すり (see below) and お こう. For more examples of お こう and examples of こう が お さま, see §2.3.3a.

It may be possible, by recycling, to get a sentence like (?) Kusuri MÔ SAE nomimasen 'I won't even take medicine either' or (?) Kusuri o nómu kótó MO SAE kyozetu suru 'I refuse to take even medicine, too'—cf. Kusuri o nómu kótó SAE MO kyozetu suru 'I refuse even to take medicine'; we might even therefore run across something like (??) Kusuri MÔ SAE MO kyozetu suru 'I refuse even to take medicine, either/too', but I have no examples.

Some instances of で さま are focused case (instrumental—náihu de sae kíreba ... 'if you just cut it with a knife ...', or locative—Nihon-go wa koko dée sae osiete imasu 'Japanese is taught here too'); others, given in §9.2.2, represent a focus applied to the copula gerund, including special uses of で to mark the subject—Uses 4 and 9 in §2.2. Some of the latter examples (Use 9) are reminiscent of the use of ない sae to mark the focused possessor in a possessive or quasi-possessive sentence (§3.5) such as Watasi ni sae wakárú n desu kara 'Why, even I understand it'.

A literary equivalent of さま {mo} is すら {mo}. Henderson suggests an etymology that would make すら an abbreviation of する nara 'if it be doing/considering';²⁵ that led me at one time to feel that すら mo probably would not occur, since nára could only be followed by ba, a variant of wá, though I found no instance of する ba. But then I came across a fair number of examples of すら mo: Simoda no gootoo —ziken wa, sinbin ni sura mo dénakatta 'The Shimoda robbery didn't appear in the newspaper, even' (Ig 68); Sikáshi, mohaya sono 'totemo' to iu kotoa sura mo sitabi ni nátte kíte ... 'But by now even the word "totemo" has gradually subsided and ...' (Ôno 1966.15); Músíro sono sooi kara, sorézore no zidai ya syákaí no tokusei o miru kótó sura mo dekíru «rasii 'It seems rather as though from those differences we could even see the peculiarities of each age and society' (Ôno 1966.77); ... sore ni sura mo hóobre to iu kótó ga áte ... 'even in that there is what is called pious fraud' (Ôno 1966.98); ... Syóowá' sánzyuu suunén-kan no bûken sura mo yomikonasí-kíréna zyootai ni o-i-kómi, ... '... drives them [= young students] into a state where they can't make out even the documents of the (past) thirty-odd years of the Shóowa era, and ...' (Ôno 1966.238); Sasáyaka na sizikú sura, nagare-yukéba úmi to nárú. Aí ni tóiski wazá sura mo, tí o ba kámi no kuni to nasán 'Even a tiny drop will flow along to become the sea; even little acts of love, too, will turn the earth into a land of gods' (KKK 3.61—tóiski = tóiskai, nasán = nasámú = nasóo, literary for colloquial násu daróo); Kaízyoo kará wa, Nísíoka hákase no kóo híinan("') ni táí-site sura mo, sanseí tó mo hantai tó mo, isi-hyoózi o suru hitó wa inakatta 'From the meeting (hall) there was no one to voice an opinion even with respect to this criticism made by Dr. Nishioka (SA 2650.121c—for すら and すら mo after a full-fledged gerund, see §9.2.2); ... o-tagai no ziyúü (sei-teki nó sura mo) o sonyóo suru kótó ... 'respecting each other's freedom (even sexual)' (SA 2672.118d)—for sei-teki [ nó] nó where you would expect sei-teki ná no, see p. 763);
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... konna rikutu ga makari-toorēba, seisin-syoogāisy e no īryoo(‘) wa óroka, ziken sūra mo ubaware-kanenai daroo ‘... if this sort of argument prevails, the psychologically disturbed will inevitably be robbed of even their human rights, to say nothing of their medical treatment’ (SA 2670.33c).

Still more surprising are the examples of sūra ga in KKK 3.61-2: Nihón yori sirananai warewa sūra ga ... yomimono de atta ‘Even we who know of nothing other than Japan enjoyed the reading material that ...’ (the sentence involves some kind of predication); ... seiyoo-bunmei—sore o umi-dásita hónke hommoto no seiyō-zin sūra ga hotōndo moteamasi-kākete iru monó—o ... ‘Western civilization—something that even occidentals of the homeland that gave birth to it find almost unmanageable’.

Classical examples of sūra [w]o and sūra ni are listed in dictionaries (e.g. MKZ). But there are also modern examples of ő sūra: Nagái nagái aida watashi-tati wa kokyuū ő sūra tomete ita yōo ni omō ‘For a long long time it seemed even our breathing was stopped’ (Ig 18). The phrase marked by ő sūra can be thematized: Nittoo wázuka yonhyakū-en, Sono yón-wari o sura byooin wa pin-hane site iru to iu ‘The daily allowance [per patient] is a mere four hundred yen. And even forty percent of that, they say, is raked off by the hospital’ (SA 2672.26d). And sūra apparently will follow other case particles: Huransu, Itaria, Igirisu nómi narazu, Nisi-Doitū DE SURA koo-tekii kīgyōo(‘) wa hizyoo ni ōōi ‘Not only [in] France, Italy, and England, but even in West Germany public enterprises are quite numerous’ (SA 2684.106d—locative).

Examples of sūra [mo] after verb gerund and of sūra after copula gerund will be found in §9.2.2; examples of sūra after a quotation (tó sūra) will be found in §21. Examples of sūra [mo] used for nuclear focus (V-i sūra suru, A-kú sūra āru, N dé sūra āru) will be found on p. 324; for other conversions, see p. 330.

The sequence A-ku sūra will occur as the result of focus applied to a transitive mutative conversion (A-ku ... suruū): Koin no iizi-warú ga kāette Sadamura o tanōsiku sūra site ita ‘Koino’s ill temper actually served to delight Sadamura’ (Ig 68).

Another literary equivalent of sāe [mo], less common today than sūra [mo], is dāni [mo]. In the literary language, there are two principal meanings. One is rather close to sāe, sūra, or dé mo and translates as ‘even’; the sentence often continues with a NEGATIVE predicate: Hikari ya āru to miru ni hōtaru no hikari dāni nashi [= Hikari ga āru ka to omotte miru no hōtaru no hikari sae mo nāi] ‘When she looked hoping for a light there was not even the light of a firefly’ (Taketori-monogatari, Ishii 1958.78). The second meaning is similar to the colloquial expression (sēmete ...) dakē de mo ‘at least’: the sentence often continues with a HORTATIVE or IMPERATIVE predicate, as in the often cited example from the Kokin-shū: Hanā(n) no irō wa kasumi ni kōmetsu misezu to mo [= misenakute mo], kā(‘) ő dāni nusūme ‘Though the flower will not show its colors hidden in the mist, steal at least its fragrance!’ (Notice the sequence ô dāni, of which a number of examples can be found in the dictionaries.)

The two colloquial examples of dāni offered in Henderson 70 are questionable. In the first example ima dāni probably should be imada(-)ni, the literary adverb imada = máda ‘still’ + essive ni; and ittā n dāni in the second example must be a dialect version of ittā no ni or ittā no nā no ni. But the particle dāni will sometimes appear in a colloquial setting: ... ikko dāni sīina ‘take no notice whatsoever’ (Tk 2.81): Koko ni wa yūmoa no henrin dāni gozaimasēn nē ‘There is not even a glimpse of humor here’ (SA 2658.126a)—perhaps
a more stylized translation is called for: 'Scant trace of humor see we here'). In the following examples what is written as /dani/ means something like dā[kē] ni, as I have indicated by my apostrophe in the romanization: ...soozo suru da' ni ... 'at the very notion' (Fn 406a): Reien no suramuku-ka(-), omou da' ni hada-samūi 'The very thought of a memorial park turning into a slum gives one the shivers' (SA 2648.44).

In older Japanese /dámo/ appears as an abbreviation of dā[ni] mo, with a meaning something like dē mo or dē sae mo. In modern texts the form will turn up in clichés like ... ᵇikko da' mo aetaerareni 'won't pay the least attention' (SA 2676.139a) and musoo dá' mo sinākatta 'I hardly dreamed': ... musoo dá' mo hu-kānō na kōtō de aru 'it is something impossible beyond dreams' (Maeda 1962.90).

The particle sikā(-) 'except for; [not] any other/more than' is atonic for many speakers, who say kore sikā 'except for this' and kāre sikā 'except for him'; other speakers treat the particle as prototonic, saying kore sika and kāre sika. But some of these speakers will shift the accent back onto the last syllable of an atonic noun (kōrē sika) as a side effect of unvoicing the vowel of the first syllable of the particle. In writing example sentences we will generally show only the atonic version.

The colloquial variants kē-kā(-) and the Tōkyō variants sīkya(-) and kē-kyā(-) are similar.26 There is also an old-fashioned synonym hōka as in Koko ni wa sāidaa hōka utte imasē 'They sell nothing but "cider" here' (Hozaka 338). Hōka is also used with the affirmative to mean 'besides'; it is perhaps to be treated as a written-style ellipsis ... {no} hōka: Seisi-kōozyoo HOKA ikutu ka no koozyōo(-) ga āri, ... 'Besides a paper factory there are a number of other factories, and ...' (SA 2649.92b). Below we mention the use of sīka(-) as a synonym of the postadnominal hōka.

Si'ka(-) is peculiar in that it is always followed later in the sentence by a negativization of the nucleus of the adjunct to which it is attached. As explained below, for this purpose "negative" includes rhetorical questions and damē da 'is unsatisfactory, no good' (but not iyā da or kīrai da 'dislikes'): Kono hōn sika damē da = Kono hōn dākē ii 'Only this book will do'. *N sika da is ungrammatical even when embedded in a negative: *N sika da to wa iwanai, *N sika no hazu zya/ga nai, *N sika no tumori zya nai; *N sika zya nai is also rejected, in favor of N de sika nai (§9.2.2).

Under certain circumstances the negative can be delayed and put on a predicate later than the one to which the sika-marked adjunct is attached: ... sī-go sika kākū nōoryoku(-) ga nākatta 'had the ability to write only seven words' (Ōkubo in Ōno 1967.128); Watakusidōmo wa hudan Nihon-gō sika tukatta kōtō ga nāku, hōka no kōtobā o tukatta kōtō ga arimasēn 'We have usually only used Japanese and have never used any other language' (K in Ōno 1967.11); Watasi sika kūrū tumori wa arimasēn = Watasi dākē kūrū tumori desu 'Only I am intending to come'. Apparently all such cases involve the grammar of possession, regardless of whether the sika-marked adjunct is the possessor or (as in the first example) an object of the sentence adnominalized to the possessed.27 Other examples: Namae

26. The double-k reduces automatically after n: Go-nin ka kōnaka tā 'Only five persons came'; do not confuse this with the question particle kā. An example of sikya(-) from the speech of the novelist Shishi Bunroku: ... bōkū(-) n tōkō zya, hitōri sīkya inai kedo mo, ... 'at my place there's only one (daughter), but ...' (Tk 3.34ab).

27. See §3.11.2 (p. 265) for an unexpected inversion of a specificative genitive in which the
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sika káku hituyoo wa nái = Nami da dake¹ káku hituyoo ga áru ‘It is only necessary to write one’s name’; (?) Okane sika morau mondai wa nái = O-kane dake¹ morau mondai ga áru ‘The only problem is to get the money’. An example with the quasi-possessive grammar of a potential: ... Syóowa¹ zyuukyúû-ten no gógatu ‘irai, Tookyoo de, Tookyoo-Sín bun sika yuukan o mó tu kóto ga dekinaku nátta no da ga ... ‘From May of 1944 it got so that in Tókyó only Tókyó Shimbun could have an evening edition’ (Kb 244a).

With multiple negatives (§8.3), the meaning is hard to grasp: Namae sika kákanai kóto ga áru = Nami da dake¹ káku kóto ga áru ‘I sometimes write only my name’ is clear enough, but it is questionable whether the meaning of (?) Nami da dake¹ kóto wa nái comes through as the expected equivalent of Nami da dake¹ káku kóto wa nái ‘I never write only my name’ (better said as Nami da dake wa ... in any event) or as a tongue-slip for the simpler sentence in either of its versions Nami da dake¹ kóto ga áru or Nami da dake¹ kóto wa nái.

A sentence containing ‘except for’ + NEGATIVE means the same thing as ‘only’ + AFFIRMATIVE, and that can be expressed in Japanese by ... dake² + AFFIRMATIVE, or by the colloquial synonyms of dake that seem to be somewhat restricted in their occurrence: kiri or more commonly kkiri (which automatically reduces to kiri after n); variants kkisi and girí are also reported. Though there are two ways to translate English ‘only’ + AFFIRMATIVE, namely dake² + AFFIRMATIVE and sika¹ + NEGATIVE, there is only one way to translate English ‘only’ + NEGATIVE and that is with dake² + NEGATIVE: Kore dake² motánai ‘lacks possessing only this’ cannot be said as ‘Kore sika mótu.

There are at least two anomalous types of ‘only’ sentence in which either sika¹ or dake² can be used with no difference in logical meaning: N ni súgfnai ‘is nothing more than N’ and métta ni sinai ‘seldom does’, both of which contain formal negatives with attenuated meanings. Thus N ni sika suginai, N dake² ni suginai, and N dake² ni sika suginai all mean ‘it is nothing more than just N’ and differ only in subtle emphasis. Both métta ni sika awánai and (‘)métta ni dake² awánai mean ‘we meet but seldom’; but the latter version is rejected by many speakers. Notice that Sensêi to sika hanásite wa ikénai translates as ‘You must not speak with anyone but the teacher’ and means virtually the same thing as Sensêi to dake hanásânakerera ikénai ‘You must speak only with the teacher’.

While dake² can be applied to more than one adjunct of a single predicate, sika¹ requires a negative predicate for EACH occurrence. Note the resulting possibilities:

Watasi fâ ga² sika hón o yómánaí = Watasi fâ ga² hón o yómú ‘Only I read the book.’
Watasi fâ ga² wa hón [o] sika yómánaí = Watasi fâ ga² wa hón dake² [o] yómú ‘I read only the book’.

*Watasi fâ ga² sika hón sika yómánaí → Watasi fâ ga² hón dake² [o] yómú ‘Only I read only the book = I’m the only one who reads only the book’.

Similarly, with multiparous sentences (§3.11):
Zóó fâ ga² sika hana ga nágaku nái = Zóó fâ ga² hana ga nágai ‘Only the elephant has a long nose’.
Zóó fâ ga² wa hana fâ ga² sika nágaku nái = Zóó fâ ga² wa hana dake² [ga] nágai ‘The elephant has only his nose long’.

specifier is focused with sika, whereby N₁ ga N₂ sika nái converts to N₂ sika N₁ ga nái ‘there is no N₁ but N₂’.
*Zoo ga* ga sika hana ga ga sika nāgaku nai → Zōo dakē [ga] hana da kē [ga] nagai

'Only the elephant has only his nose long = The elephant is the only one that has his nose as the only long thing about him'.

More examples of sika(−): Kono otokō wa Dēnbē no kodomo tō sika kangaerānai

*We can only think that this man is Dembē’s son* (SA 2671.107c); Saikin wa kore-gurai sika tan ōsima(−) wa nai desu nē ‘Lately there’s nothing else anywhere near so enjoyable as this’ (SA 2662.97c); Māiban(−) no yōō ni hossa ga ōkite mo, senaka o tatāku ēurai sika tē wa nai ‘About all you can do is thump [the child] on the back when the nightly attack [of asthma] occurs’ (SA 2649.42c); Wata ni kotō o o-tetudai-san ‘gurai ni sika omōte inai n desu yō ‘They think of me as nothing but a housemaid, I tell you’ (SA 2671.130c—an older lady complaining of life with her son’s family); Naru-hodo, onnā tte sono tēido(−) nī sika kangaerārete inai no ka to omōtta n desu kō ‘I felt “When it comes to women do they really think no more of them than that?”’, you see, but …’ (SA 2672.61);

Hyakusyō ni sika dekīnai hyakunen-senō do ‘It is one of those hundred-year wars that only the farmer is capable of’ (SA 2724.7).

For da ke there is also a literary synonym nómi, which you will sometimes hear in clichés, as in N nómi-nārazu = N dāke de/zyā naku(te) ‘not only N but …’. In written materials you will also find nómi used for da kē as a postadnominal (§ 13.2) as in this example: “Kōnō wa, itu atumaroo ka?” to, saikai o yaku-sūru nómi no utia wase ni nätte simatta ‘We ended up arranging just to promise to have another meeting, saying “When will we get together next?”’ (SA 2652.64a).

And kōki is sometimes used as a synonym of postadnominal da kē also: Kore māde ni … suu-hon ni tyoi-yaku de syu tuen site i ru kiri dā kara, ninkī no hodō mo, māda-māda mitī-sūdā dā ‘Up to now he has only appeared with bit parts in a few films … so the extent of his appeal is still very much an unknown quantity’ (SA 2662.134); Gozyū nanāsai no roozin(−) wa hyakusyōō desita to kōtāera kiri de atta ‘The 57-year-old man [a prisoner of war] would answer nothing but “I was a farmer”’ (SA 2647.88c): Ata ni, keiba nante–iti-dō, itta kōto ga āru kī, pāpa ni turerarette ‘Horseracing is, uh, something I’ve been to only once—with my daddy’ (Fn 292a); Mizu o nómu kī dō monō wa taberārēnai n desu ‘He takes nothing but water, unable to eat anything’.

But kōki and nómi cannot always be substituted for da ke, and sometimes māde is a closer synonym: Sore ga honto no myūyūzukaru de, ima-māde no Nihō ni wa nakkata dāke (= māde, *kiri* no kotō desyō ‘That is a real musical, something that we just haven’t had in Japan before’ (SA 2664.36c). For -ta kōkiri and -i-kōki, see §9.1.7.

When kōki is attached to kore, sore, and are, the expected meanings can be replaced by derived senses, and the particle is sometimes pronounced girī, so that these phrases are perhaps best thought of as lexically derived adverbs in all occurrences: kore-[k]kīri[−]girī ‘this (much) only; this time only, never again’ with further extensions in Kore-kirī no hanasi da ‘This is (just) between you and me’ (Kenkyusha); sore-[k]kīri, -girī ‘just that (much); (never) since then’ — Mō do zuu-sūuen mukasi no hanasi. Sore-kīri awánakatta ‘It’s (about something that happened) over ten years ago now. Since then I haven’t seen him at all’ (Tk 2.71); are-[k]kīri, -girī ‘(never) since then’. These expressions can be followed by sika: Bātăa wa mōo kore-girī sika nakkata no ‘This is all the butter there was’ (Hozaka 1960.341).

The expressions … dāke[−]atte ni ‘as might be expected (of); if only because (of being)’ can be applied to a noun or, as a postadnominal (§13.2), to an adnominalized sentence. Examples can be found in Kenkyusha.
In the spoken language dake and sika (−) are to some extent mutually exclusive with the case markers ga and ō but you will run across dake ga and dake o at least in written Japanese; dake wa occurs freely in speech, but "sika (−) mo/wa is unacceptable. I have no example of (?)dake mo and Okutsu 1974 says it is ungrammatical. (Examples of o sika and sika ga are given below.) When dake occurs together with a case particle other than ga/ō the order seems to be optional (dake ni or ni dake), presumably with a slight difference in meaning. And the same freedom holds for dake sika (below), so that for 'a letter comes only from mother' you can say Hāha dake sika kara tegami ga kōnai, Hāha dake sika kara tegami ga kōnai, or Hāha kara dake sika tegami ga kōnai.

I have been unable to elicit *ga dake (−) but here are elicited examples of dake ga/o and of ō dake (−): Pāsu no ōru hito dake ga hairemusu 'Only those who have passes can enter'; Pāsu no ōru hito dake o irete kudasai 'Admit only those who have passes'; Pāsu no ōru hito o dake (−) irete to iu no wa mondai zya nai ka 'Isn't it a problem admitting only those with passes?' In unelicited examples I have found only dake ga/o: Kore dake ga tanosimī(−) [da] 'This is my only pleasure' (SA 2662.97c); Okaasan-ś̄a dake ga uti(−) ni iru hiruma no zikan ni, sore o motte korārete mo săigo made zikkūri ōyū okaasan-ś̄a wa sukunai 'Even though having it (= a student behavior pledge to sign) brought during the day when only the mothers are home, there are few mothers who read it through carefully to the end' (SA 2655.39e); Gurūpu no naka ni süu-nin(−) no onnā-no-kō iru to, sēkusu dake o mē-ate ni, otoōko no nu ūgen no atamárū 'When there are a number of girls in the group, male hippies will join with only sex in mind' (SA 2650.105c− {site} is understood after mē-ate ni, see p. 470); Zyōn no kao dake o utusita tanpen-eiga "Sumai'uru" ... 'the short film "Smile" that showed nothing but John's face' (SA 2670.134); Āru kōoi o okonai, soo iu sonzai no sīkata dake o kakunin site iru 'All that is recognized is the way such a creature does a certain act' (SA 2681.59e).

Although *ga sika does not occur, there are examples of o sika: Heitai o sika osieta kotō wa nai 'I have taught none but soldiers'; Kooohi o sika nomānakatta kara 'I only had coffee': Sankiti wa, sono aida de mo, Hānsuke ni sono yokogao o sika mise-tuzukenākatta 'Sankichi, even during that time (= all the while), continued to show only his profile to Hānsuke' (Kb 194a). And I have even found an example of dake o sika: Sono yōo na yoohoo dake o sika motānā itīgūn(−) no go 'a group of words that have only that sort of use'. But more commonly the o drops: Sore [o] sika kangaete 'masēn kara nē 'For that's all they ever think about' (SA 2671.21b); ... hutakoto-mikōto sika hanasānai keredo mo ... 'says but a few words, yet ...' (Tk 3.38a). And *si ka o is rejected, though I have found an example of sika ga that is apparently acceptable, if a bit strange: Sākusa(−) no mē ni sibārēte iru n desu kara, sākusan(−) ni mi-yaburete zīnbutu bākari sika ga dēte kōnai 'Since they are tied to the author's eyes, there come forth nought but the characters that are seen into by the author' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.221).

Examples of sika after other case markers: Māda Tanaka san ni sika hanāsite arimasēn 'Mr Tanaka is the only one that has been spoken to (= told) yet' (dative). Sikāsī, yōoo de aru aida wa, dāre mo oyyā to si (−) no hūbu to sika de-awanai 'But while a baby everyone relates only with his father and mother [in their role] as parents' (SA 2684.120c− reciprocal tō); Itī-dō de i kara, benzyō de sika otsuitā kībun ni nāreiā yōo na iē kara hanārete sūnde mi-tāi 'At least once, I'd like to try living away from home where the toilet is the only place you can feel relaxed' (SA 2672.122ab− locative de); ... oozēi no ba no nākē de sika tanosimēnai ... 'they can enjoy themselves only in the midst of a crowd' (SA 2654.235e− locative de); Sore māde tērebi de sika siranākatta yokubō-tāisyōo ... ga mē no mē ni awarārete kūru kara da 'It is because objects of desire that up till then they had known
only from television ... now began appearing before their eyes' (SA 2647.119c—instrumental de);28 Mōsi hi-gōohoo de sika ikenai to surēba, hoka ni syūdan ga arimasu ka 'If you (find you) can go only by illegality (is there any other means =) well that's the only way you can go' (SA 2677.153d—taking de as the instrumental rather than, say, the instrumental use of the copula; hi-gōohoo is an abstract noun as well as an adjectival noun); Hokkaidō kara sika kite imasēn 'They are all (here) from Hokkaidō' (ablative); Watsui wa Nikkōo e sika itta kotō ga arimasēn 'I've only been to Nikkō' (allative); ... zyosi-kārezzi ni dansi-gákusei wa, rōbii made sika hairénakatta ... 'in the women's colleges ... male students could come in [the dormitories] only as far as the lobby ...' (SA 2670.112c—māde is allative 'to', not focus 'even').

I assume that (?) *N mó dakē probably does not occur. And sika(−) never precedes another particle. (The de of ... sika de and the nó of ... sika no kotō de are forms of the copula.) That fact, which includes the rejection of *sika mo/wa, suggests that the particle sika(−) somehow already contains the particle wa, and that is what is claimed in the etymology offered by Ōtsuki, who derives sika(−) by contraction from ... siki(−) wā.29 Now siki(−) 'nothing but just this little' occurs today in only a few expressions—notably korē-siki(−) 'just this', sorē-siki(−) 'just that', and arē-siki(−) 'just that', said to be prevalent in downtown Tōkyō, where they can apparently (?) be followed by wā/mó and by gā/ō. The etymology of siki(−) itself is in doubt; Ōtsuki suggests it is a variant of soko 'bottom' but there is no good explanation for what might have happened to the vowels. Another possibility is a reduction from something like sukōsi with assimilation of the first vowel: suk{o}sī > siki. In western Kyūshū a particle siko is apparently used as equivalent to dakē (Zhs 6.24); this would support either of the suggested etymologies, but still not account for the first vowel. Not beyond the realm of speculation is the possibility that the particle is cognate with Korean ...(s)sik 'each' (= Japanese ... zūtu), despite the difference in meaning. The word itu-sika 'in no time at all; quickly, early' does not contain the particle sika(−); rather, it is said to be the emphatic literary particle si (better known in combination with mó as sū-mo and probably by origin the infinitive of suru) + the interrogative particle kā, here used for emphasis (see p. 930).

The "negative" which follows the sika-phrase is a semantic category, for it includes things which are not formally marked as negative in the sense of §8: rhetorical questions (Kore sika áru mon ka 'Surely there is only this'); the auxiliary -(i-)kaneru 'cannot' (§9.1.8), a synonym of -ru kotō ga dekinai; and damē da 'it is no good', an adjectival noun which is a synonym of the adjectival ikenai that is derived from the negativization of ikeru the potential of iku 'it goes'. (In western Japan the non-potential negative ikan[u] = ikanai, or a synonym akin, is used instead of ikenai.) It is possible to negativize damē and say damē zya nai 'it isn't no-good', to deny damē da; but you can not negativize ikenai, so that instead of *ikenakü nai you will say wāruku nai 'it isn't bad'. (The adverb kessite 'absolutely [not] also requires a following negative, but neither the auxiliary kaneru nor damē will fill the bill. And the negation that follows ... dōkoro 'hardly' must be either negative in FORM or a rhetorical question.)

28. But N dé sika nai is a focus of the copula; see §5.2.

29. Other etymologies that have been suggested include sika 'so' (the literary adverb) and sī|iri wa; see Gekkan-Bumpō 2/5.33 (1970). Apparently no one has thought of suggesting the emphatic si + particle kā, to be considered with si mo; cf. yōrī ka/mo.
§2.3.3. Other particles of focus: máde, sáe, súra, dánì; sika; nárade-wa

The two particles meaning ‘only’ can occur together as ... daké sika or ... daké kka, presumably with some subtle difference of meaning from that of each used alone. Atakusi wa sono mae no rásyuu tte iu no DAKÉ KKA mite ‘nai n desu ‘I’ve only seen the earlier rushes [= rush prints of the film]’ (Tk 2.39); Sen’en-ken DAKÉ SİKA hatubai sinakatta ‘They only put thousand-yen tickets on sale’ (SA 2685.119c); Góku syooosúu no senmon-ka DAKÉ SİKA yomānai kenkyūu-si ... ‘a scholarly journal that only a very few specialists read’ (SA 2651.20c);... kono mizuúmi DAKÉ ni SİKA inai sakana ga génzai mo takuså nh ite, ... ‘Even today there are many fish that exist only in this lake’ (SA 2680.100a); ... húuhu no kotó wa, húuhu DAKÉ ni SİKA wakarānai n da ‘only husband and wife know what is between them’ (Fn 324a).

We expect to find each of the following, but some sequences are little used:

daké kkiri: Kore daké kkiri desu ‘This is all there is’, (?)
kkirí daké: little used.

kkirí sika: Kore kkirí sika/kka nái yó ‘There’s just this, is all’.

kkirí daké sika: Sëkai -zyuu ni kore hitóto kkirí daké sika nái monó desu yó ‘This is the only one there is at all in the whole wide world, I tell you’.
daké sika sika: little used.

From what has been said about the semantic similarity between sáe and mò and between sika and wá, we do not expect to find *... sáe sika since the separate effects of the two particles would be incompatible; still less to be expected is *... sika(−) sáe, since the first particle closes the noun phrase to further marking. But sika(−) can follow the focus particle máde (as well as the allative máde illustrated earlier), as shown by this example: ... to iu kotó made sika wakaránakatta ‘understood no more than that ...’ (SA 2679.41c).

Both the gerund (§9.2.2) and the infinitive (as heart of the nucleus §5) can be highlighted with mò or backrounded with wá. Accordingly we would expect to find the following acceptable, if not particularly frequent, and examples can be found for all but the two that are asterisked (see §5):

\[
\begin{align*}
V-te & \{ \text{sae} \} + \text{AUX} \} & V-i & \{ \text{sae [si → ]su-(réba)} \} \\
\text{sika + NEG} & & \text{*sika si-na-} & \\
A-kute & \{ \text{sae} \} & & \text{sae ár-(ebo)} \\
\text{sika + NEG} & & \text{*sika ná-(kereba)} & \\
N [nít-te → ] dé & \{ \text{sae} \} & N [nít→ ] dé & \{ \text{sae ár-(ebo)} \} \\
\text{sika + NEG} & & \text{sika ná-(kereba)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Although as nuclear focus A-ku sika na- appears to be unacceptable, A-ku sika may turn up when A-ku represents the nuclear-adverbal conversion of §9.1.11: ... sáika ni tuite

30. According to Miyawaki 122 daké has a neutral connotation, something like ‘this is it and I’m neither glad nor sorry about it’, but sika(−) has a marked connotation of regret ‘I wish it were not so’ or of distress ‘it shouldn’t be like this’.
wa gōku ōsaku sīka hurenākatta ‘mentioned very little with respect to the disasters’ (SA 2837.26cd).

You may notice that an occasional oddity in written form looks ungrammatical though it sounds all right when spoken. When you first run across ... no kā o site se ni surēba, but it turns out that is not what he intended to say. Instead, the romanized form might well be ... no kā o site se ni surēba with the lonely apostrophe showing that the sentence is an optional contraction of ... no kā o site [i] se ni surēba; the missing i is the infinitive of the auxiliary i- (ru) ‘be’ and the sentence derives from an underlying form ... no kā o site iru ‘is making a face that is ...’.

The word sīka(−) occurs also as a postadnominal, roughly equivalent to hoka wa ‘other than ...’; it is always followed by a negative, typically nāi or sīkata ga nāi, as in these examples: 31 ... tabēnakereba sindē simau sīka nāi ‘unless you eat you’re bound to die’ (SA 2640.105c); Kangāeru wakamono(−) o oen su sīka nāi ‘One cannot help but support the young person who is using his head’ (SA 2655.41); Kōō nāreba, teityakū-ritu o agete iku sīka arimasēn ‘If this happens, we can’t help but raise the fixed rate’ (SA 2642.40e): Saigōn e iki-tākatta ga, móō kikoku sura sīka nāi yōo da ‘I wanted to go to Saigon, but it seems there’s now no choice but to return to Japan’ (SA 2685.101b); Mōō, dōo site mo iyā nara, tomodatī to asobasenai yōo ni sīka nāi ‘If you just can’t stand it [= the local brogue acquired by the children] all you can do is make it so they are not allowed to play with their friends’ (Shibata 1966.10); ... to iu kotōba o tukau sīka hooohoo no nai genzyoo nā no de aru ‘is in a situation where there is no way out of using the word ‘ ... ’’ (SA 2677.32c); Soo su ru sīka sī-kata ga nāi = Soo su ru hoka sī-kata ga nāi ‘That’s all you can do’ (cf. MK Z 779b under hoka). See also Alfonso 731–2.

But perhaps this use is to be explained as an ellipsis of S nō koi sīka(−) nāi.

The expression nāra-de-wa is the backgrounded negative gerund of the literary copula nāri, and is roughly the equivalent of de/zya nākute wa ‘if it is not’ (= zya nāi to, zya nākereba). We would expect the expression to lose its accent after a tonic noun, but it is common to insert a juncture (Nagāsaki nāra-de-wa) and there are those who treat the expression as a restrictive (§ 2.4), with dominant accent (Nagāsaki nara-de-wa). Kenkyusha has some examples where the expression is used much like sīka(−) to mean ‘(none/nothing) but’ or ‘without (its being)’, followed by a negative: Gūzin(−) nāra-de-wa sonna gurō no shinzūrī monō wa nāi ‘None but a fool would buy such a foolish argument’, Kiseki(−) nāra-de-wa inotī o matte-sūru kotō ga dekinakatta ‘Nothing short of a miracle could have saved his life’. Another example: Kēredo moyo, yappāri wā-ga kuni wa, naniwa-busī nāra-de-wa yō no akenu kuni de aru ‘But after all our country is one in which the dawn [of the New Year] will not break without some naniwa-busī singing [on television]’ (SA 2662.32d).

But more common than this “adverbial” use, according to Morishige 180–1, is the con-

31. “Atonic” inflected forms will have a final accent before sīka for certain speakers (surē sīka) but not for others (sīru sīka), whom we follow here. Both groups of speakers agree in their treatment of tonic inflected forms (yōmu sīka).

32. I have also heard nara-de-wa: ... Hakodate nara-de-wa no i azī desu ‘it is a flavor that can be had nowhere but in Hakodate’ (R).
The particle koso ‘precisely, indeed’ is used to emphasize certain adverbializations, notably those expressing causality: Dá kara koso ‘precisely because of that’ is roughly equivalent to the more relaxed Dá kara sá. When the provisional (-reba) attaches koso, it is interpreted with the causal meaning that in the colloquial language it otherwise lacks; for examples of ...-reba koso = ...-ru kara koso/sá and of the unusual ...-tareba koso = ...-tá kara koso/sá, see §9.3. (An example of ... tte ‘ttára sá sore koso will be found in §21.2.)

Koso also occurs at the end of a noun phrase, and the noun phrase is often thematized (§3.9). As illustrated by the examples in KKK 3.51, the particle is used to spotlight adverbial reference to TIME (Rainen koso wa ‘Precisely next year’, kondo koso ‘next time indeed’, íma koso ‘right now’), to PLACE (... no naka ni/de koso ‘precisely within ...’), and to CAUSE (sore yúe ni koso ‘precisely for that reason’); from the last comes the sentence opener Sore de koso ‘Precisely by that ...’ (cf. Sore koso ‘Indeed ...’). In set phrases other adverbial elements are sometimes spotlighted by koso: Yóo koso [irassyaimásita] ‘[[You have come] nicely indeed =] Welcome! How nice to see you!’” Set phrases of the type Kotira/Watakusi koso ‘It is indeed I (who should express appreciation, apology, etc.)’ are probably to be regarded as Identifiers in an elliptical identificational sentence of the type N ę ga[| koso X da (or possibly N koso [ga| X da, see below) = X wa N koso da as in Waruí no wa watakusi koso desu ‘It is I who am at fault’. Sometimes the best English translation of koso is ‘to be precise (about it)’, especially in sentences with loose reference (§5.4).

It is not entirely clear whether postnominal koso is better treated as a particle of focus—
with wá, mó, sáe {mo}, and síka(−)—or whether it belongs with the restrictives (daké, máde₂, dôkoro, etc.) and quasi-restrictives (ámari, etc.). The sequence koso ga is found: Kono yokkyyuu koso ga ... kihon-teki na suru (Ono 1966.195); Sore koso ga seisin-iroyoo no gàn na no da ‘The stumbling block to psychotherapy is precisely that’ (SA 2678.131c); Sono un’ei to kânrî i̊ kkan koso ga, i̊ kónniti i̊ kangaerānakekera i̊ narâna i̊ mondai nà no de aru ‘The problem that must be considered today is precisely the state of operations and management of them [= Japan’s public corporations and organizations]’ (SA 2684.105e)—for N [no] ikán, see §25; ningen o sỳūzin to suru I kenyuu no kenkyuu I kaihatsu koso ga I motomerārete ɔrî, ... ‘what is needed is precisely the research and development of a technology that will treat man as the master and ...’ (SA 2660.117c); Bikutaa wa “Meezyaa da” to syookai site kuretâ ga, kâre koso ga, Kyanon-kîkán de na o utta Kyanon syóoså datta no de aru ‘Victor introduced him saying “This is the Major” but he was the very Major Cannon who had made a name with the Cannon organization’ (SA 2641.17); ... soo iu ‘izyoo’ to “seizyoo” t̩o no taem[a] nái kintyoo-kánkei koso ga kâre-ra o soozoo é to kari-tâtete iru kotô ga wakâru ‘We understand how it is precisely the incessant strain between “abnormal” and “normal” that drives them toward creativity’ (SA 2666.26c)—for ̄ê to, see p.1007; Kore koso ga ìnoti yori taisetu na monô da ‘Precisely this is more important than life itself’.

I have been able to elicit examples both of (?) koso o and of ó koso (but not of *ga koso): (?) Kore koso o kime-te to site kenkyuu site miýo ‘Let us investigate precisely this as the deciding factor’; Kore ó koso kime-te to sínai de, zikén no ka ‘Do you think you can resolve the matter without treating as the deciding factor precisely this?’ I have found text examples of ó koso, but not of (?) koso o: Hensyûu-sya wa sono kotô o koso nagêku –bêki daroo ‘The editors must surely deplore precisely that fact’ (SA 2685.104b); Sono kotobâ ni tadôri-tûku made no wazurawâsikute hukużatu de ŭgai ni muzyun si-âta déeta no taigun-buri [sic] ó koso watasi wa sîri-takatta no ga, sôre-kiiri ēnka wa damâte simatta ‘Precisely the great mass of data that would lead one to [understand] those words, [data] irko some and complicated and mutually contradictory, was what I wanted to know, but His Excellency said no more’ (SA 2685.101c).

Examples after other case markers: Kono kyôozyu(−) to tômô(−) ni aruíte kîta kyoozyû-kâi ni koso mondai ga âru ‘There is something questionable about just such a faculty group who have walked along with this professor’ (SA 2668.123c); Koo iu komunikēsyoon de koso genmitu no hyoogën(−) ga kanoo de âru ‘Precisely in this sort of communication is rigorous expression possible’; Kurûsü keîko no nákâ ni koso, daén-mênyoo ga umarerú no da ‘It is precisely in the midst of agonizing practice that great athletes are born’ (KKK 3.51); ... konna bai ni koso zyûnî sabeta ... ‘was provided precisely for such situations’ (Maeda 1961.216); Më ni koso miênai ga, âki ga kîte iru ‘You can’t see it with your EYES, exactly, but autumn is here’ (Hayashi 187—he calls this “highlighting”); Makumahon-Rân made koso ga I Tyûûgoku no I ryûōô da ‘It is precisely all the way up to the McMahon Line that is Chinese territory’; Koko mäde koso {wa}i I tadasii to I ierû ga ... ‘Precisely up to here it can be said to be correct but ...’; Koko karâ koso {wa}i I tadasii to I ierû ga ... ‘Precisely from here on it can be said to be correct but ...’; Daigaku karâ koso I manêku “bêki de atta ‘I should have been invited by the university itself’; Nyuu-Yôooku e koso I liku “bêki de atta no ni ‘It’s (precisely) New York I should have gone to (but I didn’t)’; Soko dê koso I zibun no ìken o I hakkîrî I hanäså “bêki datta no ni ‘THERE’s where I should
have made my views clear (but I didn’t); Syúzin to koso | sooden sú beki datta no, ni ‘I ought to have talked it over precisely with my husband (but I didn’t); Hitogoto ni koso | kiku “bèki de aru ‘We must take (= understand) it as of no concern to us’.

The evidence given above indicates that kóso probably belongs with the restrictives. But when it occurs together with a restrictive or quasi-restrictive, apparently kóso must come last: Konna tyusuyutú-hoo(“) ni wa teisuu óki(“) nì koso imi ga áru ‘With this sampling process it is precisely every other number that has significance’; Gakunén-matu “góro ni koso tetudátte morai-takkatta no ni ‘I wanted to have assistance precisely at the end of the school year (but I didn’t get it)’; Kúgatu “góro koso kekkó dekiyóó (= dekirú daroo) ‘It is precisely September when we will be able to take decisive steps’; Yóru zyuuni-zi “sugi koso kiken da ‘It is dangerous precisely after midnight’; Kâku-sya no bútuyoo(“) “izyoo koso seikátu o zisyuku sú beki da ‘Precisely those of the rank of division head and above in each company should exercise self discipline in their lives’; Nensyuu itimán-doru “îka koso genzei no taisyoo ni sú beki da ‘Precisely those incomes of under ten thousand dollars a year should be made the object of tax reduction’; Tosin “ìgai koso kóókyo ni husawasii basyo da ‘It is outside the heart of the city that is the suitable place for the palace’; Hankoo “go(“) nízyuu yo-zíkan “ínai koso zyuu-yôo-si-sareru “bèki da ‘Precisely (the time within) the twenty-four hour period after the crime is committed should be accorded great importance’; Kaisei “írai koso tyumokú su beki da ‘It is precisely AFTER the revision that we must be alert’; Sikén “ígo koso hontoo ni zibun no suki na benkyóo ga dékirú ‘It is precisely from after the exams that one can do the studies one likes’; Ik-kágetu “kágiri [no keiyaku] koso, bóku(“) nì wa tyooodo tugoog ga ì ‘Precisely one month(‘s agreement) is just right for me’; Ténisu o surú no mo, ni-san-žíkan “güré koso karada ni íi ga, go-zíkan mo roku-zíkan mo si-tuzuûkete wa ýóku nái ‘In playing tennis precisely two or three hours is good for the body but if you keep playing for all of five hours or all of six hours it isn’t good’; Iti-zíkan hodo koso tekitoó dá ga, san-žíkan wa oo-sugirú ‘Indeed about an hour is suitable but three hours is too much’; Tanaka san “güré koso kúru “bèki da ‘Precisely Mr. Tanaka, at least, should come’.

For dáke and bákari, however, I have managed to elicit both orders when kóso is used; many speakers will perhaps reject kóso dáke/bákari and a number of speakers will feel uneasy with the other order as well: (?) Anáta dáke koso watasi no kimoti o wakátte kureru to omóotta no ni ... ‘Here I had thought precisely you would be the only one who would understand my feelings (but ...); (?) Kane dáke koso ga zínsei no mokuteki da ‘It is just money that is the goal of men’s lives’; (?) Kore kóso dáke wá dôo-síté mo wasurerarenai ‘Just precisely this I can never forget’; (?) Mittú “bákari koso hituyoo dá ga, tóó mo nízyuu mo wa iranai ‘Precisely only three are required, and we don’t need a whole ten or twenty’; (?) Kore kóso bákari wa zettai ni hituyoo da ‘Just precisely this is absolutely essential’.

Similar reservations obtain for “átarí kóso: (?) Mittú “átarí koso tyooodo tekitoo da; sore “ízyoo wa oo-sugirú ‘But three will be just right; any more would be too many’.

Although *dókoro kóso does not occur, it is possible to elicit kóso “dókoro ‘hardly precisely’ when the kóso-marked expression is taken as a propredicative ellipsis: Kyóó koso [... “dókoro ka raisyuu mo si wa sinái daroo ‘A far cry from “today’s the day”, they won’t do it even next week, I bet’.

I have elicited náo kóso and “zútu kóso but not *kóso náo or *kóso “zútu: Daízin náo koso massákí ni tätte hataraku “bèki da ‘Precisely the cabinet ministers must stand
in the vanguard of our labors’; Hitóri ni mittú zútu koso tyoo do tekitoo da ‘Precisely three for each person is just right’. I have been unable to elicit *yóri kóso ‘precisely than’ or *kóso yóri ‘than precisely’. (Yóri koso will appear as the literary version of kará koso ‘precisely from’.)

We also find kóso followed by wá: ... kóndo koso wa to kitai sitá ga ... ‘we were expecting surely THIS time [there would be a good script—after two disappointing ones] but ...’ (SA 2657.118c); Kono háru koso wa to saígo no oiikomi-bénkyoo o site imásu ga ... ‘He is pursuing last-minute study with the idea that this spring is it’ (SA 2662.106a). (KKK 3.51 has examples of Sore kóso wa ... and Rainen kóso wa ...)

Although modern speakers reject *kóso mo and *mó koso MKZ lists an archaic usage of ... mó kóso to express possibility: Sode no nuré mo koso sure ‘The sleeve may get WET’, in which kóso is applied AFTER highlighting the nuclear focus. As this example shows, after kóso Literary Japanese typically requires the predicate to be in the LITERARY CONCESSIVE form -ré[-do] without the -dó. When put into a larger sentence (MKZ 289c: Yorokóbi koso sure, okóru hazu ga nái ‘He will be indeed delighted AND unlikely to get angry’) the literary concessive can readily be replaced by -rú ga or the like (including -té mo); see KKK 3.52 for a purported example. And even when the literary sentence stands alone, there is often a bit of ‘but’ flavor to justify sticking a final ga’ on the end of the colloquial translation: Kokóro sû beki kóto ni koso áre = Ki o tukénakereba naránai kóto koso desu [ga ...] ‘It is indeed (or: of course) a matter requiring caution’ (MKZ 289c), a sentence in which the literary copula nári has been split into its components the essive ni and the auxiliary ár-i to permit nuclear focus (or restriction) with the insertion of kóso. More colloquial examples of nuclear focus/restriction with kóso are given in § 5.3. Examples of gerund (-té) + kóso will be found in § 9.2.2.

I have elicited one example of sáe koso but not all speakers are happy with it: (?) Konna kóto sáe koso obóete íreba, ansin desu ‘If I can just remember precisely that, I’ll be relieved’. Both *síka(–) kóso and *kóso sika are rejected.

In the uncommon idiom aisó mo kóso mo tukíru (also: aisó-mo-kóso-mo tukíru) = aisó[ó] ga tukíru ‘is disgusted’, the word kóso is apparently an idiom-bound noun made up of the native prefix ko- ‘small’ + the Chinese loanmorph soo ‘thought’ by association with the noun aisó[ó] ‘affability’ which consists of the Chinese loanmorphs ai ‘love’ + soo ‘thought’. Thus it has no connection with the kóso under discussion in this section. The adverb sa-kóso tók ‘just like that; presumably’ attaches kóso to the deictic sa ‘like that, so’. In Mie and Tokushima, kóso is said to be used where the standard language uses sika (Sakai 47b).

The origin of kóso is unclear but one possibility is that the word developed as a variant of kóto ‘thing; word’ (cf. English ‘the thing is ...’); notice the “newish” uses of kóto as an exclamatory sentence extension (§ 15.13). And compare the etymological suggestion (in § 2.3.5) that mó may come from a truncation of monó, a word that shows great similarity to kóto in uses and meanings. But Tanaka Kimiharú (in Gekkan-Bumpo 69/11; cf. Kgg 81.35) suggests that kóso comes from ko[re ’]so ‘emphatically this’; cf. uses of zó, § 15.5. Ōtsuki gives the implied etymology kó [wa] só [nari], the literary equivalent of

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33. Traces of this phenomenon can still be found in Tokushima and Toyama prefectures and in northern Kyūshū (H 1968.150, 165–6).
ko[re wa] so[re da] 'This is it’. Is the Ainu ... kusu ‘because’ (cf. Ryūkyū ... kutu ‘because’) in any way related?

2.3.5. Some etymological speculations.

We have remarked that the particle wá is related to the ba which appears in ó ba, -tára ba (also nára ba), -réba (also -kéréba), and -täreba. We have observed too that wá can be attached to the infinitive, yielding -í wa, -kú wa, and [ní wa →] dé wa; it also attaches to the gerund, yielding -té wa, -kúte wa, and [ni-te wa →] dé wa; The provisional forms that end in -réba and -kéréba permit abbreviated variants -rya[a] and -kérya[a] or, by further contraction, -kya[a]. The gerund + wá can abbreviate to -tya/-zya, -kutya, and zya[a]. The verb infinitive optionally takes the variant yá instead of wá, and -i ya and -e ya freely abbreviate to -ya[a]. Similarly, the particle sequence ni wá sometimes contracts to nyá[a] (and the kana spelling ni ya is often to be interpreted as nya): Wata sii náhi mo wakátya iná n desu = Wata sii ni wa náhi mo wakátte wa iná i no desu ‘I just don’t understand it at all’ (SA 2664.42e); Soko de Nihón nya sakana ga óóí n da kara sakana no ryóori o orósoka ni sitiýa ikan [= sité wa ikenai] ‘Now Japan has lots of fish so you mustn’t neglect the proper cooking of fish’ (SA 2669.48a). The contractions could be explained as a dropping of the initial w of wá with a subsequent epenthetic -y- induced by the preceding front vowel; or, again, the explanation might be palatal assimilation of the nonpalatal semivowel. The particle is heard as /a/ after nouns that end in a vowel, as nákaa = náka wa; a preceding /o/ or /u/ assimilates, as in sótaa = sóto wa, bókaa[¬] = bóku(¬) wa (Tk 4.171b), ait[uaa /aitsaa/ = aitu wa, ... tåa = ... tó wa, ... nåa = ... nó wa, etc. And the long /aa/ is subject to further reduction at times, so that you may hear kónda = kondo wa, as perhaps in this example: ... kónda Yooroppa e irassyaru n desyoo ‘I understand you’re going to Europe soon’ (Tk 4.42b). But kónda is also a Tókyō variant for the unfocused noun kónda ‘this/next/time’ as can be seen clearly in this example: kónda no sénkyo zya ... ‘in the coming election’ (Tk 4.209a—from a speaker born in Shibá). When the /a/ that represents wá is added, a front vowel often reduces to /y/, as kória = kore wa; but the interjections kora, ara, and hora < sora (from kore wa etc.) show a variant treatment with the /e/ dropping, instead.

A better explanation for these contractions may be to say that some or all are made on a variant form of the particle itself, namely yá. That form appears as the basic, or only, shape of the particle in a number of dialects, notably those of the Ryūkyūs—where, however, there are normally a number of other morphophonemic adjustments in attaching the particle to various shape types. And yá appears in a few set phrases in the standard language, e.g. kátá(-)ya ‘on the one side [in sumō wrestling]’ (= katáppo wa).

In Literary Japanese and in some of the dialects (e.g. Shodon in the northern Ryūkyūs) there is a sentence particle yá (§ 15.6a) that has some of the interrogativizing functions handled by ká in standard Japanese; both interrogative particles are present in the kinds of Japanese just mentioned, and yá is preserved in a number of clichés used in modern Japanese, e.g. ima ya ‘now indeed’. In standard Japanese the particle yá is used to mark selective (= nonexhaustive) conjoining of noun phrases (§ 2.7), somewhat as tó is used to mark exhaustive conjoining and ní is used to enumerate; compare the use of the interrogative particle ká to conjoin alternatives ‘or’.

Now the question arises whether the yá that interrogativizes and conjoins is historically to be identified with the yá that substitutes for wá. My opinion leans to the negative; at
the same time, I have doubts about identifying the interrogative や with the Korean particle や of the same meaning, for I suspect that each may be a secondary creation of quite independent origin. Let us defer the question, and ask this instead: Are the two particles わ and や that are used for focus to be identified as variants of the same etymon or are they of different origins? I favor identifying them as a single etymon, and I think that we can explain the development of や from わ (earlier ぱ) as parallel to the development of ルく や from (? *) よ from わお (earlier ぼ?), the direct-object marker. In both cases the nonpalatal semivowel has palatalized or dropped in intervocalic position.

Traditional kana spellings indicates that わ comes from proto-Japanese ぱ, and that would seem to be amply confirmed by the “nigoried” form ば mentioned earlier, though we might entertain the possibility that ば could be a doublet-relic of the proto form of わ. (Modern INITIAL わ- comes from proto-Japanese ぱ- just as modern イ- comes from イ- but the /w/ of the particle is not “initial” since particles attach directly with no juncture; and intervocalic わ- can come from either -p- or -b- of the proto language, though the latter is uncommon.) If, following this out, the -ba forms were primordial rather than the result of the nigori (= voicing) that is part of the compounding process (an example will be seen in と/-ど just below), it would lend added weight to an etymology which associated the particle with the noun ba ‘place, situation’. But since proto-Japanese apparently did not permit voiced consonants at the beginning of a word we may wish to consider the noun ba as a relatively late truncation of some such compound as, say, *ari- ba = tati-ば ‘location-place’. If so, the originally bound morpheme for ‘place’ or ‘situation’ would be a basic ぱ that could serve as a basis for the focus particle, and that morpheme might well be cognate with the Korean quasi-free noun パ ‘thing, circumstance, way’ perhaps from Middle Korean pa ‘way (to do)’ for which we could reconstruct Korean-Japanese *パ. (Ottsuki, however, would derive ば from hanima < パ ‘red-earth place’ with the second syllable of パ an old noun ニ meaning ‘earth’, leaving pa- probably to be explained as a relic of a word family of Korean-Japanese that has meanings such as ‘red’ and ‘bright’. We might also ask whether ば is not simply a doublet version of メ ‘interval, room’. A more interesting possibility would be to consider わ < バ as a nounlike derivative from ゔ-ビ- = ワル < ボル ‘be’; that is, わ- > ワ ‘being ...’. The modern Okinawan copula やん would seem to be clearly an amalgam of the particle や + the auxiliary や- (equivalent to Literary Japanese て) as we can see from the negative form: キ やん へ ‘it is a tree’ : キ ゃ ‘it is not a tree’. That や < わ < バ might earlier have derived from a verb of existence would be very natural.

What about も？ The particle occurs quite generally in normally expected reflexes for all varieties of Japanese. The only puzzler is the Miyako form フェ, which I have suspected to be an abbreviation of madi, the ルく や reflex of マデ—that particle having perhaps replaced the simple も in somewhat the same manner that standard Japanese uses マデ ‘even’ as a kind of reduction of マデ モ ‘even up to’. But Meikai kogo jiten lists フェ as an Azuma (= Eastern) version of フェ in Old Japanese, and that too must be explained—perhaps as a blend of two particles フェ + オ or フェ？ And notice that デ is used for も in Kyushu (Zhs 6.17 n7), for フェ in Toyama (Zhs 3.70), メト for メト in a number of places (Chiba Zhs 2.209, Kanagawa 2.322, Shizuoka 3.356), フェ for フェ in Niigata (Zhs 2.341) and Yamanashi (Zhs 2.434); perhaps フェ is from フェ with labial assimilation of the vowel. Still another possible origin for Miyako フェ would be a contraction from
§ 2.3.5. Some etymological speculations

I wonder whether mó may not itself be a truncation of the word monó ‘thing’, a noun that has been put to use in so many different grammatical devices, of which the one most relevant here is N sono-mónó ‘the N itself’ (see § 25). Monó was used in former days to mean ‘that’ (= are) in the Kantō area, according to Zhs 2.24. Possible Korean cognates for mó include these groups of words: (1) man ‘just’; tâ-man <MK ‘tamón ‘only’; mankhým = MK ‘ma- kôm ‘as much as’—but these may be derived from the negative auxiliary mâ-l- ‘desist’, cf. ky man V ‘stop V-ing’, -I mangêng <MK ‘man’tyêng ‘even though’, and see below. (2) -(y)na- ma ‘but anyway’ (not attested in MK); -man(yn) <MK -ma(lq)nôn, -manôn ‘but’ (perhaps to be interpreted as -ma-nyôn or -man-yn). (3) mäl < MK ‘mal ‘word’ (if this is from *man by dissimilation and from *món with the appropriate vowel). (4) -mu ‘any’ <MK amû, "amo <proto-K "a-mo (with "a- cognate to the Japanese auxiliary á-r- ‘be’); perhaps mu- ‘wh-’ = MK myl(uy). The fourth etymology is the most promising, in my opinion. Not to be connected is Korean máća ‘even’, for the MK form máća(9) points to a likely derivation from the infinitive of the verb MK méc-e ‘cease’ = MK mòc’chÎl- (whence modern machi- ‘finish’) = MK moz- (whence possibly MK ‘mós ‘most’). MK mòc’mak and MK mòc’chôm = macimak ‘end’: cf. also mêmachu- ‘stop’, mêmûl(y)- ‘stop at’ and mâ-l- ‘refrain; finish’.

To be considered in connection with mó is the particle tô with a nigori form dô and what may well be a variant of that, zô.34 These particles mean ‘indeed’ or ‘even’ and can be regarded as partial synonyms of mó in one of its two uses—that of focusing attention on the phrase in relationship to all other similar instances. The only relics of these particles in standard Japanese are kere-dô {mó} ‘but’, ... tôie-dô mo ‘even if (we say)’, and the like—and perhaps nódo/nádo ‘et cetera’ (if this is from náni tô, see § 2.8) and sentence-final zô (§ 15.5). The Ryûkyû reflex dû (which differs from the conjoining and reciprocal/comitative tô, a reflex of tô) is used to reinforce the emphasis on reflexes of the subject particles nó and gá, yielding nu/ga du, and also attaches directly to a noun that is used as emphasized direct object or as complement of the copula: N du yaru ‘it is N’ = standard Japanese N dá < N nî-te a[r]. Compare the “subjective” copula tô ár-i > tår-i (§ 13.5a). In at least some varieties of modern Okinawan the particle du (often automatically pronounced ru, since many speakers have difficulty maintaining the d/r distinction) can freely follow almost ANY adjunct to add a lively emphasis, with the sentence ending in an attributive form -ru (identical in sound with du for those speakers lacking the d/r distinction), which can be used alone to add emphasis to a sentence, even without a du-marked adjunct earlier.

In addition to sentence-final zô (as in the colloquial) and postnominal zô, Literary Japanese has -do {mó} as in suré-do {mó} ‘even though one does’ and háyakere-do {mó}.

34. It is sometimes assumed that the conjoining of nouns by tô ‘and’ must be a special case of the “comitative” use meaning ‘with’, but in view of the parallelism with mó that assumption bears reexamination; perhaps all cases of tô ultimately go together—as what I am calling the subjective essive—and the comitative itself is a special case. (Actually, the comitative turns out to be a secondary reduction from a phrase made up of an adverbalized predicate with a reciprocal valence; see § 3.6.)
< hayaku āre-do ɨmo† 'even though it is early'; we will call this the literary concessive (§9.3). In Literary Japanese tô mo is used after either the infinitive or the attributive in the meaning 'even if', and in the colloquial we find S tô mo 'of course S' and the semi-literary V-{y}oo to ɨmo† 'even if; whether'—see §21.1.(9, 14); §21.5. The colloquial particle tōte (§15.11) is used both to mark quotations—like tō—and to mean 'even'; but we reinterpolate the latter case as a contraction of the gerund -tē + āte (p. 938) as in sit'āte = sitê mo = suré-do ɨmo† 'even though one does'. Ultimately, then, our "emphasis" particle tō (with its variants dō and perhaps zō) may turn out to be specialized uses of the subjective essive tō, for which a proto meaning of 'that' has been suggested (cf. tō-ni-kaku, tō-ni-mo kāku-ni-mo). But the Korean equivalent of mō in virtually all its uses is the particle /to/, clearly cognate with the Japanese etymon tō, so the association with 'that' may not hold up; the tō in tô-ni-kaku (etc.) is perhaps a variant of só 'that', for which there is a good Korean cognate cé/co. It should be mentioned that some grammarians, such as Fujitani and Tachibana, have derived zō from só 'that' (Sakai 43); compare the suggested derivation of só ɨmo† from a variant of the morpheme for 'that' (Saji 40).

2.4. RESTRICTIVES AND QUASI-RESTRICTIVES

In addition to markers of case and focus, there are a number of other particles which will attach to a noun to form a single phonological phrase, yet permit the noun to be modified by an adnominalized sentence or to be conjoined with another noun. We will speak of (1) RESTRICTIVES, (2) QUASI-RESTRICTIVES, (3) the DISTRIBUTIVE (~žūtu), and (4) the COMPARATOR (yōri). Each of the true restrictives also occurs—in the same form and with the same meaning—as a postadnominal (§13.2), i.e. it can follow a verbal, adjectival, or nominal sentence to serve as an epitheme (typically of the summational type). When the adnominalized sentence is nominal, the da that marks it as imperfect will change to ná and be retained, thus providing a contrast with the use of these words as restrictives attached directly to the noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AS POSTADNOMINAL</th>
<th>AS RESTRICTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asanéboo nāl dake 'just being a slugabed'</td>
<td>asanéboo dake(1) 'just a slugabed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asanéboo nāl bākari 'only being a ...'</td>
<td>asanéboo bākari 'only a ...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asanéboo nāl hodo 'as much as to be a ...'</td>
<td>asanéboo hodo '(not) as much as a ...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asanéboo nāl máde [mo] 'to the point of being a ...'</td>
<td>asanéboo made [mo] 'even a ...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asanéboo nāl dōkoro 'far from being a ...'</td>
<td>asanéboo &quot;dōkoro 'hardly a ...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But a number of Japanese rarely use nominal sentences with these words as postadnominals, or at best use only adjective-nominals. For such speakers we could perhaps say that these words are always functioning as postadnominals, with obligatory suppression of the copula; the apparent difference in meaning, however, would argue against that conclusion, although it merits consideration as a possible explanation for the historical development of the word class itself. Notice that it is always possible to nominalize the nominal sentence and then attach the restrictive: asanéboo nā/nō KOTŌ dake(1) 'just being a slugabed', etc.

Although postadnominal occurrence provides a criterion for distinguishing the relatively
small group of restrictives from the relatively large group of quasi-restrictives, the differentiation is not easy, nor are the reasons obvious for making the distinction. In general the restrictives are more VERSATILE, in that they will attach to a larger number of the subcategories of pure noun, and more RECURSIVE, in that they enter more freely into combinations with other restrictives and with the distributive, as will be shown below.

Some of the quasi-restrictives also seem to appear as postadnominals, but in somewhat different guise: in place of "dōori and "gōro, for example, we find tōori and kōro, with unvoiced initials.

When used as a postadnominal the restrictive is normally separated from the adnominalized sentence by the basic minor juncture that characterizes adnominalization; the juncture will often fail to surface after an atonic phrase, however, as explained elsewhere. After a noun, most of the restrictives and virtually all of the quasi-restrictives are accentually DOMINANT; the preceding noun loses its accent35 and what is retained is the accentuation that is given here as basic to the restrictive, whether tonic or atonic. (To be sure, that accentuation itself is not always basic to the underlying etyma, since the accentuation of the phonological phrases in question is essentially that of a compound noun; the same rules used in assigning accent to compound nouns can be found at work here, but we will skip the details.) And the particles hodō, [k]Kirī, māde, nōmi, sē (which is said to be used as a dialect variant of hodō), and dake or bākari ‘only’ (but not ‘bākari ‘approximately’)36 will lose their accents after a tonic noun, behaving like the case particles, as does the comparator yōri. The distributive has a dominant accent which optionally shifts back one syllable: sukōsi ‘(‘)zūt = /sukosizūtu/ or /sukosizūt/. We will cite the form simply as ‘zūt.

By the definition used here, those words which are restrictives comprise the following set:

- atari, (a) ‘vicinity, nearby; somewhere near; in and around (a place)’
(b) ‘or the like, of the sort, for instance’
- bākari, (b) ‘only, just’ (= dake) —with the lively variants bakkari, bā[k]kasi, ppākasi, ...
, and the dialect versions bā[k]ka, baa, kaa; bāri, baru (Zhs 1.64); beeri (Zhs 1.94), be (Zhs 1.91); bee, baari, bai, nbee (Zhs 2.181); ... Cf. also are-ppōti de ‘with nothing more than that’ (SA 2685.120e), kore-ppōti/-ppāti = korenbākari (Fn 8b) ‘just this much’, zyorokū-mōn poti no ņěni ‘sixteen pennies’ (Okitsu 1.451).

- dake, (a) dake ‘only, just’ (= bākari, nōmi)
(c) (‘)dake ni, (‘)dake atte ‘just for being’
- dōkoro, dōko ‘far from (being/doing), hardly’ (on the accentuation, see p. 931)
- dōoii ‘(those) in company with’
- gawa ‘the side of’
- genzai ‘as of (a date or period [when ...])’

35. Sometimes modifying phrases are included, especially in idiomatic expressions: hito ni dekiru kotô ‘izyoo may be heard as /hitonidekikotoizyoo/; zibun no kurusikatta ŋ-foodoroo may be heard as /zibunnokurusikattazaidaiizyoo/; and subarasî kotô ‘zükume may be heard as /subarasikotozükume/. But in general the juncture that separates adnominal phrases from the noun will surface and you will hear whatever accents are called for.

36. But there are speakers who (at least sometimes) use ‘bākari for ‘only’; and some speakers observe the cancellation of (‘)dake only under limited conditions. More data on the accentual patterns of bākari and (‘)dake are needed.
§ 2. Predicate Adjuncts

- goto 'each, every (instance)'
- gurai, "kurai, "kkurai, (b) 'to the extent of; at least; as ... as'
- hodo, (b) 'as much as (to be/do); insofar as'
- igai 'outside of, except for'
- izen 'before'
- izyoo 'over, above, more than; since'
- kagiri 'to the extent (of/that); limited to, only'
- kkirí, "kirí 'that being all and (not) beyond'
- made 'till, as far as; even'
- mae 'before (a time/event)'
- nomi = daké 'only, just'
- sugata (some difference in meaning)
- teido 'the level/caliber/limit of'—as postadnominal also atonic téido(−)
- zibun 'time (when)'—as postadnominal also atonic zibun(−)
- ziken 'the incident of'

As indicated by "(a), (b), (c)", some of the words occur with more than one meaning; only in the given meaning are they used both as postnominal restrictives and as postadnominals.

In view of the recursiveness of the process which puts these elements into sentences, we would expect to find sequences of the more versatile piling up to any non-repetitive depth, provided there are no semantic incompatibilities. It is not clear what limitations, if any, may apply to the acceptable sequences. Here is a set of four such words—"gurai, made, (−)daké, and "zutu—that seem to be acceptable in all possible orders when applied to a noun phrase like kono gaku 'this amount', producing nearly synonymous sentences that defy exact translation:

(1) Kono gaku gurai made daké zutu wa kasite ageraru.
(2) made gurai daké zutu
(3) daké gurai made zutu
(4) gurai daké made zutu
(5) gurai made zutu daké
(6) made gurai zutu daké
(7) daké gurai zutu made
(8) gurai daké zutu made
(9) gurai zutu made daké
(10) made zutu gurai daké
(11) daké zutu gurai made
(12) gurai zutu daké made
(13) zutu gurai made daké
(14) zutu made gurai daké
(15) zutu daké gurai made
(16) zutu gurai daké made
...

The first sentence might be translated something like 'I can lend each of you just up to this amount'; the translation of the others should vary slightly to reflect the order of applying the various words. I have cited the sequences with the final surface adjustments of accent for the sentence as spoken fast; at a slower pace, junctures might be inserted, leading to a somewhat different accentuation.
§2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

Below you will find a list of the restrictives and quasi-restrictives in alphabetical order. There are several things to be noted about each item:

- Which of the subcategories of noun will be used with it?37
- What is the grammar of the resulting phrase?
- What is the combinability of the item with other items in the list?

The last question remains to be adequately explored; a rough index of combinability can safely be imputed on the basis of the versatility shown by the subcategories. In the list on the left we give twelve columns to represent twelve classes of pure nouns (following Isami, see §3):

1. Proper nouns: Sátoo, Nagásaki, ...
2. Human nouns: hito ‘person’, kodomo ‘child’, ...
3. Animate (nonhuman) nouns: inú ‘dog’, tori ‘fowl’, ...
4. Time nouns: ása ‘morning’, hárú ‘spring’, sán-zi ‘three o’clock’, ...
5. Place nouns: mati ‘town’, kuni ‘country’, ...
7. Measurable nouns: o-sa ke ‘rice wine’, zikan ‘time’, o-kane ‘money’, ...
8. Relational nouns: mae ‘front’, migi ‘right’, ...
10. Mass nouns: áme ‘rain’, kíri ‘fog’, ...
11. Action nouns: turí ‘fishing’, mane ‘imitating’, ...
12. Abstract nouns: ségi ‘justice’, bí ‘beauty’, ...

A number is cited whenever the combination of the subcategory with the item is believed to be possible; special cases and doubts are indicated by parentheses and question mark. After these twelve columns there is coded a designation of the resulting grammar(s) of the phrase: N = noun, Adv = adverb, Adn = adnoun (prenoun), PcN = precopular noun (quasi-adjectival noun).38 There are a number of difficulties. Many of the precopular nouns can be used also as pure nouns, meaning ‘the one which/who ...’ or ‘the situation that ...’ or the like, but they are not so used very often; we might wish to regard the noun use as an ellipsis of something like PcN śno [nó:] ‘the one which is PcN’. Items of that sort have been coded as “PcN, (N)” if I have not subcategorized “N” but the subcategorization (especially “place” or “time”) will sometimes be obvious from the translation. Directly in front of the serial number of the item you will find “+” for those which are also postadnominals.

I have indicated those voiced initials which derive etymologically from their voiceless counterparts (by writing ”t... “k... or the like) only when the identification is obvious and probably to be treated as morphophonemically meaningful in the present-day structure. Notice that the symbol ”p means the basic form of the etymon will be h- in the modern

37. By definition restrictives and quasi-restrictives are attached only to pure nouns (those that can be marked as subject/object by gá/óí). I leave unexplained a few examples, such as hutuu ‘izyoo ‘more than usually’, in which the restrictive follows a predicatable adverb. The likely explanation is an ellipsis.

38. Most of the precopular nouns are defective in that they do not permit the adverbial conversion of the infinitive ní (§9.1.11), where you need an adverbialization the gerund is usually appropriate (,...”sidai de, not “...”sidai ni unless the word also has the grammar of an adverb (,...”doóíi). The lack of the adverbial conversion is not surprising; MOST precopular nouns (and probably most adjectival nouns and adjectives, for that matter) lack the form. What keeps a defective precopular noun from simply being a predicatable adverb is that it cannot be directly adverbialized. Other infinitive conversions (PcN ní náru/suru, etc.) are generally possible.
§2. Predicate Adjuncts

pronunciation. Many of those voiced initials that are not marked probably also go back to a voiceless initial, unless they are borrowed from English or Chinese; and one of the Chinese loans (～zyuu) was originally voiceless (～tyuu) but now is to be carefully distinguished from the voiceless version, which has a different meaning. Those initial consonants which probably had voiceless origins are found in (～)daké, ～dārake, ～gara, ～gārami, ～gata, ～gōto, ～gūrūmi, ～zukū(～), ～zukume, ～zūtai, and ～zūtu. More information on etymologies will be found on pp. 136-7.

LIST OF RESTRICTIVES AND QUASI-RESTRICTIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>animate</th>
<th>time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>countable</th>
<th>measurable</th>
<th>relational</th>
<th>quantity</th>
<th>mass</th>
<th>action</th>
<th>abstract</th>
<th>Postadnominal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 (7)</td>
<td>N,PcN</td>
<td>1. ～ āgari ‘(one who/which is) fresh from’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>N,Adv</td>
<td>2. ～ āmari ‘over, more than, in excess of’—cf. postadnominal amari</td>
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<td>1 5</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>+ 3. ～ ātari: (a) ‘vicinity, nearby; somewhere near; in and around (a place)’</td>
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<td>(5) 9</td>
<td>N,Adv</td>
<td>+ (b) ‘or the like, of the sort, for instance’</td>
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<td>1 2 ? 5 6</td>
<td>PcN,(N)</td>
<td>4. ～ ate: (a) ‘(the one) addressed to, aiming at’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>(b) ‘per ...’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>N,Adv</td>
<td>5. ～ bakāri [= &quot;p...&quot;] : (a) ‘about, approximately’</td>
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<td>+ (b) bakāri ‘exclusively, all the time; only, just’ (= dakē, nōmi)</td>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 ? 10 11 12</td>
<td>N,Adv</td>
<td>+ 6. ～ bari [= &quot;p...&quot;] ‘(after) the fashion of’</td>
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<td>1 2</td>
<td>PcN,(N)</td>
<td>7. ～ betu: (a) ‘classified by’</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>?PcN</td>
<td>(b) ‘excluding’</td>
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<td>6 7</td>
<td>?PcN</td>
<td>8. ～ biki [= &quot;p...&quot;] : (a) ‘coated/plated/covered with’</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>PcN,(N)</td>
<td>(b) ‘at a discount of’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>PcN,(N)</td>
<td>9. ～ bun ‘a portion (sufficient) for (each)’—cf. postadnominal bun</td>
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### §2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

#### Grammar

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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PcN</td>
<td>10. “buri [=”p...]: (a) after the absence of (an interval)’</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>(b) ‘the figure/shape/ manner of’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Adv,?N</td>
<td>(c) = “bun</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>11. “-dai ‘the level/mark of’</td>
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<td>12. “dai ‘(one that is) the size of’</td>
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<td>13. (¬)daké: (a) daké ‘only, just’ (=bákari, nómi)</td>
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<td>N,Adv</td>
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<td>(b) (¬)daké ‘(to) the amount /extent of; just, exactly; at least’</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) (¬)daké ni, (¬)dake ‘atte ‘just for being’</td>
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<td>N,Adv,AN</td>
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<td>14. “dárake ‘(one that is) smeared/ filled with, a mass/mess of’</td>
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<td>15. “de ‘(one that is) a product/graduate of’</td>
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<td>PcN</td>
<td>16. “deki ‘produced (by/at)’</td>
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<td>17. “dókoro, “dóko [=”t...] ‘far from (being/doing), hardly (a question of)’</td>
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<td>9 ?</td>
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<td>18. “dómarí [=”t...] ‘up to (the limit of)’</td>
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<td>(¬)</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>PcN,Adv,(N)</td>
<td>19. “dóori [=”t...] ‘like, as, according to’—cf. postadnominal tóori</td>
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<td>N,PcN</td>
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<td>20. “dóosí ‘(those) in company with’</td>
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<td>N,PcN</td>
<td>21. “gáeri [=”k...] ‘(the one that, the time when) on the way back from, returning from’—cf. post- adnominal kaeri</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>22. “igai ‘outside of, beyond’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>PcN</td>
<td>23. “gákari [=”k...] ‘(requiring) as many/much as, (by) taking’</td>
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<td>PcN</td>
<td>24. “gake [=”k...]: (a) ‘garbed in (informal traditional wear)’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>PcN</td>
<td>(b) ‘multiplied by’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>PcN</td>
<td>(c) ‘ten percent of’</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>25. “gara ‘by the nature of’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>PcN,(N)</td>
<td>26. “gárami ‘(one who is) about, a round (age of)’</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>27. “gata ‘by about (a percent, a price level)’</td>
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<td>28. “gawa ‘the side of’</td>
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</table>
§2. Predicate Adjuncts

29. "gáwari [= "k..."] 'in place of, instead of, as substitute for'—cf. postadnominal kawari

30. "gáyoi [= "k..."] 'attending; traveling between, commuting to'

31. "génzai' (the time that is) as of (a date/period)'

32. "gó(−) 'the time) after'—see §14.4.

33. "gókkiri—see "kókkiri

34. "gónomi [= "k..."] 'the style/mode/fashion/vogue of'

35. "góró [= "k..."] 'a time that is about (a time)'—cf. postadnominal kóro

36. "gosi, "gosi [= "k..."] 'across, beyond, over'

37. "goto 'each, every (instance)'

38. "goto 'being inclusive of, with ... and all'

39. "gūrai, "kurai, "kkūrai: (a) 'about, as much; or so'

(b) 'to the extent of; at least; as ... as'

40. "gūrumi 'throughout, the whole/entire'

41. "hán 'and a half'

42. "hatu '(thing) leaving from, dispatched from/at'

43. hōdo: (a) 'about, approximately'

(b) 'as much as (to be/do); insofar as; (not) as much as'

44. "hukaku 'the depths of; deep in'

45. "huratto 'an elapsed time that is) ... flat'

46. "ien 'and beyond'

47. "igai 'outside of, except for'

48. "igo 'after, since, hereafter'

49. "ika 'below, under, less than'

50. "iikoo 'after, since'

51. "iikutu '... odd, and a few'

52. "inai '(what is) within, inside of; less than'
§2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Grammar

1 4 9 10 11 12 Adv,(N)
2 6 7 9 ? ? 12 PcN
1 4 12 N,Adv
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 ? 9 10 11 12 N,Adv
4 12 ?PcN,Adv
1 2 ? 4 5 6 ? ? 9 Adv
9 PcN,(N)
2 PcN,N
(b) ‘(the one who, the look of) apparently, (with) the appearance of, appearing’—cf. postadnominal kakkoo

1 2 3 4 5 6 N
4 N
11 Adv
1 (2) 5 PcN
1 (2) 6 11 12 Adn
9 N,Adv

1 2 3 4 5 Adn

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Adv

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Adv

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### §2. Predicate Adjuncts

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 N, Adv

4 12 N, Adv

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11 12 ?N, Adv

7 9 PcN

9 PcN

9 N

1 2 3 ? 7 ? 12 PcN, (N)

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 ? 11 (-) PcN, N

5 7 9 12 N

9 N, Adv

11 (12) ? PcN

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 ? 10 11 12 N

1 2 3 PcN

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 N, Adv

1 2 ? 6 7 9 11 12 PcN

1? 7 PcN

(-) 9 PcN

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73. "kūraî—see "gūraî"

74. "kūzure ‘(one who is) a drop-out (from being ...’)

75. "kyōō ‘a little more than, and a bit more, plus (some)’

76. māde: (a) ‘till, as far as’—see §3.7, §3.7a

(b) ‘even’—see §2.3.3, §3.7a

77. māe ‘before (a time/event)’

78. māgai = mōdoki

79. māgire ‘(in) a mood of, (in) a state (of), (in) the confusion of’

80. māgiwa (ni) ‘(at) the moment right before, just on the verge of’

81. mamire ‘with ... stuck all over, mucked up with’

82. māwari = kēiyū(−) ‘by way of, via’, ‘through’

83. mé ‘-th’ (ordinalizer)—see p. 829 (§13.8)

84. mīman ‘(one who/that is) not yet fully, under (the age/amount of)’

85. mōdoki ‘(the situation of) imitating, resembling, (in) the style of’

86. muke ‘(that which is) bound/intended for’

87. muki ‘(that which is) suitable for’—cf. postadnominal múki

88. nai ‘(what is) within’

89. nāgai ‘approximately, about’

90. nākaba ‘(in) the middle of’

91. nami ‘(as) an ordinary example of, (at) the level of, (of) the order of’

92. nari ‘appropriate to, to be expected of’

93. nōmī ‘only, just’ (= dake)

94. nuki ‘omitting, without’

95. nurî ‘painted/coated with’

96. ókī(−) ‘at intervals of; skipping (every so many)’

96’. pōkkiri = kokkiri
### §2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

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97. "purasu ‘... plus (some)’

98. "rai ‘since, the past ...’ (= -irai)

99. "ryuu ‘after the fashion/school of’

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100. "sidai ‘depending on’ (cf. §9.1.2)

101. "siki ‘way, fashion, type’—cf. suffix ‘siki ‘ceremony’

102. "sodati ‘reared (in a place, by a person, on a nutrient)’

103. "sotoo ‘(a price) of the order of’

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104. "sugata ‘(one who is) attired/garbed in, wearing’

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105. "sugi ‘(a time) after (a time)’

106. "tai ‘versus; (by) a score of X to ...’—see §13.7a

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107. "taipu ‘a type of, the type who is’

108. "takaku ‘high on/in, the heights of’

109. "tarazu ‘less than’ (cf. p. 380, §8.5)

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110. "teido ‘the level/caliber/limit of’—cf. postadnominal teidon(‘)

110’. "ten ‘(decimal) point’—see §13.6

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111. "tikaku ‘nearly, close to’

112. "tomo ‘all ...’—see §15.14

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113. "tomo(‘) ‘including ...’—see §15.14

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114. "tuki ‘(one that is, being) equipped with, with ... (provided/attached/included/given)’

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115. "tyaku ‘arriving at’

115’. "tyókkiri = kókkiri

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116. "tyotto ‘and a little, a little over’

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117. "tyuu ‘in the midst of, while’ (see §14.4); ‘among’

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118. "umare ‘born in/at’

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119. "wari ‘(at) the rate of, by (a portion of)’

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120. "yoo ‘for the use (of), for use (in/as/by)’
1. -yori '(along) toward'
2. -yu ki, -iki 'a trip to, bound for'
3. -zen 'before'—see § 14.4
4. -zen [taru] 'like, of the sort'—see § 13.5a
5. -zengo 'about, approximately'
6. -zibun 'time (when)'—cf. post-adnominal zibun(‘)
7. -zdai 'period (when)'—cf. post-adnominal zdai
8. -ziken 'the incident of'
9. -zoi [ = 11s ...] 'along, following'
10. -zii [ = 11t ...] 'a lineup (an array) of'
11. -zukare [ = "t...] 'weariness from'—cf. postadnominal tukaré
12. -zuke [ = 11t ...] '(one that is) dated, bearing the date'
13. -zuki [ = "t...]: (a) 'attached to'
(b) = "tuki
14. -zukû(‘) '(by) dint/force of; purely out of'
15. -zukume 'one who/which is, being) adorned with, swathed in, full of'
16. -zukuri [ = "t...] 'the construction/making of'
17. -zume [ = "t...]: (a) 'packed in'
(b) 'stationed in/at'
(c) —see § 9.1.7 (V-i-zume)
18. -zumi [ = "s...] 'finished with'—see § 14.4
19. -zumi [ = "t...] 'shipment by; loaded on; a capacity of'
20. -zura [ = "t...] 'a face/look of'
21. -zutai '(following) along'
22. -zutu '(distributively) each'—see § 2.5
23. -zyaku 'a little less than, just under, minus'
24. -zyásuto '(the time that is) just, exactly'
### §2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

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12. **Adv, N**

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145. "zyoo ‘on; in; in view/consideration of, from the standpoint of, because of; with respect to’

146. "zyuu: (a) ‘all through (a time)’

(b) ‘throughout, all over (a place)’

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Here is a list of examples that I have collected for each of the restrictives and quasi-restrictives. (For many of the sentences not otherwise marked I am indebted to Hamako Chaplin and to Setsuko Aihara. A few are taken from dictionaries.)

1. "ágarí ‘(one who/which is) fresh from’: yaku nin -ágarí no zitu gyo o-k a ‘a bureaucrat-turned-businessman’; ... geisya -ágarí no sáikun ’a wife who used to be a geisha who ...’; ... byooki -ágarí mita na hito ga, ... ‘a person looking just out of sickbed’ (Tk 3.121a); ... áme -ágarí no miti ... ‘a road after the rain’; Titioya wa, kono syokunin -ágarí desu kara ... ‘Since my father had come from a background of, uh, this sort of vocation ...’ (R: the dash represents a lexical-search pause within the phonological phrase).

2. "ámarí ‘over, more than, in excess of’: Kono is-syuuukan -ámarí ga abunai ‘More than this one week will be dangerous’; Kono is-syuuukan -ámarí o yukkuri tanosimu ‘I will relax and enjoy this week-and-a-bit’; Kono is-syuuukan -ámarí, káre ni awáaná ‘It’s been more than a week now that I haven’t seen him’; Sono tooka -ámarí kintyoo o renzoku dátta ‘I was on pins and needles for those ten days and then some’: Sukii-ryókoo no yúkai ni ituka -ámarí wa at-to iu ma ni táta ‘The more than five jolly days of the ski trip passed all too soon’; Sono tanosii tooka -ámarí no kóto o yóku omoidasu ‘I often recall those ten-plus pleasant days’; Kurusimi-nüita san-kágetu -ámarí no kikán wa watasi no zínsei ni oite sukunakaránu eikyoo o ataeta ‘The period of over three months that I agonized cast a not inconceivable influence on my life’; ... sáigo no gohyakú-zí -ámarí, ... ‘the last five hundred and some words’ (Maeda 1962.203); ... tónái no nizyuk-kášyo -ámarí de ... ‘in more than twenty places within Tókyó’ (SA 2651.4); Kono naqái tooka -ámarí o konna hénpi na tokoró de ittai dóó yatte sugosóo to iú no ka ‘How on earth can you tell me we’ll spend these more than ten long days in such an out-of-the-way place?’; ... kansei -gó(‘) hutá-tuki(‘) -ámarí tátta íma náo kookai sarezú ni iru ... ‘that is still not being shown to the public when over two months have now passed since it was completed’ (SA 2640.103a).

3a. "átari ‘vicinity, nearby; somewhere near; in and around (a place)’: Kyóó mo réi no koóen -átari o hutarí de sanpo site irú no de wa nái ka ‘Let us take a stroll together again today in and around our usual park’; Kanemóti(‘)) no oóí sokora -átari o mawatte mitara, urerú ka mo sirenai ‘If we go around that area where there are lots of rich people we may find it will sell’; Mukasi hatamoto-yásíki no áatta tokoró -átari o hótte mita ‘I excavated in the vicinity of where there used to be feudal households in the old days’.

3b. "átari ‘or the like, of the sort, for instance’: Anó-hito -átari ni kiite go-ran, wakáru ka mo sirenai ‘If you try asking him, for instance, he might know’; Tookyoo dé mo yuu mei na ryoori-ya no Hamasaku -átari ni ikéba, káni oisii monó ga taberaráru ‘If we go to a restaurant like Hamasaku that is one of the best known in Tókyó we will be able
to eat fairly delicious things'; Musiatūi kyōo ‘ātari kamināri ga ki-sōo da ‘A muggy day like today is the sort that you can expect thunder from'; Sono kotō ni tūite wa, syokubā de mo sootoo hurū Šātoo san ‘ātari ni kiitē mo yōku wakarānai to iu ‘Even someone like Mr Šatō who is fairly old around the shop doesn’t know much about those things when you ask’.

(3c) ‘ātari ‘per’: Koko no ryōori wa takāi. Kono hitōri ‘ātari ga, gosen-en mo suru ‘The food here is expensive. This tab for one person comes to a whopping five thousand yen’; Heikin-syuunyuu wa, ũ-ko ‘ātari, sanman-en de āru ‘The average income per household is thirty thousand yen’; Orinippku de katuyaku suru hitōri ‘ātari no sensyu ni tuki, bakudai na o-kane ga kakātte iu ‘For each person participating in the Olympics it takes a huge sum of money’. See also Alfonso 1141.

(4a) ‘āte ‘(the one) addressed to, aiming at’: Sono kāzoku ‘āte ni kīki o uttaēru(’) tegami o kāku nādo ‘To write a letter of complaint about the danger, addressed to his family ...’ (SA 2672.25b); ... tūma no titiōya ‘āte ni tegami o kakimāsita ‘I wrote a letter to my wife’s father ...’ (SA 2673.66c); ... watasibune-gāisyu no keie-ī-sya ‘āte ni soo iu tegami o Tazima sanga taippu de ūti, ... a letter to that effect addressed to the ferryboat company was typed up by Mr Tazima and ...’ (SA 2674.86b); ... zibun no higō-sya ‘āte no tegami ‘a letter to his protector’ (KKK 3.133); ... kono kūrabu ‘āte ni zyoohoo o nagāseba yorosii ‘it is all right to leak information to this club’ (SA 2658.63c); Kōndo kara wa soko ni kāite āru atarāi syūusyu ‘āte ni okutte kudasai ‘Starting next time please send things to the new address written there’; Kono tegami wa mōto ita tokorō ‘āte ni nātė irū no de, tūku no ga osōkatta no da ‘This letter got addressed to where I used to be, so it was late in arriving’; Watasi ga mōto ita hurū syūusyu ‘āte ni takusān no nengā-zyoo(’) ga kite ita ‘A lot of New Year cards came to the old address where I used to live’; Watasi no tutōmete iru kaisya ‘āte ni konna sīna ga todokimāsita ‘Articles of this sort arrived addressed to the company where I work’; Uke-toru tegami wa zītaku ‘āte [no] ga ōōi ‘Most of the letters I get are [ones] addressed to me at home’; Kyōō dāsita tegami no nāka ni, anō-hito ‘āte ga sān-mai mo ātta ‘Among the letters I mailed today, there were actually three addressed to him’; Tegami no kōpii no nāka kara, sonō-hito ‘āte o sagasidāsita kudasāi ‘Look up the letter to him from our file (of copies of letters)’; Oobo-yōosī o, kāki no syūusyo ‘āte o-okuri kudasāi ‘Please send the application form to the address given below’.

(4b) ‘āte ‘per’: ringo o hitōri ‘āte sān-ko ‘three apples apiece’ (cf. ‘zūtu).

(5a) ‘bākari ‘about, approximately’; Kono zip-pun ‘bākari ga turai ‘This approximately ten-minute period is trying’; Kono źik-kirō ‘bākari o sīrabēru ‘We will investigate about ten kilos of this’; Kono is-syūukan ‘bākari, kāre wa kōnai ‘He hasn’t come for this whole week, about’; Kono hyaku-mēetoru ‘bākari ga nukatte iro ‘This stretch of about a hundred meters is muddy’; Soko wa, tonari no iē ga tatemasi no tamē ni akete āru san-tubo ‘bākari de, ... ‘The place was about three tsūbo’s of land left vacant for the next house to build an annex on, and ...’ (Aya Kōda: Nagarēru 355); Byooki dattō sono hutsuka ‘bākari wa totemo kurusikatta ‘The two days or so that I was ill were terribly painful’; Minnā ga atumātte tanosinda suu-zīkan ‘bākari no aida wa tatimati sūghte simatta ‘The several hours or so that we enjoyed getting together suddenly were over’.

(5b) ‘bākari ‘exclusively, all the time; only, just’ (= dakē, nōmi): Ano mondai ‘bākari o kangaēte iro = Ano mondai o ‘bākari kangaēte iro ‘I am thinking only of that problem’ (V 36); D’ātte, okāsama wa Takizawa sensēi no o-aite ‘bākari nasūtte ru n desu mono
'But you’re spending all your time with Maestro Takizawa, mother!' (SM 1969/7/20.91); Hén na kotô bakari suru ‘He is constantly doing strange things’; Amai monô bakari tabete iru ‘They eat nothing but sweets’; Otogô ga suru kotô bakari oyâ wa hôme te iru ‘What my little brother does is all my father ever praises’; ... kyôokâ-syo ni bakari taiyôtte ... ‘rellying only on textbooks’ (Gd 1969/9.67a); Konô-hito bakari ga syâbêru ‘This person does all the talking’; Konô-hito bakari o kawai-gáru ‘This person gets all the affection’; Téinei na kotôbâ bakari tukaî no re ‘They always use polite words, you see’; Isya ga kínzita(−) kotô bakari site iwa, naorânai yô ‘You won’t get well if you keep doing things the doctor has prohibited’.

(6) ‘bari (after) the fashion of’: Sonô-hito ‘bari no é o kâku ni wa, mootô syugyoo ga iru ‘You need more training to paint a picture in his style’; Kâre mo yuumei na Pikâso ‘bari no tyusuoyoogâ o kâku yô ni nàtta ‘He actually got so he painted abstracts after the fashion of the famous Picasso’; Karada no ooki undoô-sénsyu ‘bari no yôi taikaku o site iru ‘He has a fine physique after the fashion of some large-bodied athlete’; Kono syôsôsetu wa, Edo-bûngaku o daihyoo suru Tîkâmatsu ‘bari no omosîro-sa ga áru ‘This novel has the charm of the style of Chikamatsu who represents Yedo literature’; Yûkai na Sàto san ‘bari ni kâre mo yûko syâbêru omosîrî yâto da ‘He is an interesting guy who talks a good deal after the fashion of jolly Mr. Satô’; Rippa na kâsyû ni nárü ni wa, taikaku no yôi seiyû-zin ‘bari ni yûko tabénakute wa ikenai ‘To become a fine singer it is necessary to eat well after the fashion of the Occidental with his fine physique’; Mînôbê to-tízí ‘bari no tâiwa-tyôo (it’s) the tone of dialog characteristic of metropolitan Governor Minôbe’ (SA); Huransu no zuuyuku-séîki no tyôsya Zôra ‘bari no syôsôsetu ‘a novel after the style of Zola, the 19th-century French author’.

(7a) ‘betu classified by’: nenrei ‘betu classified by age’; zidaî ‘betu classified by period/era’; syûrui ‘betu classified by kind/variety’; hûken ‘betu [no] zinkoo ‘population (listed) by prefecture’; ... hôtëru wa makutekî ‘betu ni wakeramãsu ‘hotels are differentiated according to purpose’ (Tsunagoshi 130b).

(7b) ‘betu excluding’: syôkuzî ‘betu without meals’ (opposite of syokuzî ‘komî’); téate ‘betu excluding allowances’ (opposite of téate ‘komî’); zéî ‘betu excluding tax’ (opposite of zeî ‘komî’); Dôndon tåkaku nárû kootû-hî ‘betu dâ kara turai ‘Since it excludes the steadily mounting transportation costs, I find it tough’.

(8a) ‘biki coated/plated/covered with’: Zinkoo-teki ni gousei sita gômî ‘biki no rînkûto da ‘It is a raincoat coated with a rubber that was artificially synthesized’; Kiirôo rû ‘biki no kâmî ‘Paper coated with yellow wax’; Hî ni tuyôo hooroo ‘biki [no] ga ôô ‘There are many (which are) plated with fire-resistant enamel’; Atûku kâketa hooroo ‘biki no nâbe ‘A pot thickly plated with enamel’.

(8b) ‘biki at a discount of’: Itî-wari ‘biki de uré ‘Sell it at a discount of ten percent’; Gô-bu ‘biki [no] ga ôô ‘Most of them are five percent off’; Sânzyûu san-paasento ‘biki wa hûtûu da ‘A discount of thirty-three percent is usual’.

(9) ‘bun a portion (sufficient) for (each)’ ... hyaku-pëêzi ‘bun ni okûru ‘mâî’ no siyôô-ryûoo ‘the amount of usage of ‘mâî’ in every hundred pages ... ‘; Ik-kâgetu ‘bun no eiga-kôôkokû o ... ‘A month’s (coverage of) film advertisements ... ‘ (Nagano 1968.177); ... nân-nen ‘bun mô no nyûusu ga kotosi ni syûûtyûu sita ‘enough news for several years was concentrated into this year’ (R); ... iti-zikan ‘bun no kane o harâtte, kono umâ ni nori, ... ‘paying for an hour’s ride, I mounted this horse, ... ‘ (Endô 213); Hitôri ‘bun ikura haraimasyôô ‘How much do we each pay?’; Itî-nen ‘bun no sigoto ‘One year’s
work ...”; Sénbei, mame-nezi, karín-toó, hakká, sonna món desu kara né, naná-en gozís-sen nara dagasi-ya ík-ken “bun wa arimá-su yó ‘It being (a matter of) rice-crackers, bean-twists, fried dough, mints and such things, [in those days] with seven yen and fifty sen you’d have enough to buy a whole candy shop!’ (Tk 3.43b). When “bun is attached to something other than a number, we will treat it as a lexical suffix: zoosi-bun ‘amount of new capital’, orikaesi-bun ‘the (proportion of) lapel’, ... For “bun in fractions, see p. 767 (§13.6).

(10a) “buri ‘after the absence of (an interval)’: Terebi-kánkei o nozoku geinóo-kai kara kanzen ni syatto-auto sarete ita Tamiya Zírōo ga iti-nen san-kágetu “buri ni kamú-bákku sita ‘Jirō Tamiya, completely shut out from the entertainment world except for television, made a comeback after a year and three months’ (SA 2658.110b); Sibáraku “buri de áta tízin(−) ni ... ‘to a friend I had not seen for a while’ (Nagano 1966.15); Nán-nen-ka ‘buri dáatta = Nán-nen “buri ká datta ‘It was after some years’. But hisaí-buri(−)’ with its formal variant hisakata-burí(−) ‘after a long time’ is treated as a separate lexical item.

(10b) “buri ‘the figure/shape/manner of’: Musuko no sono sénizín(−) “buri o míte tití wa yorokónda ‘Seeing that adult manner in his son pleased the father’; Mígoto na sénizín(−) “buri ni dáre mo ga mé o mi-hatta ‘His admirably adult manner caught everyone’s eye’; Kánó-zyo no kaigaisii hahaoya “buri ni, kodomó-táti mo mánzoku no yooos da ‘Her figure of heroic mother appears to please the children, too’; Búnisi-táti no hanayáida yaksaya “buri ga sono hi no mímóno dá ‘The feature of the day was the figure of splendid actor cut by the literary men’; Káre no tanomosíi riíada “buri ni kókóró o hikareta ‘Hearts were captured by his manner of trustworthy leader’; Káre no ita ni túita síkái-sya “buri wa ittái dóko de manandándaróo ka ‘I wonder where on earth he learned his thoroughly at-home M.C. manner?’; Musumé no kírëi na hanáyóme “buri ni háwa wa yorokónda ‘The beautiful figure she presented as a bride delighted her mother’; ... tainí no supiíido “buri o simešita no de, ... ‘as it [the typhoon] showed a terrific speed’ (Kótoba no yuruí 25).

Roku ni siní mo sinai kotó o sittá ka “buri o suru hitó ga yóku gozaimá-su ná ‘There are a good many people, you see, who pretend to knowledge of things they know too little about’ (Okitsu 1.148).

(10c) “buri = “bun ‘a portion (sufficient) for’: mikka “buri/“bun no syoókúryoo(−) ‘food enough for three days’. [Dialect?] (11) “-dái ‘the level/mark of’: Sinbun síka káenai zyu-én “dái ... ‘at a level of ten yen, a sum that will buy little but a newspaper’; Eikóoku no sénshuu (Zimu-Píttáa) ga ní-zikan riízip-pun “dái de hasíta ... ‘an English athlete (Jim Peter) ran it in two hours and twenty minutes’ (Tk 3.80b).

(12) “dái ‘one that is the size of’: Kogáta-tórákkú “dái no sí-ki no énzin ... ‘Four engines each the size of a small truck’ (SA 2670.139a); Nikái-date-bírú “dái no guńzí “yoo tuusín-éisei ... ‘A military communications satellite the size of a two-story building ...’ (from a newspaper); Ní “bun no ití “dái no syásin ‘A photograph half size’; Uzáru no tamágo(−) “dái [nó] ga oói ‘There are a lot the size of a quail’s egg’; E-hágáki “dái ga tékitoó dáaroo ‘About the size of a picture postcard would be suitable’; ... han-peezi “dái no sínbun-kóókoko ... ‘a half-page newspaper ad’ (SA 2684.119a).

(13a) dáke ‘only, just’ (= bákari, nómi): Káre wa, kírëi na hitó dáke ni sínsetú ni suru ‘He only behaves nicely toward good-looking people’; Huruí kí dáke kirímá-su ‘We will only cut the old trees’; Konó-híto dáke ga kita ‘Only this person came’; Konó-híto dáke o táyori ni suru ‘I will/can only rely on this person’; Mííneen sono hí dáke nómu kóto ni
§2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

(13b) "dake' (to) the amount/extent of; exactly; at least": Tābeta sono ryōo ("dake") enerūgi ga aheruru yōo ni kan-zirareru 'You can feel energy overflowing to the extent of the amount you have eaten'; Kona wa tukan bu ("dake") kirit-to hakaramišita 'I carefully measured the exact amount of flour to be used'; Zyuuen-kitte o nihyakū-en ("dake") kudasai 'Let me have 200 yen worth of ten-yen stamps'; Sono naka de yokei na monō ("dake") nokōsite kudasai 'Leave whatever of the things you don’t need'; Yakusoku sita gaku ("dake") tāsika ni motte kimāšita 'He surely enough brought the exact amount he had promised'; Kono gaku ("dake") ga modōtete kita 'Exactly this amount came back'; Kono gaku ("dake") o tyokin suru 'I will deposit exactly this amount'; Benkyoo surēba, sono ryōo ("dake") eraku narēru to omōte iru 'I think by studying I will improve myself to the full extent that I do it'; Hanbun "dake" herasoo 'Let us reduce it by half'; Sasuga wa kāre ("dake") no kotō wa āru 'It is indeed worthy of him' (Kenkyusha). The words dōre-dake("how much"), kore-dake 'this much/many' (cf. kore da ke 'only this'), sore-dake 'that much/many' (cf. sore da ke 'only that'), are-da ke 'that much/many' (cf. are da ke 'only that') are lexically derived adverbs, as explained on p. 789 (§13.7), and so are ari-[t]take 'all (as much as) there is' and kubi-[t]take 'up to the neck = head over heels (in love)'.

(13c) "dakē ni, ("dakē) atte 'just for being': Da ga sikās, sasuga wa tensai-gāka Takizawa Eiji-ku no sakū ("dakē) atte, korya subarasii hyoohn-zu da 'Yes but just being a work of the highly talented artist Eiji Takizawa himself makes this a splendid specimen drawing' (KKK 3.64); Anō-hito wa nē Edokko ("dakē) ni zadā ga zītū ni umāi 'Like the true Yedoite that he is he is a good conversationalist' (Kenkyusha); Sabishikatta atō ("dakē) ni hidoku urēshikatta 'She felt terribly happy—all the more so (for its being) after she had been so lonely' (Fn 287b).

(14) "dārake (one that is) smeared/filled with, a mass/mess of": Ōha ga huto n o tukūtte irū no de, heyū ("dakē) no naka wa sono wata-bōkori "dārake desu 'Mother is making a quilt, and the room is filled with the cotton dust from (the stuffing of) that'; Mattāku boldly o muitō mo, ēryā na yātu "dārake da 'Wherever I turn the place is full of dreadful people'; ... koo nāte miru to Akiko wa dōo site ii kā wakaranai koto "dārake datta 'things having come to this pass, Akiko was filled with doubts as to what she should do' (Ariyoshi 27); Kono sakana wa karada "zyuu hosoi honé "dārake desu 'This fish is full of tiny bones throughout its body'; Zyyūtan wa, māda sākkī kobōsita hai "dārake no mamā desu 'The carpet is still smeared with the ashes spilled a while back'; Ahurika wa yasei no doobutu "dārake desu 'Africa is full of wild animals'; Niwa o kīrei na hanā "dārake ni site okū no ga yume desu 'It is my dream to get my garden so it is a mass of pretty flowers'; Akai bara ga suki na no de, kāno-zyo no heyū wa kāten ni mo, kāten ni mo, beddo-kābaa ni mo akai bara "dārake desu 'Since she likes red roses, her room is filled with red roses—in vases, on the curtains, on the bedcovers even'... Heyū ("dakē) no naka wa, sākkī tundē kita hanā "dārake ni nātte iru 'The room is filled with the flowers that I cut a while back'; ... kaku ni hazureta tokorō "dārake, ... 'are full of passages that violate the rules, and ...' (K 1966.24); ... dorō to tī "dārake desita 'they were covered with mud and blood' (SA 2676.128c); Kodomo no zidai ni wa, karada "zyuu kīzū "dārake datta 'During my childhood I was a mass of scars all over my body' (Tk 3.42b); Kuni ga assen site kureta to i wa, izure mo matī no nantoo, siōkaze ga mōro-ni atarui isī ya iwā "dārake no toti bākari [da] 'The land that the government has negotiated for us is all just land to the southwest of the city,
covered with stones and rocks at the complete mercy of the sea wind' (SA 2689.147b); Kono heyá wa kitanaí gomi ‘dárake da ‘This room is covered with filthy dust’; Kitanáí gomi ‘dárake na heyá da ‘It is a room covered with filthy dust’; ... suné ni kízu ‘dárake no ... ménó ‘a person [covered with scars on his leg = with a guilty conscience’ (SA); Watasi ni wa yómu kotó mo dekinai yóó na muzukashii(”) hón ‘dárake da ‘It is loaded with such difficult books I can’t even read them’; ... oogesa ni iu to nání mo ká mo ga hazukashii kotó ‘dárake mitái ni omóeta no da ‘... to exaggerate, it seemed as though everything was smeared with shame’ (CK 985.371).

(15) ‘de (one that is) a product/graduate of’: Kyosoo no hídó ni nyuu-gaku no muzukashi(”) Too-dai ‘de dā kara, eriito-isiki ga tuyoi daroo ‘Because he is a graduate of Tókyó University where the severe competition makes admission difficult, he has a strong feeling of being elite’; Shín-basi to iu rékki to sita ikísúzi(“) ‘de (”) dáke ‘até odori ya syamisen wa hon-syoku děsu ‘Just from being a product of the high-class geisha world of Shimbashi, she is an expert at dancing and playing the samisen’. Cf. Anó-híto wa Miyázaki no de dā sō da ga Tooyóo no de dě wa nái no ka ‘He is said to be from Miyazaki, but I wonder if he isn’t from Tókyó’; Nōoka no de da ‘He is from a farm(ér’s) family’; Inaka kara pot-to de no onná ga yuuwaku sare-yasui ‘Girls blushingly from the country are easily seduced’. Do not confuse with the suffix ‘-de in Kono hón wa yomi-de ga árú ‘There is plenty of reading in this book’, Tábe-de ga árú ‘There’s quite a lot to eat’, Aruki-de ga árú ‘It is a lot of walking’, etc.

(16) ‘deki ‘produced (by/at/in)’: Ki-rú mono ni zeitaku datta kuge ga óoku ‘sunde ita Kyóoto ‘deki norippa na orímóno(”) de gozaimásu kara ‘It is a splendid fabric produced in Kyóoto where used to live the nobles who were extravagant in what they wore (and that is why it is so expensive/desirable/ ... )’; Ryóosan ‘zídai no íma ‘deki no kabin dá kara tuma-rúnái monó dá ‘It is a vase produced in the present era of mass production so it is a worthless thing’.

(17) ‘dókoro, ‘dóko ‘far from (being/doing), hardly (a question of)’:39 Taihen, taihen, ban-góhan no soodan ‘dókoro zya nái desu yó ‘Terrible, terrible, we can hardly discuss dinner (under such circumstances!)’; Isogásikute suki na góruhu ‘dókoro zya nái ‘I’m so busy my much enjoyed golf is out of the question’; Anó-híto ni wa, episóódo ga óoku, yóku wadai ni noboru Sátýóo san ‘dókoro no sáwagi zya nái ‘He’s a far cry from Mr Sató who keeps getting talked about for his many scrapes’; Isogásikute íma wa kono sigoto ‘dókoro zya nái ‘I’m so busy this job is out of the question for now’; Íyóoió kawá o wareru to iu tyóikužen(”) ni dáme ni nátta no wa, hainiti-móndaí ga ókite, ryóoko ‘dókoro zya nákú nátyatta ‘Just before we were at last able to cross the river what spoiled things was an anti-Japanese incident that arose so that travel became unthinkable’ (SA 2659.50a).

(18) ‘dómarí ‘up to (the limit of—an amount, a weight, a distance)’: Kono gáku ‘dómarí ga datóo to omówarérú ‘Up to this amount seems proper’; Zootóó-hín(”) wa, kono gáku ‘dómarí o datóo to mi-náši-te irú ‘Gifts are regarded as proper up to this amount’; Íma yóóku benkyóo site okana to, kimi no sýóóraí wa, kimi no kirai na hira-syáin ‘dómarí desu yó ‘Unless you apply yourself to your studies now, your future will be limited to that of your despised ordinary clerk’; Tumaránái kakari-tyóo ‘dómarí de wa, sararí-man no issyóo wa yáríkérénái na ‘If limited to being a dull chief clerk, the whitecollar worker’s life is unbearable, you see’; Watákusí ga íma dasérú níma-n-en ‘dómarí de,

39. See also ‘dókoró ka, §15.6.
sūbete o makanātte kure ‘Take care of all the expenses within the sum of twenty thousand yen that I can pay now’; Kono bāsu wa sono mati ‘dōmari desu ‘This bus only goes as far as that town’; Sonna waza ‘dōmari de wa zyuūdoo o narātta to ienai ‘You can’t be said to have learned judo with nothing more than that sort of a throw’; Kāre no zinsei wa tā-site omosiroku mo nāi zyo-kyōozyu ‘dōmari no hanar no nāi zinsei datta ‘His life was an untroubled life that did not go beyond being an assistant professor of no particular interest to speak of’; ... sasuga ni nē ni nī-kāi ‘dōmari ‘Sure enough, it’s just two times a year’ (SA 2664.23b); Kono ‘syērupa’ no nittoo no soobā wa sānbyakū-en kara sen-en ‘dōmari da to iu ‘The market price of daily wages for these “Sherpa’s” [Himalayan mountain guides] is said to be from three hundred to a thousand yen’ (SA 2680.114c); Mukasi, wareware ga kodomo no kōro wa, wāru-sa to ittē mo kāi-dōrobo ‘dōmari datta no ni ‘In the old days, when we were children, pranks at their worst were limited to stealing per-simmons but [now] ... ‘... sore mo kōno hēn ‘dōmari de aru ‘that too is limited to this passage [in the book]’ (Maeda 1962.186); Gēnzaï no bungaku-sākuhin zya nākute, seizei Aku tāgawa Ryūunosuke ‘dōmari ‘gūrai no monō o yōmeba matigai nāi ‘Rather than writers of the present day, it would be advisable to read at least back to Ryūunosuke Aku tāgawa’ (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.229).

(19) ‘dōori ‘like, as, according to’: Ziyu-u-kēizai no gensoku ‘dōori ‘... ‘According to the principles of a free economy ... ‘; Sore o gakumen ‘dōori ni uke-toru kōtō wa dekinai ‘That cannot be taken at face value’; Kono keikaku ‘kōtō ‘dōori o okonatta ‘We acted according to this plan’; Kono keikaku ‘kōtō ‘ga okonawareta ‘It was done according to this plan’; ... kore māde ‘dōori no bunryō no sigoto o saseru ‘they will expect the same amount of work as required up to the present’ (SA 2820.119cd); ... narubēku(‘) ima-māde ‘dōori ... ‘as much as possible as it has been up to now’ (SA 2673.18c); Mē kara no warūi uwasa ‘dōori ni nātte simatta ‘It turned out just like the earlier nasty rumor (had said)’; Kono rokunēn-kan wa kokumin tō no koo yaku ‘dōori ni tutome-tāi ‘For this six-year period I want to serve in accordance with my agreement with the nation’; Anāta no baai wa, syakai-too no kūnda sukezyuuru ‘dōori ni kikai-ningyoo no gōtoku ugokanakute wa narānai to iu tura-sa, bakabakā-sa wa arimasen desita ka ‘In your case, didn’t you have the burden and foolishness of having to move like a mechanical doll according to the schedule put together by the Socialist Party?’ (SA); Sono hi wa kārē-ra no tāteta tanōshi keikaku ‘dōori ni kōtō ga hakobareta ‘That day things worked out according to the happy plans they had set up’; Kāre wa zibun no itta kōtōb ‘dōori no kōtō o tūne ni okonau ‘He always carries things out according to the words he has said’; ... kyōkā-syo ‘dōori ga tatēmae de aru to i kōtō ‘... ‘that it is the rule to have it the way the text-book has it’ (Nagano 1966.56).

(20) ‘dōōsi ‘(those) in company with’: ... maiko ya geiko ‘dōōsi de siyoo sareru monō de aru ‘they are gestures used by maiko and geiko’ (Inokuchi 14); ... wakai monō ‘dōōsi de asobi ni iku ‘go out to enjoy oneself with fellow young folk’ (SA 2645.18c); Sonna ni wakai onna ‘dōōsi de ‘... ‘in company with fellow women so young’; Hazime Amerika e kita monō ‘dōōsi de, kai o tukūta ‘As fellow newcomers to America they formed a society’; ... mībun no hikūi monō ‘dōōsi de mo ‘... ‘even people of low status among themselves’ (Sato 1962.26); Nihon-zin ‘dōōsi ‘Fellow Japanese ... ‘; Zibun-ra ‘dōōsi de ‘... ‘In their own company ... ‘(cf. § 2.7); ... maru-de tosi ga tyō-to sika hanērete inai koibito ‘dōōsi de mo aru ka no yōo ni, ... ‘quite as if they were perhaps lovers only slightly apart in age’ (SA 2662.120a); ... hutātu no tigatta rekisi o mōtta kuni ‘dōōsi ga atta baai
ni ... 'if fellow humans from countries which have two different histories meet ...' (Tani-gawa 49). Perhaps some cases should be treated as simple lexical compounds: rinson-dōosi 'neighboring villagers', tonari-dōosi 'neighbors', byooin-dōosi 'fellow patients', ... . Occasionally dōosi is used as a free noun: dōosi o atumér ‘form a fellowship’, dōosi ga atumér ‘the fellowship forms/gathers’; Dōosi [de aru] Tanaka Tàoō o syookai simásu ‘Let me introduce T. T., [who is] a comrade [= fellow communist]’.

(21) "gāeri (the one that is; the time when) on the way back from, returning from": Yasūi gekkyuu de koki-tukawaretu Amerika "gāeri de ... 'On my way back from America where I slaved away for a cheap salary ...'; Kaisya "gāeri o neratte ... ‘Aiming at the (man/ time) returning from the office ...’; Kaigan "gāeri ga ōōi ‘There are many returning from the shore’.

(22) "gai 'outside of, beyond': Kyōō kimeta hān’i ‘gai [= han’i-gai] no mondai wa asitā soodan siyoo ‘Issues beyond the scope decided for today can be discussed tomorrow’; ... to i ron wa tooom (‘) no mondai ‘gai [= mondaigai] de aru ‘the argument that ... is beyond the immediate problem’ (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.35a); Kengén ‘gai [= kengén-gai] ‘beyond one’s authority, unauthorized’; keikaku ‘gai [= keikakugai] ‘outside one’s plans’; senmon ‘gai [= senmongai] ‘outside one’s specialty’.

(23) "gakari '(requiring) as many/much as, (by) taking’: ... maru hutuka ‘gakari de Miyazaki-si e tuūita ga ‘It took us a full two days to reach Miyazaki city and ...’ (SA 2674.110c); ... hitōri ni go-rookunin ‘gakari de nagurāreta ‘a group of five or six got punched by one [high-school bully]’ (SA 2681.124d); Ittī-nen ‘gakari de ip-pon nomi-masū ‘In the course of a year I drink up a bottle (of liquor)’ (SA 2645.50d); ... watasi wa kita-kāigan kara higasi-kāigan e to hannya ‘gakari de arūita ‘I walked from the north shore to the east shore, taking half a day to do it’; Kā-re-ra wa minna-ō-ōtoka kara, sono san-nin ‘gakari nara, yuuuyyu(‘) kono piano wa hakoberu ‘They are all big fellows, so with the three of them it should be easy to deliver the piano’; Yuusyyuu na hitō-tati ‘gakari ga zuyu-nin erabāreta ga, sono yuusyyuu na zyuū-nin ‘gakari de sitē mo kono mondai wa tokēnakatta ‘Ten people, all excellent people, were chosen but even doing it with that whole group of ten excellent people this problem could not be resolved’; Kono san-nin ‘gakari de, isi o ugoāsu ‘These three people together will move the stone’.

(24a) "gake ‘garbed in (informal traditional wear)’: atarāsi warazi ‘gake de ‘wearing new straw sandals’; kon-iro no yu kata ‘gake de ‘in a dark blue yu kata (bathrobe)’; akai tasukī(‘) ‘gake de ‘with red sleeve ties’; makkā na merinsu de tukkūta tasukī(‘) ‘gake de ‘with sleeve ties made of red muslin’.

(24b) "gake ‘multiplied by’: hutatū ‘gake no ooki-sa ‘double size(d)’; yottū ‘gake no nāga-sa ‘quadruple length’. This usage is unfamiliar to speakers I have consulted, but it is listed in MKZ and Kōjien. It is unclear whether the usage san-nin ‘gake no (naga-)isu ‘a set-tee for three’ is an extension of this.

(24c) "gake ‘ten percent’: Teika no hatī ‘gake de uru ‘We will sell it at eighty percent of the set price’.

(25) "gara ‘by the nature of’: Sigoto ‘gara no kyōomi ... ‘Interests that stem from one’s job ...’; mibun ‘gara ‘by one’s social position’; Ip-pun iity-byyoo o ki ni suru syokūgyoo ‘gara [de], anāinsaa ni wa no rīrōozu ga ōōi ‘Announcers have a lot of neuroses from the nature of their profession where they worry about every minute and every second’; Māntinī(‘) no yōo ni bukkka ga agaru zisetu ‘gara, kokumin wa seikatu ni owarete, zetakū-hin(‘) ni māde wa te ga dēnai ‘In view of the times, with prices rising practically every
day, the people are hard pressed for their livelihood and can't touch luxury items’;
... basyo “gara no mondai de wa naku, hito “gara no mondai ni suginakatta no de aru ‘It
was not a matter of the place, it was only a matter of the nature of the person’ (Maeda
1961.31).

(26) “garami ‘(one who is) about, a round (age of)’: sizyuú “garami ‘(a person) about
forty years of age’; gozyuú “garami ‘a round fifty years of age’; Sán-zyuu “garami o
taisyo o ni suru ‘We aim at the thirty-year-olds’; Hatati “garami ga óói ‘There are a lot of
twenty-year-olds’.

(27) “gata ‘by about (a percent, a price level)’: Itiwarí “gata hetta ‘It was reduced by
ten percent’; Zyu-ên “gata geraku sita ‘It fell ten percent’; Tóozi, minkan yóri mo koko
wa ni-sánwari “gata, kyúuryo ga yókatta to omoinásu ‘At that time the salaries here
were about twenty or thirty percent better than civilian (pay), I believe’ (SA 2665.29a).
The use of “gata with a few time words (yuu-gata ‘evening’, yoake-gata ‘dawn’, asa-gata
‘morning’, hinokure-gata ‘twilight’) is best taken as a suffix, as is the use in teki-gata ‘be­
longing to the enemy’, Heike-gata ‘belonging to the Taira clan’, etc.

(28) “gawa ‘the side of’: ... sore o insatu site watakusi “gawa to, gusai “gawa to no
üzin(“) ni haihu(“) sita ‘printed it up and distributed it to acquaintances of mine and of
my wife’s’ (Tk 3.183); Kyónen made syusyoo dátta Ikeda “gawa wa kono sénkyo de
zenpai sita ‘The side (= forces) of Ikeda, who was prime minister up to last year, was
decisively defeated in this election’; Genba de osiete iru wareware kyóosi “gawa to sité no
íken ... Our opinion as osite of the spot ...’; ... zoowai “gawa ... ‘those engaged in the
 bribery’ (KKK 3.132); Minami-Bétonamu séihu “gawa wa ... ‘The side of the South Viet­
namese government ...’. For convenience we will treat as compound nouns migi-gawa
 (= migi “gawa ‘right’, hidari-gawa (= hidari “gawa ‘left’, soto-gawa (= sóto “gawa ‘outside’,
dotira-gawa (= dó tira “gawa ‘which/either side’, etc.

(29) “gawari ‘in place of, instead of, as substitute for’: Húbún de kyuu-siki na yú-tanpo
“gawari ni denki-buránto o tuka “Instead of an inconvenient and old-fashioned hot­
water bottle, I use an electric blanket’: Zimú-in e no aisatu “gawari ni, saikin no besuto-
séraa o is-satu(“) motte Íta ‘Instead of “greeting” to the clerk she brought a recent best­
seller’ (Ariyoshi 241); Ryóosi no katá wa góhan “gawari ni sakana o tabérú n desu ‘Those
who are fishermen eat fish instead of rice, you see’ (SA 2681.44a).

(30) “gáyoi ‘attending; traveling between, commuting to’: Nédan no takái ryóori-ya
“gáyoi o sínái de, táda de hón o yóméru tosó-kan “gáyoi o sítu kúgaku o sita ‘Instead of
going to expensive restaurants, I went to the library where books can be read free and I
worked hard at my studies’; Hóunkó Yokohama “gáyoi no teki-sen ... ‘a regular boat
running between Hong Kong and Yokohama’.

(31) “génzai ‘(the time that is) as of (a date/period)’: Iú-nen “zyuu de itiban mizikáí
 ñuki no nígatu “génzai o nozokéba ... ‘Excluding the period as of February, the shortest
month of the year, ...’; Nízis-séi “génzai ni nátte mo ... ‘Even now in the twentieth cen­
tury ...’; Syóowa(“) yóznyuu yo-nen no sán-gatu “génzai no tokei ni yoru to ... ‘Accord­
ning to the statistics as of March of 1969 ...’; Nanayuû-nénda “génzai de wa ... ‘As of the
seventies ...’; Dé wa, gógo, sokú-zi “génzai no hattaku-zyóokyoo o o-tutae simasyóo ‘Now
I will tell you about the (plane) arrivals and departures as of this hour of six p.m.’ (R).

(32) “go(“) ‘(the time) after’—see §14.4: Dái itiizi taise “go(“) dá kita kokusai-rénmei
to ... ‘The League of Nations which was set up after World War I ...’ (R); Kekkyóku, sore
kara, san-kágetu “go(“) ni ... ‘Finally three months after that ...’ (R); Rainen no soo-sénkyo
§2. Predicate Adjuncts

- günd-ending to introduce a full sentence: ‘The problem is (the time) after next year’s general election’; Nǐ-sānnīti ‘gō()’ dā ‘It is several days later’.

(33) -gōkēkī—see kōkkī.

(34) ‘gōnomi ‘the style//mode//fashion//vogue of’: Gekiteki na zisatsu o tōgeta Misima ‘gōnomi no, hito no ihyoo ni dēru suyuuzi-hoo()’ dā ‘Rhetoric in the mode of a Mishima, with his violent suicide, takes people by surprise’ (epithetic identification—see §3.10a).

(35) ‘gōro ‘(a time that is) about (a time):’40 Hīna ma hiru-yūsumi ‘gōro ni denwa shī morau ‘I’d like to be phoned during the noon break when I am not busy’; Itiban isogaisi yuu-gata ‘gōro, misē o nukedasitari suru ‘Around evening when it is busiest, I sometimes slip out of the shop’; Genki datta 1960-nen ‘gōro wa, yoku issyo ni tēnisu o sita ‘Around 1960, when I was in good health, we used to play tennis together a lot’; Hi ni yake-tai nara, atū ni-zi ‘gōro ga ii ‘If you want to get a sun tan, the best time is around two o’clock when it is hot’; Kī no ha [=Kō-no-ha] ga otoru zuyuutigatu ‘gōro ni wa sooto sāmuku nāte yūkō mo hurī-dasu ‘Around November when the leaves fall it gets quite cold and the snows start, too’; Māi-asa sān-zi ka yō-zi ‘gōro ni mē o samāsite ‘... ‘Awakening around three or four o’clock every morning’...’ (SA 2666.82b); Yohūkē no zuyuuni-zi, itī-zi ‘gōro made, ‘...‘until around twelve or one at night’ (SA 2666.83a); Daitai nān-zi ‘gōro ga ii desu ka ‘Around what time would it be better?’; Tokei no hārī ga sān-zi ‘gōro o simēsute()’ iru ‘The hands of the clock show three’. Lexical: konō-goro(), itu-goro.

(36) -gosī, -!*gosī ‘across, beyond, over; on the other side of’... sēntōo no bandai ‘gosī ni ‘... ‘beyond the watch-seat of the public bath’ (SA 2650.117c);... atukute kikara-kikara kagayaku syuusei [= arukōoru] no kiri ‘gosī ni mē o korasedo mīru to, ‘... ‘When I focused my eyes across the hot and glittering alcohol mist, I saw...’ (SA 2669.91a); Yōnen ‘gosī no koosyō no kekkō, ‘... ‘As a result of over four years of negotiations, ‘...’ (SA 2689.146d);... tama-yōkē() no donoo ‘gosī ni ‘... ‘across the bullet-proof sandbags’ (SA 2678.96b);... hoosōo o sān-nen ‘gosī yatte ‘māsita ‘was doing broadcasts over a three-year period’ (Tk 4.201a);... Tonari no kakine ‘gosī ni hanasi-kakeru... ‘... ‘starts talking across the next-door fence’; Sono tērēbi no tō o wa takāi yama ‘gosī ni atira to kotōru ni āru ‘The television towers are here and there beyond the tall mountain’; Toomei na māgo-gārā ‘gosī ni sóto no kēsīki ga mē ni hārō ‘Beyond the clear glass of the window the outside scenery strikes the eye’; Atarāsikē tukūtta berândo... ‘gosī ni mīdorī no sītshō gr miēru ‘Beyond the newly built verandah you can see green turf’; Kotosi mo sono iē no hikūi kakine ‘gosī ni ume no hanā ga miēru ‘This year again you can see plum blossoms over the low fence of that house’; Sirōi makū ‘gosī ni... ‘On the other side of a white curtain...’.

(37) -gōto ‘each, every (instance):’... hitōto no torihiki ‘gōto ni... ‘for each transaction’ (SA 2670.29a);... Yuumei na ēki ‘gōto ni nāni ka miyage o katte kūru ‘I will buy something in the way of a souvenir at each famous station’;... Hurūi terā ‘gōto ni sozēzore moti-azi ga āru ‘Each old temple has its own respective flavor’;... Au hīto ‘gōto ni sono uwasa o itte wa atta oni ‘I’m going around telling that rumor to everyone I see’; Kyoουkō waa ooûkī ēki ‘gōto ni tomaru ‘The express stops at every large station’; Tīti ga kōokai() karā kāeru tabi ‘gōto ni uti() ‘zyuu de oo-sāwagi o suru ‘Every time father comes back from a voyage there is a great commotion throughout the house’; Rinyūu-syoku wa

40. In the Tango area (west of Kyōto), ‘gōro is used to mean ‘only, just’, according to Inokuchi 281.
san-zi-kan “gōto ga tekito de āru ‘For feeding the weaning baby, every three hours is suitable’; Rinyū-syoku wa san-zi-kan “gōto o gendō to suru ‘We set every three hours as the limit for feedings when weaning’; ... tuuwa wa sán-pun made “gōto ni nā-na-ni ni narimāsu ‘a phone call will be seven yen for each period up to three minutes’ (SA 2835.41).

(38) “gōto ‘inclusive of, with ... and all’; Mīkan wa eiyō no āru kawā “gōto tabēru to yōi ‘It is better to eat tangerines with the nutritious skin and all’; Anna ni omoi kīnko “gōto nusumāreta ‘We got robbed of everything including that terribly heavy safe!’; Sono hako no naka ni hāite iru iroīro na garakuta “gōto motte kita ‘I brought everything including the miscellaneous junk in the box’; Sono totte “gōto tōrete simatta ‘The whole thing came off, handle and all’; Āru-hi watasi wa zitēn-sya(“) “gōto kawā[7] no naka ni tenraku site oo-kēga o sita ‘One day I really hurt myself falling in the river, bike and all’ (SA 2837.80b); Kono eda “gōto [a] ikete miyō “Let’s try it all in the flower arrangement, including this branch; Ikeru no nara, Kono eda “gōto ga ii desyōu ‘If you’re arranging the flowers it would be better with this branch included in’. Some dialects use “gutī.

(39) “gurai, “kurai, “kkurai ‘about, as much; or so’; Kono iti-kīro “gurai ga kīrei da ‘This stretch of about one kilometer is pretty’; Kono iti-kīro “gurai o Sakura-Nāmiki to iu ‘This stretch of about one kilometer is called Cherry Lane’; Ni-kīro “gurai hasiru ‘We will walk about two kilometers’; ... titi ga yappāri yonzyū-kīro “gurai sika nā ni desu yo ‘... my father weighs only about 40 kilos himself’ (SA 2654.44c). (39a) “gurai etc. ‘to the extent of; about all (that ...); at least; as ... as’ (adnominalizing either as a predicative adverb with no or as an adjectival noun with nā): Sono hako “gurai no ooki-sa no ga hosii ‘I want one [= a box] of a size as large as that box’; Sono ookii karēndaa “gurai no kami ni kāite kudasai ‘Please write it on paper as big as that large calendar’; Kāre wa kīnō aitta Sōto san “gurai no sē no tā na-sa desu ‘He is as tall as Mr Satō whom I saw yesterday’; Sukī na no wa ano kudamono “gurai na monō da ‘What I like is the fruit at least’; Wakāi onnā “gurai kīrei na monō wa nāi ‘There’s nothing so pretty as a young girl’; Konna matigāi o surū no wa, hūdan amari hōn o yōmānai kimi “gurai na monō da ‘Making this sort of mistake is about what I would expect from you who never bother to do much reading’; Sonō-hito “gurai ga yuuumei ni narēru no da kara, anāta d’atte ganbāreba seikō simāsū yō ‘Since he at least can achieve fame, if you will just try harder you too will succeed, I tell you’; Kono wazā “gurai o konasēreba tā-sita monō da ‘If you can master THIS trick, it’s quite a feat!’; Sonō-hito “gurai yuuumei ni nari-tāi ‘I want to become as famous as he (is)’; Sono mondai “gurai muzukasī(”) ‘to sensei de mo nakanaka tokēnai ‘If it is as hard as that problem even the teacher will be hard put to figure it out’; Sonna kantan na kōto “gurai hito ni tanomānakute mo i no ni ‘You’d think it wouldn’t be necessary to call on others for anything as simple as that’; Sonna kōtō o yarū no wa kimi “gurai no monō da ‘No one but you would do such a thing’ (Kenkyusha); Tama ni wa kāo “gurai misē’atte iī darō ‘You might (at least) come and see us once in a while’ (Kenkyusha); Tyūgakku de hissyū-kāmoku to sarete iru Eigo “gurai wakarānakerēba kore karā wa komarimāsū yō ‘Unless you can understand at least English, which is treated as a required subject in junior high school, you will be at a loss from here on in [= for the rest of your life]’; Pī-pīi nau kodomo “kkūrā urusai monō wa nāi ‘There’s nothing so annoying as a mewling kid’ (Kb).[41] Anō-hito “kkūrā, kamisan-kōkoo na hitō wa nāi ‘There’s none so uxorious as he’ (Tk 2.17b). Such expressions as A, B(, C) “gurai de

41. On such expressions as N1 “gurai/hodō (A-i) N2 wa nāi, see hodō.
mean ‘A and B (and C) are about all [there is and beyond that nothing]’: ... dento-
sutōobu, hibati, kotatu “gurai de ‘electric heaters, hibachi, and kotatsu are about all there
is [to use for heating]’ (BJ 2.200); Eigo ga hanasèru no wa Sātoo san, Ikeda san “gurai de,
hoka no kaïn wa hanasénai ‘The only ones who can talk English are Mr Satō and Mr
Ikeda; none of the other members can’’. The following words are lexically derived ad-
verbs, as explained on p. 789 (§ 13.7): dōno-kurai (“) ‘how much/far/long’; kono-kurai
and kore-kurai/gurai ‘this much’; sono-kurai/gurai and sore-kurai/gurai ‘that much’,
ano-kurai/gurai and are-kurai/gurai ‘that much’; ikura-gurai ‘how much’, onazi-
kurai(“)/gurai(“) ‘to the same extent’.

(40) “gurumi ‘throughout, the whole/entire’: ... hiroi tiki “gurumi tuyu (= to iu) kotō
ni nāru to ... ‘when it gets to be a matter of an entire large area’ (SA 2686.—); Kaisya
“gurumi matome te natu-yasumi nāmē no mē (= matār”) yumē desu yō ‘To get the whole
company together for a summer vacation would be a dream beyond dreams!’ (SA 2637.
39e); Kaisya “gurumi ooyoo site iru tokorō mo āru “rasī ga, sā-te ... ‘It would appear to
have some features that apply throughout the company; well, now ...’ (SA 2685.113a);
Kāzoku “gurumi ‘The whole family ...’ (For further examples, see Kenkyusha.)

(41) “hān ‘and a half’: ... ni-zyuu yo-ka kā “hān ‘twenty-four days and a half’. The accen-
tuation of yo zuo-han ‘fourn-and-a-half mat area’ indicates a compount.

(42) “hatu ‘(thing) leaving from, dispatched from/at’: Hanā no miyako no Pārii “hatu
(= Pariīhatu) no zikan wa ... ‘The time of arrival in Paris, the capital of (flowers =) gaiety
...’; Nizyuu gō-niti “hatu (= goniti-hatu) ga oōi ‘There are a lot of them dispatched on the
25th’. For an alternative treatment, see p. 135.

(43a) hodo ‘about, approximately’: Kono éiga(“) no nāka de wa, kono zō-pun hōdo
ga omosiriōi ‘In this film, this stretch of about ten minutes is interesting’; Sono zō-pun
hōdo(“) no nozekōba, omosiroku nai ‘Except for that stretch of about ten minutes, it isn’t
interesting’; Sono san-nīn hōdo(“) ga ītu mo itazura o suru ‘That group of three or so is always
up to some prank’; Wiiku-ēndo no yūkkū rī tanošimu kōtō no dekīru butuka hōdo wa
hoka no yoōzi ni tukai-taku nai ‘I don’t want to use for other purposes the couple of days
of the weekend when I can relax and enjoy things’; Kita-hānkyuu ni nizyuu rōku-syu
hōdo(“) ga seizon suru ‘Some 26 varieties exist in the Northern Hemisphere’ (SA 2677.60d);
Hutatō no kome-bitu ni wa komē to mūgi ga wākete irerarete ōri, komē no hō o wa taisetu
ni site tukanawakkata no ka, musi ga hanbūn hōdo o konā ni site ita ‘A couple of ricebins
contained, separately, rice and barley; about half the rice—perhaps because he had not been
careful when he used it—he had been pulverized by weevils’ (SA 2665.117a); Koko ni āru
kono mitū hōdo ga kowārete iru ‘These three that are here are broken’; Kantan ni arūite
ikaru hyaku-mētoru hōdo no tokorō ni î kissā-ten ga āru ‘There is a good café about a
hundred meters away within easy walking distance’; Myūūzika “Doro(“) no nūkō na rūbīi(“)
nō nāka de wa, tatta ni-kyyoku hōdo sīka Iwaya san no si ni sakkyoku dekīnakkata no ga,
tote-mō zannē datta “In the musical “Rubies in the Mud” I was only able to put music
tō Iwaya’s lyrics for just two numbers, much to my regret’ (SA 2654.62a); Kore wa
nihyaku-en hōdo de kaeru ‘This can be had for a couple of hundred yen’; ... tooka hōdo(“)
taizai sita tokī ..., ‘(Once) when I stayed for ten days ...’ (KKK 3.205). The expressions
ika-hōdo = nāni-hōdo(“) = dōre-hōdo(“), ka-hōdo = kore-hōdo, sa-hōdo = sore-hōdo, and
are-hōdo are lexically derived adverbs, as are noti-hōdo and нару-hōdo; see p. 789 (§ 13.7).

(43b) hōdo ‘as much as (to be/do); insofar as; (not) as much as’; Senden ni wa rāzio(“)
§ 2.4. Restricitives and quasi-restrictives

Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

Yóku i u kóto o kiku ko hodo kawai monó wa ná 'There's nothing so adorable as an obedient child'; Watakusi wa hoka no hitó-tati hodo kúroku yakenakatta 'I didn't get as tanned as the others did'; ... dōkusu(') no suki na kodomo hodo sakubun ga umái ...

the more the child enjoys reading the better he is at composition' (Nagano 1966.135); Warú yáto hodo yóko nemuru 'The worst rascals sleep the soundest'; Takái heyá hodo háyaku husagatta yài desu 'The more expensive the rooms [in the hotel] the sooner they are filled' (Tk 3.234a); Hén na yümé hodo masayume ni náru 'The strangest dreams come true'; Suekko hodo kawai monó da 'The younger the child, the dearer it is to you' (Kenkyusha); Nága-sa ga haba hodo arú 'It is as long as it is wide' (Kenkyusha); Kotosi wa kyónen hodo átuku ná 'This year is not so hot as last' (Kenkyusha); Ore wa zuibun nónda kedo, án hodo zya nákatta 'I drank a lot, but not as much as my brother'; Kore wa umái monó desu ga, Isé-ebi(') hodo zya arimasén 'This is good-tasting stuff but not as good as lobster'; Kono zí wa kirei desu ga, sono zí hodo zya nái desyoo 'This character is neat, but not so neat as that one, surely'.

(44) -hükaku 'the depths of; deep in': Íti-ení -zyuu yuki ni tutumáreta yamá -hükaku sumiyáki ga sünde ita 'A charcoal burner lived deep in mountains covered with snow the year around'; Kakoo -hükaku {made-e} -tobi-kóná 'She jumped deep into the volcano crater'; Kaitai/Kawazoko -hükaku tamá o hirow 'They find jewels deep at the bottom of the sea/river'.

(44) 'huratto 'an elapsed time that is) ... flat': Zyuuití-byoo -hurátto desu 'It's) eleven seconds flat'.

(45) -hüu 'the air/manner of': ... rippa na nári o sita saráíi-man 'huu no hutari no otokó ga ... 'two gentlemen with the air of white-collar workers cutting fine figures' (SA 2689.43); Atui mëgane o káketa gakusya 'huu no roozín(') ... 'An old man with the air of a heavily bespectacled scholar ... ' (or: 'A heavily bespectacled old man with the air of a scholar ...').

(46) -ien 'and beyond': ... syúuui zík-kíro -ién wa ... 'the surrounding ten kilos and beyond' (SA 2686.41d); ... Hónkón -ién sika, uru ryokoo ga náï 'the only trips that will sell are to Hongkong and beyond' (SA 2832.44b).

(47) -igai 'outside of, except for': ... káiritú(') de kin-zirárete(') iru buta-niku -igai wa nán de mo tabérú 'They will eat anything other than the pork that is forbidden them by religious law ... ' (SA 2673.140c); Sono mondai -igai o tôku 'I can get them all except that question'; Yakusoku sita hón -igai kasenai 'I can lend only the book I promised'; Kono páat'ii ni wa wakái hitó -igai wa kíte wa dáme na n desu tte 'I hear no one but young people are supposed to come to this party'; Tooyoo-kánzi -igai ga hu-hituyooo da 'Characters outside the Provisional List are unnecessary' (Ôno 295); Bënkí -inan (= Benkínai) ni ben-yóosi -igai o sutenáí de kudasai 'Do not throw anything other than toilet paper in the toilet' (sign). (Cf. hoka, sika.)

42. The structure in this and the following sentence is N₁ hodo(A-i) N₂ wa ná 'there is no N₂ the equal of N₁ in which N₁ is more specific and N₂ is a more general category into which N₁ fits: Zinsyumónâi hodo muzukasii (-) mondai wa ná 'There is no problem so difficult as the race problem'. Sometimes -gurai is used for hodo.
§2. Predicate Adjuncts

(48) "igo 'after, since, hereafter': Réi no pāat‘ii "igo, kāre-ra wa sitāsiku nātta ‘Since the well-known party, they have grown quite intimate’; Ano yūkai na zīken "igo, sono misē ni wa hito ga ōoku atumārū yōo ni nātta ‘After that delightful incident, crowds of people came to gather in the shop’; Kāre wa zibun ga kaisya o dēta zīkoku "igo no kōtō wa obōete inai ‘He doesn’t remember what happened after the time he left the office’; Nihōn-si wa, sono zidai "igo ga muzukashī(−) ‘Japanese history is difficult from that period on’; Sono zidai "igo o benkyoo suru ‘I will study the time from that period on’; Ano hisan na soonan-zīken "igo, kono yamā e no tozān-zya no kāzu wa hetta ‘After that tragic accident, the number of mountaineers going to this mountain declined’; Hooritu de kimeraretara zyuuuni−zi "igo wa eigyoo shina ‘We are closed (to business) from the legally set time of twelve o’clock’; Sono zīken ‘igo, kyaku wa kōnaku nātta ‘After that incident, guests stopped coming’. The expression sono "igo (Tk 2.93a) can be regarded as ellipsis for something like sono [zīken] "igo 'after that [incident]’; sore "igo 'after that [time/event] is also possible.

(49) "ika 'below, under, less than'; Sono ten "ika wa rakudai desu ‘Anything below that grade is failing’; Sono kōoi wa yaban na doobutu "ika da ‘That behavior is beneath a savage animal’; Sāto san wa se ga hikūi. Ore no tsīsai otooto "ika da ‘Mr Satō is short. He is under (the height of) my tiny little brother’; Sono sakana wa mizu ga koori-hazimēru réido "ika de mo heki de iru ‘That fish is unperturbed even below zero centigrade when water starts to freeze’; Kōndo no booringu-tāikai de, wareware hurūi monō-tati wa atarashi hitōtati "ika no sukō o dāsu wāke ni wa ikanai ‘In the next bowling tournament we oldtimers have no reason to make a score less than that of the new people’; Tūmāri iti-hekutāaru ‘zenkou "ika no nóoka wa, ooru-kengyoo-ka snākereba, yatte ikenai wāke da ‘What it means is that farmers without under about a hectare of land have to convert to ALL-sidejobbing to get by’ (SA 2674.18c); Otokō wa, kono nenrei "ika ga sukūnāku nātta iru ‘Men of below this age are getting scarce’; Otokō wa, kono nenrei ‘iga o taisyoo to suru ‘We aim [our product] at men below this age’; Sono kik an "lnai ni sigoto o owaraseru yoo ‘We would like the job finished within that period’; Sono kīgen "lnai ni kanarazu karita kane o kaesitē kudasāi ‘Please return the borrowed money without fail within that time limit’; ... ik-kāgetu ‘tēido “lnai no zisin ... ‘an earthquake (to take place) within a month’ (R).

(50) “ikoo ‘after, since’: Kono sigatū “ikoo ... ‘From this April on ...’ (SA 2668.123d); ... rokuzyūu siti−nen sangatu “ikoo wa ... ‘from March of ’67 on ...’ (SA 2684.29c).

(51) "ikutu ‘... odd, and a few’: zyūu "ikutu no hoogēn(−) ‘some ten-odd dialects’.

(52) “inai (‘what is) within, inside of; less than’: Kono iti-kiro “inai ga abunai ‘Within this one-kilo stretch it is dangerous’; Kono iti-kiro “inai o soosa-tāisyyoo ni suru ‘They are making this one-kilo stretch the object of an investigation’; Sono kikān “inai ni sigoto o owaraseru yōo ‘We would like the job finished within that period’; Sono kīgen “inai ni kanarazu karita kane o kāstite kudasāi ‘Please return the borrowed money without fail within that time limit’; ... ik-kāgetu ‘tēido “inai no zisin ... ‘an earthquake (to take place) within a month’ (R).

(53) “ippai ‘all through; within, before the end of’; Watasi no tikara(−) “ippai da ‘It’s all that’s within my power to do’; Sotugyoo sita toshi “ippai, sigoto o sagashi-tuzūketa ‘I kept on searching for work all through the year of my graduation’; Kono ni-syūukan “ippai de kāru tumori da ‘I plan to leave before the end of these two weeks’; Konogakki “ippai ni ... ‘Within this school term ...’; Kotosi “ippai ni wa ... ‘Before the end of this year ...’ (SA 2688.23a); Syuuunyu “ippai ni kurasu ‘lives within (or to the full extent of) one’s income’; Rainen “ippai kākāru ‘It will take all of next year’; Kōnetu “ippai made
§2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

iru 'I will stay till the end of this month'. Cf. N ippai 'all over/around N': mádó ippai ni 'all over the window'; heya ippai ni 'all over the room'; yama ippai ni 'all over the mountain'; ie ippai ni 'all around the house'; niwa ippai ni 'all over/about the garden'; ...

See §25.

(54) 'irai (the time) ever since, since': Kyōnen no natu minná de itta toki 'irai ano yama'e wa itte ináí 'I haven't been to that mountain since we all went together summer of last year'; Ano utukusii yuuuyake 'irai, ténki ga wárukute yuuuyake 'raisi yuuuyake ga mirárénaí 'Ever since that beautiful sunset the weather has been bad and there hasn’t been a decent sunset to watch'; Ano iyá na de dekigotó 'irai, sono mati e ikú no ga iyá ni náttá 'Ever since that disagreeable incident I have hated to go to that town'; Hána no sít o i kanasihi hi 'irai, amari monó o iwanaku náttá 'Since the sad day of mother’s death I have not felt like saying much'; Ano toki 'irai atte inai 'We haven’t met since then'; Ano toki 'irai no kenkyuu ... 'The research since that time ...'; Ano toki 'irai [no] ga óói 'There have been many since that time'; Ano toki 'irai [no] o taisyoo ni suru 'We aim at those (that are) since that time'. The time noun konó-kata 'this side of = since' is sometimes used in the same meaning as 'irai (but with prior juncture): Ano haizyákkú cara konó-kata, ... 'In the days since that [famous] hijacking ...' (SA 2677/149); zyuüen konó-kata 'for these past ten years'; kaibyaku konó-kata 'since Creation': ... ;

(55) 'iri containing, with ... in it': ... zibun de sibótta gyuuuyuu -iri no baketu o ... 'the bucket full of milk that he had himself squeezed from the cow' (Endō 194); ... nizyuu hati-guramu 'iri no ko-bin ga ... 'a small bottle with a capacity of 28 grams' (SA 2677/60); ... Pégii no kízi to syaisin 'iri de ... 'including Peggy's writeup and picture' (Esu pi anto 1971/10.15b); ... iti-dáasu 'iri no biirú-bako muttú ga ... 'six dozen-bottle cases of beer' (SA 2665/116c); ... akanboo 'yoo no orugóoru 'iri [no] garagará o katte kita 'went and bought a baby’s rattle with a music box in it' (Ariyoshi 287); Atarasii zidai no kawai wa mattakú 'Eigo dá no singó 'iri ná no de, ... 'Conversation in the new era is quite loaded with English and neologisms ...' (Kotoba no uchu 1968/1/51); ... yónhyaku-en 'iri no saihu 'a purse with 400 yen in it' (SA 2681/122).

(56) 'izen (the time) before': Sono háru 'izen o omoidaso 'Let us recall the time before that spring'; Sono háru 'izen ga omoidaeseni 'I cannot recall the time before that spring'; Sono zikén 'izen wa, káre-ra wa sitasíkatta 'Before that incident they were intimate'; Káre ga sissoo sita hi 'izen ni sakoñóbbotte, tyóoosa o suru 'I will investigate by going back to before the day he disappeared'; Hažímete soko e títí ni turete itte moratta hi 'izen no kóto wa yóku oboéte inai 'I do not remember very well events before the day I was taken there by my father for the first time'.

(57) 'izyoo 'above, over, more than': Sono kingaku 'izyoo wa tote-mo dasemásen 'I simply can't pay any more than that amount'; Sono roozín(') wa wakáí hitó 'izyoo ni gënki de háataite iru 'That old man is working with more vigor than younger men'; Káre wa tűne ni hitó ni dekiuru kóto 'izyoo o yaroo o site iru 'He is always trying to do more than others can'; Káre wa zibun no kürüskáttá zidai 'izyoo ni íma mo dórýoku site iru 'He is even now working harder than during the period of his distress'; Syóokuza wa hituyoo na ryóó 'izyoo tótte wa ikenai 'You must not take more than you need at a meal'; Kono nenrei 'izyoo ga abunai 'Above this age is dangerous'; Kono nenrei 'izyoo o taisyoo o suru 'We aim at (those) above this age'; Sárù wa sono nenrei 'izyoo ikínaí 'Mon­keys don't live beyond this age'. Often to be taken as 'and over, or more'.

(58) 'ka 'under': Koo iu zyooesii 'ka (= zyooóéika) de, ... 'Under such circumstances ...'
(K 1966.107); Konna húu ni kyoodai na tuusin ya hoosoo názo no eikyoo "-ka [= eikyóoka] ni áru seikatu ga ... 'Living under such a mighty influence of communications and broadcasting ...' (Tk 3.228a); Syúzyú no tigata zyookén" "-ka [= zyookénka] de ... 'Under various different conditions ...' (R); Inhure "-ka [= inhureká] no bukka ... 'Prices under the inflation ...'.

(59) "kágiiri 'to the extent (of/that); limited to, only; just because of': Ano iýá na zíken "-kágiiri soko o otoyaru" koto o yameta 'I gave up the idea of visiting there just because of that disagreeable incident'; Kono ituku "kágiiri yuukoo 'Valid these five days only'; Daidokoro to, tisai hito-má "kágiiri no uti(\^) ni sünde iru 'I am living in a house that has only a kitchen and one small room'. With a following negative, "kágiiri is sometimes equivalent to [k]kirí: Ano tokú "-kágiiri sonó-hito ni awánai 'That was the last I (ever) saw him'; Kono-áidá wagáretaka tokí "kágiiri átte inai 'The last I saw of him was when we parted recently'.

(60a) -kakkoo '(one who is) of about (the age): ... rokuzyúú "-kakkoo no go-húzin 'a lady looking to be about fifty' (SA 2679.27a). Tosi-kakkoo is treated as a separate lexical item: ... onazi tosi-kakkoo no "otótoyân" ... 'a "daddy" looking about the same age' (SA 2793.123c): ... gozis-sai o súgita to omowárêru tosi-kakkoo no otókó-tatti ... 'men looking of an age that appears to be past fifty' (SA 2795.124a).

(60b) "-kakkoo '(the one who/the look of) apparently, (with) the appearance of, appearing': Ni-sannen mae kara óoku nátta hiippü "-kakkoo no yátu datta 'It was a guy who was apparently one of those hippies that have proliferated the last few years'.

(61a) "-kan 'between (A and B); among': Na-ra Kýooóo "-kan (= Nara l Kyóótókan) 'between Nara and Kyóto'; Kátutó, Edo Oosáka "-kan (= Edo l Óosákákan) o ryóokoo surú no ni zyuúku-níti mo kakká ita 'It took to take all of 19 days to travel between Yedo and Ósaka' (SA 2673.30d); Yo-yatóo "-kan [yóoátóókan] ni íken no tigai ga mirárê ru 'Differences of opinion are seen between the government party and the opposition'; ... zyosidaágakúsei "-kan (= zyosidáiágakúseikán) ni ... 'among college coeds' (Maeda 1962.69); Káisya to zyuugyóo-in "-kan (= zyuugyóoínkan) ni okóóta rooodoo-soógi wa ... 'Labor disputes arising between the company and its employees'. Cf. § 2.7.

(61b) "-kan 'the interval of': Sáñzyúú go-pén "-kan (= gónénkan) mo kakká 'It took all of thirty-five years' time'; Iti-pén san-kágetu "-kan (= san-kágetúkan) ... 'An interval of one year and three months'. But we will treat -syúúkan 'week(s)' as a counter.

(62) "katagáta 'incidentally to, while'-see §9.1.7.

(63) "keiyuu(\^) 'by the route of, via': Kando no kashio-há-keiyuu(\^) de té ni ireta hón da 'It is a book that came into my hands by way of a Kanda rental library' (cf. SA 2685.115a); Ni-sannen mae ni dékita sin-kánsen "keiyúu(\^) de todoítá nímotu da 'It is luggage that arrived by the Bullet Train line built a few years ago'; Yuki no óóí Arasuka "keiyúu(\^) de ... 'By way of snowy Alaska ...'; Hura-dánus de yuumei na Háiwái "keiyúu(\^) de ... 'By way of Hawaii, famed for the hula dance, ...'.

(64) "ken 'additionally to'-see §13.7a.

(65) "kentoo 'about (an amount of)': Kono is-syúúkan "kentoo ga abunái 'The period of about this week is dangerous'; Kono is-syúúkan "kentoo o moti-kóseba, áto wa daízyoóoobu daroo 'If we get through the period of this week, about, from then on it's OK'; Okurimono wa, mäa datoo na sen-en "kentoo no ni siyóo 'For a present, let's make it something of about a thousand yen, a suitable sum'; Tóó ga kiboo surú itimán-nin(\^) "kentoo wa dooin dekkirú desyóo 'The party can probably mobilize the crowd of around
ten thousand people that they expect'; Toozitu wa yotei site ita sên-nin(·) ‘kêntoo ga tume-kaketa ‘That day the thousand or so people that had been anticipated thronged about’.

(65) "kikkâri = -kôkkîri: Zyûu-zi -kikkâri desu ‘It is exactly 12 o’clock’; Hyaku-en -kikkâri desu ‘It is exactly 100 yen’.

(66) kirî—see kkirî.

(67) ‘kittê-no N ‘the most N in all of ...; the most N of all’: Kâre wa kono matî ‘kittê-no mei is da ‘He is the most distinguished man in this town’; Sono mitî ‘kittê-no tuuzîn –buri o hakkî sita ‘He displayed an air of the most informed person in that line’; Nagaya ‘zyuu –kittê no kawari-mono desu kara nêe ‘For she’s the queerest person in the whole tenement’ (Okitsu 1.165); Sâtoo san wa, kono kyodai na Naninani-gâisya ‘kittê-no yarite da to uwasa sarete iru ‘Mr Satô is the number-one go-getter in this mighty Such-and-such company, it is rumored’; Kâre wa kono yuumei na daigaku ‘kittê-no syuu sai da sôo da ‘He is said to be the outstanding talent at this famous university’; ... syakai-too ‘kittê-no keizai-tuue de aru Kimura Kihatîroo gîn ga ... ‘Diet member Kihachirô Kimura who is the outstanding economic expert in the Socialist Party’; Yamagami Mitio wa tôodai ‘kittê-no urekko-sakusika de âru ‘Michio Yamagami is the most popular lyricist of the day’ (SA 2653.58a); Kono hen ‘kittê-no bizin ... ‘The belle of the neighborhood ...’.

(68) kkirî, kirî ‘that being all and (not) beyond; (not) since’; Anô-ko k kirî turete ikimasen yô ‘She’s the only one I’m taking’; Gôku yuumei na utá kiri sirimasen ‘I only know very familiar songs’; Tsisaî ningyoo kiri arimasen yô, koko ni wa ‘We haven’t any but little dolls, here’; Enpitu wa sakkî katte kita sán-bon kiri arimasen ‘I have only the three pencils I went and bought a while back’; Hôoki wa kitanai no kiri arimasen ‘The only brooms we’ve got are dirty’; Agererû no wa ima âru kore kkirî desu ‘All I can give you is what you now have’; Koko ni kite ‘ru Yamanaka no tomoda kara miru to, maa taitei wa ano hoogakubu-yâroo ‘guîrai kkirî wakarînai ‘Looking at it from the point of view of friends of Yamanaka’s who are here, about the only ones that I can figure are those law school bastards’ (CK 985.382); Hutarî k kirî de yatta ‘They did it just the two of them’.


(70) ‘kômi ‘including, with ... (included): ... kootûu-hi ‘betu, syô-teate ‘kômi de heikin go-mân nisen-en ‘including allowances other than transportation it [the pay base] is an average fifty-two thousand yen’ (SA 2679.116b); Sararîi-ma nara, iyâ de mo gensen-kâzei to site torârete simau syotokû-zei ‘kômi de goman-en no gekkyuu desu ‘If you’re a salaried employee, the monthly pay is fifty thousand yen including the income tax that gets taken out as withholding tax whether you like it or not’.

(71) ‘kôrai-no ‘traditional/native to’: Hoogêî(·) no óôî Ryuukyuu-rêto ‘kôrai-no utá desu ‘It is a song traditional to the Ryûkû Islands, where there are many dialects’; Bûnka no hikûi Nyuû-Ginjiya ‘kôrai-no doobutu desu ‘It is an animal native to culturally backward New Guinea’; Kikû wa Nîhôn ‘kôrai-no hanâ de wa naku, taîrikû kara torai sita hanâ da sôo da ga, ... ‘The chrysanthemum is said to be a flower imported from the [Asian] mainland, not a flower native to Japan, but ...’ (SA 2685.102a).

(72) ‘kundari ‘all the way (to/from a remote place); (to/from) the remote place of’: Hokkâidoo ‘kundari made ‘all the way to Hokkaidô’ (SA 2678.26a); Bunka-sisetu nânka náhi mo nái Tanegásima ‘kundari e iku ‘I will go to remote Tanegashima where there is
nothing in the way of cultural facilities'; Nagásaki "kündari kara șsaet wáza-wáza kita hitó mo kánari őói 'We also have quite a few who have taken the trouble to come [even] all the way from far-off Nagásaki'; Róndon "kündari made dète kité ... 'coming all the way out to London' (Tk 3.208a). MKZ lists "kündari as a noun derived from kudari 'going down (i.e. away from the capital) to the country'.

(73) "kúrai—see "gúrai.

(74) "kúzure 'one who is) a drop-out (from being ...); unsuccessful, manqué, formerly promising, a disappointed former ...': Káre wa sinbun-kisya "kúzure da 'He was once a promising newspaper reporter'; Gakusei "kúzure ga őói 'There are a lot of student drop-outs'; Daigaku no kóosi "kúzure o taisyoo ni site iru 'We aim at the disappointed former college instructor'.

(75) "kyóó 'a little more than, and a bit more, plus (some)': ... heikin-nénrei wa sánzis-sai "kyóó 'the average age is over 30' (SA 2681.24); Kono gakkoo wa senséi no gó() "bun no iti "kyóó ga gakkókú-zin desu 'This school has over one-fifth of its teachers foreigners'; Sono iken ni hantai sita zyuú-nin "kyóó ga áto de odkasaretári sita 'The ten-odd ones who opposed that view were later intimidatated from time to time'; Sáranii no utí() sono nizip-paasénto "kyóó ga zeikín to site hikærerú 'From the salary something over twenty percent is withheld for taxes'; Démó ni sánka() sita hasséen-nin "kyóó no utí() yaku iti-paasénto no gakusei ga táího sita 'Of the over eight thousand students who participated in the demonstration about one percent were arrested'.

(76a) máde 'til, as far as'—see also §3.7: Kono oka máde ga turái 'It's tough up to this hill'; Kono oka máde o zibú no toti ni sita 'Up to this hill I have made the land my own'; Sán-zi máde benkyoo suru 'I will study till three o'clock'; Yuumei na Ueno-Kóóen máde arukimasyoó 'Let's walk as far as famous Ueno Park'; Ano híroí bokuzyoo máde ikí-tai 'I want to go as far as that wide pasture'; Húüi-san ga miérú tokoró máde ittá 'We went up to a place where Mt Fuji can be seen'; Sono koodái na bótí() máde ataráskú óóki na miti ga tukuráreta 'A large road has been newly built up to that enormous cemetery'; Watasi ga yókú iku míse máde tyóotto así o nobasimasen ka 'Shall we direct our steps toward the shop I always go to?'; Sono negái ga yózóra no utukusíi hosi máde todóke to inorimásita 'I prayed that the request might reach all the way up to the beautiful stars of the night sky'.

(76b) máde 'even'—see also §3.7a: Yasasíkkatta sono ání máde ga watási ni hantai suru 'Even the older brother who had been so nice to me is opposed'; Sono ání máde o hína- suru 'I blame even that older brother'; Sonó-hito mâde kubi ni sáretá 'Even he got fired'; Kirai na monó mâde múriyári tabésearéretá 'I was forced to eat even the things I dislike'; Sono kótó ni túíte, yóku siranai hitó mâde hén na mé de míru 'Even people who don't know much about the matter take a dim view of it'; Hurúi bünken máde sírábète míta ga wakaranáí 'I've tried checking even the older literature but can't find out'; Shín-zíte(1) ita tomodatí máde káre kara hanakóte itá 'Even friends he had believed in detached themselves from him'; Kono ué ni suki na hitó mâde usináu to wa, káno-zyo mo mízime da 'It is most miserable for her to lose even a loved one, on top of all this'; Gakusei-táti o kore-hodó́(1) máde ni okoráséta gen'in wa hutatu átá 'What had angered the students to this extreme extent was two things' (SA 2680.22c); ... kore-hodó́(1) máde ni tettei sitá wa inákatta 'it had not been so thorough-going as all this' (SA 2678.41a).

(77) "máé 'before (a time/event)'; Musuko wa sono tosi no háru "máé ni káette kíta 'My son came back before spring of that year'; Yáhan(2) "máé kara áme ga huri-dási}
desyoo ‘Rain will set in before midnight’ (R). Minná ga syukkin suru hatí-zi mæ ni, hayabáya to kaisya ni kíte, sono hí no keikaku o nérú ‘I come to the office [each day] well before eight o’clock when everyone comes to work, and put the finishing touches on my plans for the day’; Máníníti(·) sono zikoku mæ ga isogasí ‘The period before that time every day is a busy one’; Sán-zi o sakai ni, sono zikoku mæ o benkyoo no zikan to si, sono ãto o asobi no zikan ni suru ‘With three o’clock as the dividing line, we treat the period before that time as study time, and the period after as play time’; Sono zikoku mæ dã to basû wa tote-mo kómú ‘If it’s before that time the bus gets awfully crowded’; Tyan-to, watakusi ga dekakeru hí mæ ni hãha wa yooohuku o sãgete kuremãsita ‘Mother has kindly made some clothes for me (so they are ready) well before the day I depart’; ...

... natû no kankoo-sizun mæ ni nárú to ...

... natu no kankoo-sizun ‘mæ ni naru to ... ‘when it gets to be (right) before the summer tourist season’ (Tk 3.176b). NOTE: ‘Five minutes ago/earlier/back’ can be said either as go-hun mæ (‘before [these] five minutes’) or as go-hun mæ (‘earlier to the extent of five minutes’); cf. go-hûnmae ‘five minutes before (the hour/event)’ with a compound counter: go-zi go-hûnmae ‘five minutes before five o’clock’; Hassya ni-hûnmae desu ‘It is two minutes until the train departure’ (R).

(78) ‘mãgai = módoki.

(79) ‘mági re (in) a mood of; (in) a state of, (in) the confusion of’: Zoku wa kurayami mági re ni nige-satta ‘The bandit got away in the darkness’; Nigérú no nara, sono dósakusa(·) mági re ga ãi daroo ‘If you are going to escape the confusion of that moment would be best’; Sono dósakusa(·) mági re o tákumi(·) ni riyoo suru ‘We will cleverly take advantage of the confusion of that moment’; Kotti de, kitanái tokoró da ga, tûmã, ôkusun no taikutu mági re desyoo ‘This is a dirty place, but I suppose you are running it out of your boredom, ma’ám’ (F 263b); ...

... yóatta [nó] ‘having gotten drunk’, but I have been unable to find a speaker who knows the expression. This quasi-restrictive is derived from N ni mági re ‘being confused by/with N’, apparently-involves direct nominalization of a perfect, equivalent to yóatta ‘in one’s vocation’ are lexical derivatives made by suffixing mági re to an adjective base: ...

(80) ‘mágiwa (ni) (lat) the moment before, right before, just on the verge of!’ Yat-tô gakkoo karã détã ikeru sutogyôô-siki mágiwa ni ...

Just on the verge of the graduation ceremony when I could at last leave school ... ‘; Syuusen mágiwa made ...

... Up to the moment before the war ended ... ‘; Hassya mágiwa datta ‘The train was about to depart’.

(81) ‘mâmire ‘with ... stuck all over, muck ed up with’: Sigoto ga sumû to hatake no dorô mámire ni natta kimono o nûida ‘When the job was done I took off my kimono which had gotten smeared with mud from the field’; Minnã ase mámire de hataaira iru ‘They are all working bathed in sweat’; Mannên-hitu karã kobôreta inkú mámire no kamí ‘Paper smeared with black ink spilled from my pen ... ‘; Kômê no konâ mámire ni natta ‘It got all covered with rice flour’.

This is derived from N ni mammre ‘being smeared with N’. The accentuation options indicate that ti-mâmire(·) ‘blood-smeared’ is best treated as a lexical item.

(82) ‘mâwari ‘via (=–kéiyu(·))’ ‘through’: Itôko ga sünde iru Kôobe máwari de iku ‘I will go by way of Kôbe, where I have a cousin living’; Nami ga sizuka na Seto-nâikai
máwari no kankó-se no ikimásu ‘I am going on a sightseeing ship all through the Inland Sea with its gentle waves’.

(83) ’-th’ (ordinative)—see § 13.8.

(84) ’míman ‘one who/that is’ not yet fully, under (the age/amount of)’... nízí-sai ’míman no zyakunén-só ‘the youth stratum of under twenty’ (SA 2666.121d): Genkin ga zyuuman-en ’míman made wa, risoku wa saikoo nén ní-wari, ... ‘Up to where the principal is under ¥200 000 the interest is at a maximum twenty percent a year, and ... ’ (SA 2689.123b).

(85) ’módoki ’(the situation of) imitating, resembling, (in) the style of’: Tumarán’ái yákuza ’módoki no idetati o site ipátte iru ‘He is swaggering about looking for all the world like a worthless hoodlum’; Ōoki na kóto no dekinái koso doró ’módoki no kakkoo o site iru ‘He presents the appearance of a sneak thief incapable of anything big’; Otogibanai ’módoki ni takaramónó(’) o mätte iru ‘She is expecting treasures as if it were a fairy story’; (?)Sibái ’módoki o sakeyó ‘Let’s cut out the theatricals’. Synonym: ’mágai. Cf. ume-módoki ‘[false-plum =] a kind of ivy’, gan-módoki ‘[false-duck =] a kind of fritter’.

(86) ’muke ‘(that which is) bound/intended for’: ... zieitai-in ’muke no sinbon o tukurú ‘creates a newspaper aimed at the members of the Self Defense Force’ (SA 2678.27e); ... syoonen syóozyo ’muke to iu kóto ‘being intended for boys and girls’ (Nagano 1968.153); Oo-mísoka kara gantán o yoppite(’) sugósu hitó-tati ’muke ni, ... ’Aiming at the people who stay up all night New Year’s eve ... ’ (SA 2660.128); Kono orímóno(’) wa tooi Amerika ’muke ga óói ‘Most of these textiles are for distant America’.

(87) ’muki ‘(that which is) suitable for’: ... kai musumé ’muki [no monó] ga óói ‘Many are [things] suitable for young girls’; ’ima no wakái kankyáku ’muki no monó wa, ... ‘those [films] directed toward today’s young viewers’ (Tk 3.301a); Kono géemu wa yooti-en e iku kodomo ’muki de áru ‘This game is suitable for a child attending kindergarten’; Kore wa katuzi ga óokiju nái to yomi-nikü roozín(’) ’muki no hón desu ‘This is a book suitable for an old person who finds reading difficult unless the type is large’.

(88) ’-nai ‘(what is) within’: Onazi kaisya ’-nai [= kaisyánái] de, taisyoo ni nárú hitó to naránai hitó ga irú no wa mazú ‘It is embarrassing to have within the same company both people who are to be the subjects [of talent upgrading] and people who are not’ (SA 2665.21a); ... sono hán’í ’-nai [= han’ínái] ni súnde iru hitó ‘people living within that sphere (those confines)’ (Tanigawa 154); ’ará zikan ’-nai [= zikánái] ni tuzuite okonawareru ‘takes place continuously within a certain time’ (Kógo-bumpó no mondaiten 290b); Purahá-sí ’-nai de ‘Within the city of Prague ... ’; Yobíhi ’-nai de ‘Within the budget expenses ... ’; Tíktí ’-nai no ‘(Those) within the area ... ’; Kengén ’-nai ‘Within the scope of authority ... ’; Kígen ’-nai ‘Within the time limit ... ’; Kurémurín ’-nai no ‘(That) inside the Kremlín ... ’; Aramoana-syoppingu-sénta ’-nai ‘in the Alá Moana Shopping Center’ (R). The accent may sometimes be heard as ’nái, especially in unusual forms. And you will sometimes hear |nái, as if an ellipsis of something like N [no] nái were responsible: daigakú-in | nái de ‘within the graduate school’.

(89) ’nái gai ‘approximately, about’; is-syúukan ’nái gai ‘about a week’; sén gohyàkuén ’nái gai ‘approximately ¥1500’.

(90) ’nákaba ‘(in) the middle of’: Is-syúukan ’bákari tuzuite sikén ’nákaba ni byooki ni nátte simatta ‘In the middle of tests that stretched over a whole week I fell ill’; Itumonnágara no, zibun no mi-no-ue(’) ni tuite no hanasi ’nákaba ni, kyyuu ni omoi-dasite, hoka
no kotó o syaberī-hazimeta ‘In the middle of the usual talk about his own affairs he suddenly recalled himself and started chatting about something else’. For Nakábá(‘) ... as a conjunction, see §13.7a.

(91) ‘nami ‘(as) an ordinary example of, (at) the level of, (of) the order of’ ... basue no sutorippu-gēkiziyoo ‘nami it is at the level of a suburban strip show’ (SA 2657.117c); Toomei-kōsoku-dōoro ‘nami no hāuee ga ... ‘A highway of the caliber of the Tōkyō-Nagoya expressway ... ’ (SA 2654.141d); Mái-asa mái-asa buta ka nīmotu ‘nami ni atukawarete, ... ‘Morning after morning treated like swine or baggage ... ’ (SA 2792.32b); Buta ka usi ‘nami ni atukatte, ... ‘treatment them like swine or cattle’ (SA 2792.33a); Kanzya o usi ka hituzi ‘nami ni atukau ... ‘They treat patients like cattle or sheep’ (SA 2670.30); Táka-sa wa rokkkai-date no dánti ‘nami [de] , ... ‘The height (of the jumbo jet B-747) is of the order of a six-story tenement house and ... ’ (SA 2670.139a); ... Kizima Norio yaa Hasegawa Haze’mi no ‘saikō-kyūu’ ‘top salaries’ of the rank of [those of] Norio Kijima and Hajime Hasegawa’ (SA 2666.102e); Kōhī ip-pai hyaku-en nāri de wa seká-iti bukkka no takái Tookyoo no, nāka de mo itiban takái Ginza no kisā­ten ‘nami de áru ‘It is typical of the coffeeshop in Tōkyō, which has the highest prices in the world with “Coffee ¥100 a cup”’--and in Ginza, the most expensive place in Tōkyō, at that’ (CK 985.271); Atasi nánzo, sékén no otokó ‘nami ni onná wa suki na n desu ga, ki ga yōwakutte nāhni de dekinai ‘Me, I like women as much as the next man does, but I am too timid to do anything about it’ (Tk 3.84a); Sibái no butai-sooti-ka to iéba, hitomukási māwé wa, oodoogu-kata, kodoogu-kata ‘nami no “urakata” san ‘In the way of stage managers for plays, ten years ago it was “scene-shifters” of the order of large-prop men and small-prop men’ (SA 2669.121a); Kōkoku o dénai no ni, Toodai o sotugyoo sita hitó ‘nami no sárarī o moratte iru ‘Though I didn’t graduate from high school, I am getting the salary of people who have graduated from Tōkyō University’; Nihón no tīngi ga Amerika no sararí-man ‘nami ni nárú no ni wa mãa zúbun zikan ga kakárū ‘It will still take a lot of time for Japanese wages to reach the level of the American salaried worker’; Sémète sono kázoku ‘nami ga zitugen sitárá nāa ‘I wish we could at least realize as much as that family, you know’; Sono kázoku ‘nami o mokuhyoo ni suru ‘We will take as our goal the level of that family’.

(92) ‘nari ‘appropriate to, to be expected of’ (cf. §15.19): Tiiśai kodomo ‘nari no handān-ryoku ... ‘The discernment to be expected of a small child ... ’; Tokoró-ga, kagákú-sya d’atte yappári kagákú-sya ‘nari no genzitu-syūgí to iú no ga arimásite, ... ‘But scientists too have a certain realism appropriate to a scientist ... ’ (Tanigawa 20).

(93) nómí ‘just’ (= dâkè): Kono hón nómí ga ataráshī ‘This book alone is new’ (usually said with minor juncture before nómí); Kono hón nómí o kā ‘I will buy this book only’ (usually lnómí o); Itititi no úti (=), syokuzi-doki nómí tanósiku omowarérú ‘The only time in the day that seems pleasant is mealtime’; Byooki sita kotó no áru káno-zyo nómí ga, watakusi no kimoti o wakāté kureta ‘She who has experienced illness is the only one who understands my feelings’; Hito wa pán nómí de ikiru monó de wa nái ‘Man cannot live by bread alone’.

(94) ‘nuki ‘omitting, without’: ... mattakú arukóoru ‘nuki no monó ... ‘something completely non-alcoholic [to drink]’; Anmari kyuosin-teki na kângâ e mótte iru seinen ‘nuki ni ... ‘Apart from the young who have overly radical ideas ... ’ (cf. Tk 2.244b); Keisiki-teki na aisatu ‘nuki de tyokusetu yookén(‘) o hanasi-hazimeta ‘I began to talk business, skipping a formal greeting’; Karái sió ‘nuki no syokuzi o site imásu ‘I am on a
salt-free diet'; Hirú-nuki de hatarakimasyóó ka ‘Shall we work straight through, skipping lunch?’; ... nakámi ‘nuki no saihu ‘a purse minus its contents’ (Kenkyusha).

(95) ‘nuri ‘painted/coated with’; Tibetto gensan [or: Tibetto-gensan] no urusi no kí no kawá kara tôtta urusi ‘nuri no siki wa kóoga = yúuga na azíga arú ‘Japanware, coated with lacquer taken from the bark of the lacquer tree which originally came from Tibet, has an elegant air about it’.

(96) ‘óki(”) ‘at intervals of; skipping (every so many)’; ... sánzíp-pun ka iti-zíkan ‘óki(”) ni ... ‘at intervals of thirty minutes or an hour’ (SA 2663.51b); Sán-pun ka yón-pun ‘óki(”) ni tôire ni iku ‘He goes to the toilet (after) every three or four minutes’ (Endo 112); Áru ittei no kikán ga sadameráre óri, sono kikán ‘óki(”) ni kansatu ga okonawarete iru ‘A set period has been fixed and after each such period an inspection takes place’; Tekito na zíkan ‘óki(”) ni kusuri o nomásete yatte kudasái ‘Give him his medicine after each suitable period’; Sono sigoto wa anáta no iu san-zíkan ‘óki(”) ni kootai simasyóó ‘Let’s take turns at that work at the three-hour intervals you mention’; Mukasi no sibai tte yátu wa, ik-kágetu ‘óki(”) − gúrai ni sika yaranakkata séi mó áru desyóó keredo ... ‘They used to put on a show only about once a month, and maybe that’s the reason, but ...’ (Tk 3.211b). Sikási, konó-hito wa mikka ‘óki(”) − gúrai ni tegami o yokósite kúru ‘But this person sends me a letter nearly every three days’ (Endó 138); Íti-mai ‘óki(”) ni sán o site kudasái ‘Sign every other sheet’; Kono hón o ní-satu ‘óki(”) ni tôtte kudasái ‘Take every third one of these books’. NOTE: Hamako Chaplin accentuates ‘óki, MKZ gives ‘óki (and MKZ$ skirts the question), K and H list iti-niti ‘óki, NHK lists iti-niti ‘óki(”). Kansai dialects also use ‘hadame, ’hasami, ’hasami.

(96) ‘pókkiri = ‘kókkiri: Hyaku-en ‘pókkiri síka nái ‘I’ve only got just a hundred yen’.

(97) ‘purasu ‘...plus (some)’: Hyaku-zíkan ‘purasu ... ’100-plus hours’.

(98) ‘rái ‘since, the past ...’ (= ‘rái): ... koko itiryóó-nen ‘rái (= itiryóonénrái) no gizyutu-teki síno o go-zon-zi nákú, ... ‘[as they are] unaware of the technical progress of these last few years ...’ (SA 2688.25b)—on the apposition of koko, see § 25; Daigaku o sótu-gyoo sita yónzuu roku-nen ‘rái ‘For the past forty-six years since I graduated from college ...’; Kono ryóosá-níti ‘rái ‘For the past two or three days ...’; Kono ryóosán-nen ‘rái ‘For these past several years ...’ (R); Sakunen ‘rái ‘Since last year ...’; Kono zyuu-suúnen ‘rái, ‘For these ten-odd years now, ...’ (R); Súuzitu(”) ‘rái ‘For the past several days ...’; Móó, sanzyúu-nen ‘rái no ... ‘of thirty years now’ (R); Sénpan ‘rái ... Káhan ‘rái ... ‘Lately ...’.

(99) ‘ryuu (‘after) the fashion/school of’: Síga Náoya ‘ryuu no si-syóosétu ‘autobiographical novels of the Naoya Shiga school’ (SA 2685.105b); Kawabata Yásúunari ya Síga Náoya ‘ryuu ni káku nare, ... ‘if we were to write it in the manner of Yasunari Kawabata or Naoya Shiga’ (Y 248); Túmari, Dóitu, Oosutoíria, Tyéko ‘ryuu de íkko tte kóó ni sitá ‘Finally it was decided to proceed in the style of Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia’ (Tk 3.41b, Tyéko = Tyéko); ... íma ‘ryuu ni ... ‘in the manner of the present’ (SA 2686.29c); ... kotíra/sotíra/atíra ‘ryuu ni haíto nó súru ‘pronounces after the fashion of this/that place’; ... anáta wa Níhon-zíñ na no désu kára anáta ‘ryuu de kékkoos désu ‘since you [the reader] are a Japanese, it is quite all right [for you to seat dinner guests] in your usual fashion’ (Tsukagoshi 180); ... sitamati no syóokunin ‘ryuu désu nè ... ‘it’s (part of) the way of the downtown workman, you see, ...’ (R).

(100) ‘sidái ‘depending on’ (cf. §9.1.2): Aíte ga/no moosi-deru zyookén(”) ‘sidái
§ 2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

no kotó da ‘It is a matter that depends on the conditions proposed by the other side’; Koote (= Katte) kurero okyakusan ‘sidai de, sinzyu wa nánbo (= ikura) de mo dekimásu ‘So long as we have customers who will buy them we can make any quantity of pearls’ (Tk 3.304b); Dōnna hón de mo, yomi-tē(‘) to yomi-kata ‘sidai de, “ryoosyo” ni mo “akusyo” ni mo narimásu ‘Any book may be a “good book” or a “bad book” depending on the reader and the way it is read’ (Nagano 1966.137).

(101) ‘siki ‘way, fashion, type’: ... suiyoyoku(‘) o tukau dámu ‘siki ni yoranéba naran wakē desu ‘we have to rely on a system of dams that utilize water power’ (Tk 2.40b); Kī de tukūta bangārō ‘siki no tate-kata ... ‘A method of construction of the type of bungalows made of wood ...’; Sāto Hūmiko no imootō no Sasabāyasi Hānako ‘siki désu ‘It is after the fashion of Hanako Sasabayashi who is the younger sister of Fumiko Satō’; Zēnsyu no ooí Amerika ‘siki no kyōiku-seido ... ‘An education system of the type of multi-racial America ...’; ... muku ‘siki no sebīro ‘an American style suit’; ... sō ‘siki désu ‘is that way, too’ (Tk 4.125a)—cf. sore-siki no N ‘such a trifling N’, p. 80. In minn(‘) ‘yo-ásobi suru n‘a ‘siki no tyyukoku datta n désu yō ‘everybody offered advice of the type “Don’t play around in the evenings”’ (Tk 2.306b) the major juncture that will be inserted before siki indicates an ellipsis of something like [to iu]. Similar examples: “Kāku tatakaērī ‘siki no l éiga(‘) ‘A “This is how we fought” type film’ (SA 2678.147); ... siihara mo saihu o marudasi ni site, iru dō ‘sōhaku ‘an American style suit’; ... sore ‘siki désu ‘is that way, too’ (Tk 4.125a) —cf. sore-siki no N ‘such a trifling N’, p. 80. In minn(‘) ‘yo-ásobi suru n‘a ‘siki no tyyukoku datta n désu yō ‘everybody offered advice of the type “Don’t play around in the evenings”’ (Tk 2.306b) the major juncture that will be inserted before siki indicates an ellipsis of something like [to iu]. Similar examples: “Kāku tatakaērī ‘siki no l éiga(‘) ‘A “This is how we fought” type film’ (SA 2678.147); ... siihara mo saihu o marudasi ni site, iru dō ‘sōhaku ‘an American style suit’; ... sore ‘siki désu ‘is that way, too’ (Tk 4.125a) —cf. sore-siki no N ‘such a trifling N’, p. 80.

(102) ‘sōdati ‘reared (in a place, by a person, on a nutrient)’: Meirō no ooí Yōsiwarā ‘sōdati datta ‘I was reared in the Yoshiwara with its twisting lanes’; Nigiyaaka na Sinzyuku ‘sōdati no musumé desu ‘She is a girl who grew up in bustling Shinjuku’; Ikīma(‘) (= iki-uma(‘)) no mé o nuku tokai ‘sōdati de, ... ‘Having been born in the big city where sharp practices are the rule ...’; Miruku ‘sōdati ‘Raised on [store-bought] milk ...’ (R).

(103) ‘sōtoō (a price) of the order of’: ... happyakū-en ‘sōtoō no Tyyuka-ryōori no tyyusyoku ga mūryūg(o) de taberarēru ... ‘gets to eat an 800-yen Chinese lunch free’ (SA 2679.35a); ... hyakūgozyyuum-ên ‘sōtoō o hakondé imásita ‘they brought in (goods) of the value of a million and a half yen’ (R). But sore-sootoo = sore-sooo’oo ‘of a sort, in its/one’s way’ is a precopular noun; see § 25.

(104) ‘sugata ‘(one who is) garbed/attired in, wearing’: Nihon-gami ‘sugata no zyosei ga ... ‘A woman wearing a Japanese-style hairdo ...’ (R); ... waisyatu to zubón-sita(‘) ‘sugata de ‘in shirt and underpants’ (Tk 4.282a); Toobu-syōgakkō o tazunérō to, Éndo sensei wa kiirōi kooruten no uwappari ni kuroppōi monpē(‘) ‘sugata de arawāreta ‘When I visited the Tōbu elementary school (in Toyama) Instructor [Miss] Éndo appeared in a yellow corduroy smock with dark pantaloons’ (SA 2682.107a); Yogoretu yooohuku ‘sugata de sitūrei ‘ ‘Excuse my dirty suit ...’; Kodomotā-ti wa kirei na wahaku ‘sugata ga ōkatta ‘Many of the children were in pretty Japanese kimonos’; Tōzan ‘sugata de konde iru ‘It is crowded with people dressed for mountain climbing’; ... sangūrasu, sentōō-huku ‘sugata no Makkāsaa ga ... ‘MacArthur, in his sunglasses and battle uniform, ...’ (SA 2830.142c).

(105) ‘sugi ‘(a time) after (a time)’: Sono zikoku ‘sugi o neratte hoomon sitāra, kāre ni āu kotō ga dēkita ‘When I aimed my visit at a time after that hour I was able to see him’; Iti-zi ‘sugi ni ātuku nāru ‘After one o’clock it gets hot’; Sararī-man no kitaku-zīkan
to sité wa kánari osoi hati-zi “sugi” ni káeru kotó ga ō-o ‘I often get home sometime after eight o’clock, an hour that is rather late for the time of a salaried employee’s return’; Sigatú hatuka “sugi” kara ... ‘From (sometime after) the 20th of April ... ’ (SA 2679.18d); Gakkoo ga hazimaru sigatú “sugi” ni wa sakura mo mankai då ‘After April, which is when school begins, the cherries are in full bloom’; Háru mo máda asai sángatu syójyúnn(“) “sugi”-góro, uti no sakura ga saki-háůmется no de bikkúri sita ‘I was surprised that the cherries at our house started blooming around the time after the first part of March when spring is still faint’. NOTE: Unlike mae, “sugi” does not have a corresponding noun in free use. To say ‘five minutes later’ you must phrase it gó-hún áto/notí; there is no *gó-hún l sugi, and go-hún sugi means ‘five minutes past (an hour/event)’ as in gó-zi go-hún sugi ‘five minutes past five’ and Hassya ni-go-hún sugi {ni} ziko ga okóotta ‘Two minutes after the train’s departure an accident took place’.

(106) “-tai ‘versus; (by) a score of X to ...’: san “-tai san = sán-tai san ‘three-to-three (score)’. Also with nouns not numbers: ... soo iwáreréba sákusya(“) “-tai sakuhín no mondai wa ... ‘if we may so call it, the problem of creator versus creation, ... ’ (TK 3.321b). But in examples of this sort, Hamako Chaplin treats tai as a conjunction with no accentual effect on the preceding noun; see § 13.7a.

(107) “tái pu ‘a type of’: Kyooiku-néssin na ókusama “tái pu ... ‘One of those types of housewife wild about education ...’. “táku ‘high on/in, the heights of’: Huzisan-týoo “tákaku ... ‘High atop Mt Fuji ...’; Aozora “tákaku huuwen ga ngíte yuku ‘The balloon escapes to high in the sky’ the juncture indicates an ellipsis, perhaps Sóra [ni].

(108) “táràzu ‘less than’: Kitté(“) wa san-zíkan “táràzu de urikire [da] ‘The stamps are sold out in less than three hours’ (SA 2672.17c).

(110) “-teido ‘the level/caliber/limit of’: Sanpo tó ka taisoo “téido nara yói desyoo ‘It would be best if it [= physical exercise for those with high blood pressure] were limited to walking and calisthenics’ (SA 2679.120d); ... kaku-dántoo no hakái-ryoku mo Hiroshima Nagásaki no genbaku “téido ni sugain daroo ‘nor would the destructive power of the nuclear warhead exceed the level of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom bomb’ (SA 2678.136d); ... onsen-ba no soemono “téido no monó[1], ... ‘something limited to being (= that is no more than) a mere appendage to a hot-spring resort’ (SA 2688.89e). Nisen-en kara itíman-en “téido no bakkín o haráebá súmu kóto da ... ‘You can get off by paying a fine ranging from two thousand to ten thousand yen’ (SA 2665.126c); ... seízei zuuyó-gín “téido de owári-tai to omótte ita ‘I felt I wanted to stop at (a limit of) fifteen people at most’ (Tk 3.0c); ... minarai-kangóo “téido no monó ‘someone of the caliber of a probationary nurse’ (SA 2666.114b); ... páná no tabéru take no huto-sa wa ningen no ko-yubi “téido de ... ‘the thickness of the bamboo that the pandas eat that is of a human’s little finger’ (R); ... kore mo “týanomi-bánsi” “téido da to ka ‘this is nothing but gossip over teacups’ (SA 2668.28e); Daigaku sotugyoo “téido no hitó ‘... persons with a college degree’.

(111) “-tikáku ‘nearly, close to’: Dóokkyúú-sei no hanbún “tikáku ga kekkón shite iru ... ‘Close to half her classmates are married’ (SA 2656.135d); Náze, konno ni sanzíp-pun “tikáku zikan o okurasetá no daroo ‘Why did I dawdle this way for nearly thirty minutes?’ (V 1967a.104); Sono hansuí ga ... ‘Nearly half of that number’ (SA 2655.42); Bunryóo mo zentai no hanbún “tikáku simète iru ‘The quantity (of it) takes up nearly half of the whole thing’ (SA 2674.92c); ... hatumoode-kyáku hyákü gozyuum-nin “tikáku ga mi-
komare, ... ‘close to a million and a half New Year worshippers are expected’ (R); Hi mo tākaku nāttā hirū ‘tīkāku ni yooyaku ōkita ‘I finally got up around noon when the sun was high in the sky’; Ensoku no hi ‘tīkāku ni nāru to urēsikute sikata ga nai ‘As it gets close to the day of the outing I am most delighted’; ... niman-en ‘tīkāku ni nāru ‘amounts to close to ¥20 000’ (SA 2640.105b). Observe the difference between Itī-zi ‘tīkāku Nī nāttā ‘It got to be close to one o’clock’ with the restrictive and Itī-zi tīkāku nāttā ‘It got so it was close to one o’clock,’ an ellipsis for Itī-zi [n] tīkāku nāttā. The ellipsis is optional and occurs freely for other forms of the predicate: ... sānbyakū-nin tīkai hitotē-ta ga ... ‘nearly three hundred people’ (SA 2688.58); ... zentai no ni-wari tīkai kīyyoo (de ...) ‘in enterprises that are nearly twenty percent of all (enterprises)’ (SA 2668.22c); Masunaga gi e ni kāetta no wa iti-zi tīkai ‘It is close to one o’clock when Masunaga gets home’ (lg 62.90).

(112) ‘tomo ‘all …’—see §15.14.
(113) ‘tomo(−) ‘including …’—see §15.14: Iremono ‘tomo(−) … ‘including the container’.
(114) ‘tuki ‘(one that is; being) equipped with, with … (provided, attached, included, given)’ (cf. ‘zuki’): ... seihaku u kita untēn-syu ‘tuki no Bēntu ga ‘a Mercedes (Benz) with a uniformed chauffeur’; Rei-dānboo, bāsū, tōire, ōobun, reizō-ko ‘tuki no ōoki na kyanpingu-kā de itta ‘We went in a large camper equipped with air conditioning and heating, bath, toilet, oven, and refrigerator’ (SA 2680.50c); Heyā wa roku-zūyō ‘gūrai no hiro sa de tansu, bēndo, senpū-ki ‘tuki [da] ‘The room was about a six-mat size and was equipped with chest, bed, and fan’ (SA 2669.62b); ... itinē-kan no meekkā-hōsyo ‘tuki dēsu ‘It comes with a one-year guarantee from the maker’ (SA 2654.53); ... hatuon ‘tuki no zīsho ‘a dictionary that gives pronunciations’; Kono nagasi ‘tuki ga bēnri da ‘Having this sink attached is convenient’; Kono nagasi ‘tuki o kaoo ‘Let’s buy one with this sink attached’; Sono i’e wa, ano hānare ‘tuki de uri ni dasāretete iru ‘That house is on the market for sale with the detached cottage included’; Sore wa, kīrei na kazari-tōdana ‘tuki no wasitu dēsita ‘That was a Japanese-style room provided with a beautiful ornament shelf’; Kono sūdōbu wa ōndo ga tākaku nāru to hitori de ni suitti ga kirēru saamōsūtatto ‘tuki dēsu ‘That heater is equipped with a thermostat which has a switch that cuts off automatically when the temperature gets high’; Sono sādōkoro wa bēnri na disūpōoozaa ‘tuki dēsu ‘That kitchen is equipped with a handy dispose-all (= garburētor)’; Nendō no takāi kūurā ‘tuki no zīôō-syāl(−)’ wa sore-dake zentai no nēndō mo tākaku nātte iru ‘Cars that come with an expensive air conditioner just by that alone carry a higher overall price’; Sono kuruma wa mō hūrūkku nātte simatta siīto-kābāa ‘tuki de uraretoko ‘That car was sold with seat covers that had gotten quite worn’; In zoosākū(−) ‘tuki kasi-ya ‘furnished house (to let)’ there may be a lexicalization; NHK carries the entry zoosakū-tuki(−).


(116) ‘tyōtto ‘and a little, a little over’; ... hyakū-nin ‘tyōtto sika kōnakatta ga ga ‘only a little over a hundred people came but …’ (SA 2686.29c); ... kūroo ni kūroo site yat-tō san-zikan ‘tyōtto ni made nobāsite ita ‘we struggled and struggled and finally got it stretched all the way to a little over three hours’ (SA 2684.118c); Hyakū-nin ‘tyōtto ga
arawàreta ‘A little over a hundred people appeared’; Kono gosen-en 〜tyotto o betu ni simasù ‘We will keep this sum of something over ¥ 5000 separate’; Nete simatté kara hûto(‘) ki ga tûku to, rokuzyûu 〜tyotto dêta kûrai no, zyoohin na kao-dati de byooki 〜agrî miitai na hitô ga, makurà-moto ni tyan-to suwatte ‘ru ‘When I had finished sleeping I happened to notice there was a person clearly seated at my bedside, who had a refined face, somewhat past sixty years of age, and who looked as if just out of sickbed’ (Tk 3.121a). The source would appear to be an ellipsis NUMBER to[1] tyôt-to; cf. ... taidan sité kara, itînen to tyôt-to ni narimasu ga ne ... ‘since that interview it’s been about a year and a bit, you see, ...’ (Tk 3.134a). For ‘a little over a meter’ you can say either iti-méétoru to[1] tyôt-to or iti-méétoru 〜tyotto.

(117) 〜tyuu ‘in the midst of, while’—see §14.4; ‘among’: Kyóó wa gózen(‘) 〜tyuu kara kenbutu sitë itá n desu ‘Today I have been sightseeing since (sometime in the) morning’ (Tk 3.244a); Nihôn no seizi-ka 〜tyuu de mo, ‘A’-kyûu 〜tyuu no ‘A’-gao de aró ‘Even among Japan’s political figures he must be the “A” face in the “A” class (= most unusual)’ (Tk 3.83); ... nyuusyóo-sya zyuuhati-nin 〜tyuu yo-nin ga dânsi de atta ‘of the eighteen winners four were male’ (SA 2672.117b).

(118) 〜ûmare ‘born in/at’: Ano otoko wa kóto to sitë yuumei na Nâara 〜ûmare de ‘He was born in Nara, famed as the ancient capital’; Watasî wa usi-dosí 〜ûmare desu kara ... ‘I was born in the Year of the Ox, so ...’ (R).

(119) 〜wari (at the rate of, by a proportion of):’ Inzei wa peeei 〜wari de kurueru wáke da ga, ... ‘They are supposed to pay royalties by the page, but ...’ (Tk 3.97a); Kaihî wa atumâttâ ninzu 〜wari de atumeiyóo ‘Let’s collect dues according to the number of people who join’.

(120) 〜yoo ‘for the use (of); for use (in/as/by)’;43 Musumé no yomeiri 〜yoo no wahuku ... ‘Japanese clothing for the young lady at her marriage ...’; Rainen okonau tuki-ryókoo 〜yoo ni atarasii rokêto o tukûtte iro ‘They are building a new rocket for use in the moon-shot to take place next year’; dôkusyo(‘) 〜yoo no ránpu ‘a reading lamp’; Zibun 〜yoo no tèrebi ... ‘My personal TV set ...’ (Endô 80); ryókoo 〜yoo no senmendoogu-ire ‘a toilet case for when you travel’; ... kàiî 〜yoo [no] hôteru ... ‘a convention hotel’ (Tsukagoshi 130b); ... Kâhû wa happyooy 〜yoo no nikki to happyoo sinai nikki tô no hotată o kaki-wakete ita kotô ... ga sêngo ni wakatta ... ‘it came to light after the war that [Nagai) Kàfu had written two separate diaries, one for publication and the other not to be published’ (Endô 88); ... itigo to gureepuhuruûtu 〜yoo no supûun ... ‘a spoon for strawberries and grapefruit’ (SA 2863.97d).

(121) 〜yori (along) toward’: Nisi 〜yori no kaze ‘a westerly wind’; higaşi(‘) 〜yori no minami ‘south by east’; Hotîmin-Rûuto wa kono matic no Minami-Bétonamu kókkýoo 〜yori o hasîte irú no de ... ‘The Ho Chi Minh trail runs along toward the South Vietnam border at this town, so ...’ (SA 279.18d); Aîiti-kén no tóookô, Naganâkô-ken 〜yori no yama-åî(‘), Ôomi no bûraku ni ... ‘In northeast Aichi Prefecture, in a ravine toward Naga-no Prefecture, in the community of Ômi, ...’; Nîzyûu itî-nen natü, kokuden Okatûma 〜yori ni barakkù-nàgaya no maakêto ga dëkîta ‘In the summer of 1946 a market of hastily built tenements came into being toward the Okachimachi station of the National Railway’ (SA 2671.39a); Ie o tâtêru no nara sono minami 〜yori ga ãi daroo ‘If you are going to put up a house, it would be better to do it toward the south of that’; Sono higaşi(‘) 〜yori

43. Cf. Ni sen’yoo no ... ‘for the exclusive use of N’ (§25).
"The part toward the east we raised a bit so as to make the whole a land surface of the same height"; Kono mado yori ni tukue o okoo 'Let's put a table along this window'; Watasi ga yoku sanpo ni iku kooen yori no tiiki ni, saikin zokuzoku() to iie ga tatte iro 'In the area toward the park where I go for walks a lot, lately one house after another has sprung up'; Sono hati wa atira no tiissai mado yori ni oitara ii 'It would be nice to put that pot over toward the little window there'; Kare no kirai na migi yori mitai wa hatugen wa anmari sinai hoo ga ii yoo da 'It appears advisable not to make too many pronouncements that seem (politically) toward the right which he dislikes'; Komatta koto ni, tonari no uti() de wa watasi no uti() yori ni ni-kai o tate iro no de, niwa ga hikage ni natte simau 'To my distress, the people next door are building a second story toward my house, so that the garden will end up shaded from the sun'.

(122) yuki, 'iki 'a trip to, bound for': Han no miyako no Paris-yuki yuki no kimatte yorokonde iro 'I am delighted now that the trip to Paris, capital of flowers = gaiety, has been set'; Sukii-y zoo to site yuumei ni Sugadaira yuki no basu ga ima deru tokorori desu 'The bus is about to leave for Sugadaira, famed as a ski resort'; Kono densya() wa dojira 'iki desu ka Where does this train go?' But gakkoo-iki no kodomo 'school-bound children' is perhaps best treated as a lexicalization, since gakkoo cannot be modified or conjoined.

(123) zen 'before'—see §14.4: Syuujiin no kaisan zen ni ... 'Before the dissolution of the Lower House ...';

(124) zen [taru] 'like, of the sort'—see §13.5a.

(125) zengo 'about, approximately': Hima na ni-zen ni kito kudasai 'Please come at two, when I'm free'; Iti-niti no uti() de mo itiban atu ni-zen ni zengo ni oyogu 'I swim at two o'clock when it is the hottest in the day'; Yotei sita hyaku-nin zengo ga kita 'The approximately hundred people that were expected came'; Kotosi no oo-misoka zengo ni wa koinu ga umareru desyoo 'Around the end of the year the puppies will be born, I think'; Sizuka no iti-zen zengo ni hirune o suru 'I take a nap around one o'clock when things are quiet'.

(126) zibun 'time (when) ': ... wakai musume zibun no kimoti ga ... 'her feelings at the time she was a young girl ...' (Fn 44a); ... wareware no kodomo zibun, ... 'when we were children' (Tk 3.228a): Toodai no gakusei zibun ni wa ... 'In the period when a student at Tōkyō University ...'; Syokuzi zibun ni ukagatte sitürei desu ga ... 'It is rude of me to visit during your meal time ... = syokuzi no zibun(). NOTE: Ima-zibun = ima-goro is treated as a derived time-noun (from ima zibun): Ima-zibun wa hito mo sukunai 'At this time (of day) it is uncrowded'. Cf. Hirū zibun wa kōmu 'It gets crowded around lunch time'.

(127) zdai 'period (when) ': Wakaı gakusei zdai no seikatsu wa ... 'My life at the period when I was a young student ...'; Onoe Matunosuke san zdai no koroo-renzyuu ga ... 'Old timers from Mr Matunosuke Onee's era ...' (Tk 3.298); Issi o hūubi sita Takahashi Saburo zdai 'The times of Saburō Takahashi who dominated a generation ...'; ... Meizi, Taisuyoo zdai no Tookyō-zin ga, ... 'Tokyoites of the Meiji and Taishō times' (Kotoba no yurai 50); ... kookoo kara daigaku zdai, yoku mita n desu yō 'I used to see them a lot during the period from high school through college' (SA 2793.43b)—perhaps to be explained as daigaku +{māde} no zdai, though that would not account for the accent.
(128) "ziken 'the incident of': Watasi-ira [ga/no] kodomo no zibun(\*) , Natsumaira Noriyosi Otsuyamizui 'ziken te mon\'o ga taihen desita ne 'When we were children the Noriyoshi Matsuda Ochanomizu affair was really something wasn't it' (Tk 3.211b); Sikago [no] kurohoyo-to-kunbu [no] syasatu 'ziken 'The Chicago Black Panther Leaders Killing' (SA 2659.149—subheading); Yodogoo ‘ziken ... 'the [jacking] incident of the air liner Yodo'; Tesuto-yoosoi [no] nusui-dasi 'ziken ... 'The test-paper theft case ...'; Kawaguti-kun 'ziken ... 'the incident of [lynching] young Kawaguchi'.

(129) 'zoi 'along, following': Urasoe-so-ni no gun 'yoo-dooroo itig oo-zoi ni ... 'Along Military Highway One at Urasoe Village [in Okinawa] ...' (SA 2657.12); ... meboshi kaidoo-(-) 'zoi ni wa, ... 'along the main avenues ...'; Sono ogawa 'zoi ni komiti ga aru 'Along the brook there is a path' ; Watakusi ga yoko oyo-gi ni iku kawa 'zoi ni wa dote ga takaaku tuzuite iru 'There are tall banks stretching along the river where I go a lot to swim'; Sono miti 'zoi ni sumire ga ippai saite ita 'Along that road violets were blooming everywhere'; Sono syoosya na tatemono 'zoi no miti o toori, migi ni magareba sugu watasi no i'e desu 'Pass the road that goes along that trim building, turn right, and you're right at my house'; Utukusii yasikii 'zoi no sifu ka miti o minmii(-) tooru no ga tanomii(-) da 'It is a delight to take each day the quiet street beside the beautiful residences'; Sono shibai 'zoi ni yanyagi ga urareta 'Willows were planted along the newly built shopping lane'.

(130) 'zoroi 'a lineup (an array) of': ... zaini ti Bei kaigun-sirai-kan Sumisuta'i syoo-zoroi no unten-syu ... 'the chauffeur attached to Admiral Smith, the commander of American naval forces in Japan' (SA 2679.7); ... toku betu no kon'i-zoroi(-) de ... 'by virtue of a special intimacy' (Fn 84b); ... kenpei 'zukur(-) de ... 'by virtue of one's authority' (Fn 117b); ... aiitai(-) 'zukur(-) de 'by common consent'; Hanasi 'zukur(-) de soo iu kot\'o ni kimet\'a na kara 'We decided it that way as a result of discussion' (Fn 120b); Musuko to soodan 'zukur(-) de byooin ni haitta ... 'entered the hospital by mutual agreement with his son' (SA 2670.32c); ... kane 'zukur(-), kenpei 'zukur(-) de osite kitarara 'if they press with the force of money and the force of authority' (Kb 241a); ... kokumin mo nattoku 'zukur(-) no hanasi desu ga ... 'it is a matter that is (existent) by virtue of the nation's understanding it' (Tk 4.13b). Kenkyusha gives short examples of ud\'e, ti karahi(-), syoo\'oai, i\'i, yokotoku, s\'insetu, ... .

(135) 'zukume 'one who/that is) adorned with, swathed in, full of': ... kibiss\'i kisoku 'zukume no Tuuyugoku de ... 'in China which is blanketted with strict rules' (SA 2659.34d);
§2.4. Restrictives and quasi-restrictives

Sikasi, hanasi wa bara-iro ‘zukume ni wa susumanai ‘But the story doesn’t progress so rosi-
ily’ (SA 2668.28c); ima-no-tokoro iki koto ‘zukume desu ‘Now it’s loaded with goodies’
(SA 2669.17d); iki koto ‘zukume no ‘go-koosetu’ ‘Your valuable views laden as they
are with good things’ ... ‘(SA 2664.102e); Sono hanasi wa watakusi ga mattaku[3] siranai
koto ‘zukume no tote-mo omosoiri monon desita ‘That story was a most interesting one
that was full of things I had not known at all’; Kirai na monon ‘zukume no syokuzi de
gakkari sita ‘I was disappointed at the meal, which was full of things I hate’; Subarasii
koto ‘zukume no tanzyoo-bi desita ‘It was a birthday full of wonderful things’; Kano-zyo
wa Amerikazin no kate ni kimono no kite dekaketa. Sono kinumono ‘zukume o kare-ra
wa tote-mo mezurasu-gatata ‘She wore a kimono to an American’s home. They were quite
agog at how she was all swathed in silks’; Natu de wa aru no de, sanka-sya no naka de sono
kuro ‘zukume ga tote-mo medatta ‘As it IS summer, he really stood out among the partici-
pants decked out in that black [as he was]’.

(136) ‘zukuri ‘the construction/making of’; Nerai waatarasii seiiki ‘zukuri da ‘The
aim is the building of new sanctuaries’ (SA 2686.39b); Bunano-ki no syakusai ‘zukuri no
sono nagoroi desu ‘The making of beechnwood ladles—it still survives [as we see in this
scene]’ (R); ... tanuki no okimono ‘zukuri ‘making ornamental figures of the badger’
(R); Kodomo no anzen na asobi-ba ‘zukuri ga hituyoo da ‘The construction of play-
grounds safe for children is essential’; ... hitobito ga harakari-gai kan-zuru yoo na
kankyo ‘zukuri o suru to iu ‘to build an environment that people can feel is worth
working in’ (R); ... iwayaources no ‘zukuri o suru, sono hoo hoo no hitotu ga ...
for building what is called the leader’s image, one of the methods is ...’ (R); Nihon no
mirai ‘zukuri ‘The building of Japan’s future ...’ (R). In the following example we will
have to assume an ellipsis niwatori[-goya] ya buta-goya ‘chicken [coops] and pig pens’,
since we do not want to make ‘goya (=”koya) a restrictive: Sore o hi ga kureru to
nusunde, niwatori ya buta-goya ‘zukuri no zairyoo ni suru ‘That stuff they steal after
dark and turn into material for making chicken coops and pig pens’ (SA 2670.33a).

(137a) ‘zume ‘packed in’; Kide tukutta hako ‘zume no monop ... ‘Things packed in
boxes made of wood ...’; Reiika hatzyuu-do ni mo tas-suru dorai-aisu ‘zume ni site okuri-
dasu reitsuu-gyo da ‘The refrigerated fish is sent out packed in dry ice, which gets as cold
as 80 below zero [centigrade]’.

(137b) ‘zume ‘stationed in’; Nihon-basi ni aru honsyo ‘zume no zyuunsa(?) ‘ ‘A po-
liceman stationed in the main station in Nihombashi ...’.

(137c) ‘zume—see §9.1.7 (V-i--zume).

(138) ‘zumi ‘finished with’—see §14.4.

(139) ‘zumi ‘shipment by; loaded on; a capacity of’; Hyaku-ton ‘zumi no hune ... ‘a
boat with a hundred-ton capacity’; Zyooyo-sya(?) to hotondo onazai ooki sa no torakkusu
zumi ni sita kara, zibun de unten site hakoberu ‘Since it is loaded on a truck almost
the same size as a passenger car, one can transport it with oneself driving’.

(140) ‘zura ‘a face/look of’; Sinpo-suyugi ‘zura no yaroo-domo ga ... ‘Those so-and-sos
with progressivism written all over their damn faces ...’ (Tk 3.144b); Kane no koto sika
kangaerareniai sikon-ka ‘zura o sita koto wa nai n desu yoo ‘I have never acted the capitalist
who can think of nothing but money’ (cf. Tk 2.83b).

(141) ‘zutai ‘(following) along’; utimizu ni nureta tobiisi ‘zutai ni ... ‘along the
stepping stones wet from the garden sprinkling’ (Kb 271a); Kisyaa wa (tu ka, tuki no aru
nagisai(?) ‘zutai o hasite ita ‘The train at one point was running beside a moonlit beach’
(Fn 294b); Toránku hitótu de tabí ka tabí e, ati-kóti no kitín-yádo -zútai ni Nihon-réttoo o nagárette iku áutóoro de aru ‘He is an outlaw drifting down the Japanese archipelago along a helter-skelter route of cheap lodging houses, trip after trip with a single suitcase’ (SA 2668.116c); Semári rooka -zútai ni iroíro no monó o oku monó da kara, masúsamú sémaku nátte toori-nukerú no ni mo kúroo suru ‘Because there are all sorts of things placed along the narrow corridor, it’s getting more and more cramped and is even hard to make your way through it’; Atarásiku dékita háiiuee -zútai ni móto no hurúí mití gá miegákuree(−) site iru ‘Along the newly built highway the old road can be seen now and then’; Sízuka na watári-róoka -zútai ni une no ki gá ueráreté ite, íma ni mo sore gá sakí-soo na kěhái(−) de aru ‘There are plum trees planted along the quiet passageway and they look as if to burst into bloom at any moment’; Kuruma wa mukóo(−) ni miérú úngá -zútai ni hasítte itta ‘The car drove along the canal you can see over there’; Kono óne -zútai ga, yóku soonan gá àtte, abunai ‘It is dangerous along this ridge for there are many accidents’; Kono óne -zútai o Bigán-ro to iu ‘Running along this ridge is what they call Bigan Lane’; Tesurií -zútai ... ‘Along the banister (railing) ...’.

(142) -zútu ‘(distributively) each’—see §2.5: Sakura no hanó na kírei na hitó-hira ‘zútó o hàri de ió ni töósíte iku ’We gradually string each pretty cherry petal with our needle’; Sono ume wa zítu ni mígóto de, utükúsí hitó-edá ‘zútú ga maru-de meizin no té ni yotte téinei ni tukuráreta ka no yóo da ‘That plum tree is really splendid; each beautiful branch looks quite as though it had been carefully crafted by a master workman’; Hón wa yakusoku sita is-sátu ‘zútú sika agarenai ‘I can only give the one book each that I promised’.

(143) ‘-zyákù ‘a little less than, just under, minus’; Sono sén-nín(−) ‘-zyákù ga syuséeki sita ‘Just under a thousand of them attended’; Sono sén-nín(−) ‘-zyákù o sütáziamu e yuudo surú ‘We will attract a little less than a thousand of them to the stadium’; Kono kuroo-túzúki datta go-nen ‘-zyákù to iu aída, karada o yasúmerú hima no nákatta ‘For that period of a little under five years of straight toil I hadn’t a moment to rest my body’; Anó ití-kíri ‘-zyákù wa tote-mo kíken na káabu ga óói ‘That stretch of just under a kilometer has a lot of curves that are quite dangerous’; À-ten to B-ten o mosúbú gò-kíro ‘-zyákù wa nakanaka hasíri-yóí kóósu da ‘The something under five kilometers that links Point A and Point B are a course that is easy to run’; Kono ití-nén ‘-zyákù to iu monó wa mattáku(−) turákatta ‘This matter of a little under a year was quite trying’; Zentai no rokú-wári ‘-zyákù desu ‘It is less than 60 percent of the total’.

(144) ‘-zyástu ‘(the time that is) just, exactly’; Háfti-zi ‘háan ‘-zyástu ni béru ga natta ‘At exactly 8:30 the bell rang’; Sán-zi ‘-zyástu ga îi ‘Three o’clock sharp would be good/better’; Zíkoku wa yó-zi sántzuyú ni-hun yuu-byóo ‘-zyástu desu ‘The time is exactly four thirty-two and ten seconds’; Básu no tootyako-zíkan wa syóogo ‘-zyástu ‘The bus arrival time is exactly noon’ (SA 2679.35b). This word, like its English source, can be used as an adverb: Soko de mé ga sámete, tokei o mítara ‘-zyástu zyuuí-ní zi na desk ‘Then I woke up and when I looked at my watch found it was just twelve o’clock’ (Tk 3.121b).

(145) ‘-zyóo ‘on; in; in view/consideration of, from the standpoint of, because of; with respect to’ ... sinbun ya zassí ‘zyóo ni, ... ‘in the newspapers and magazines’ (K 1966.231); Watakusi no tatíba ‘zyóo komáru ‘It is embarrassing from my standpoint’; ... to iu yóo na kísíí keikai-táisei no kankei ‘zyóo ... ‘in view of the strict warning system of the sort that ...’ (R); Kono ié no motí-nusi wa Sátoo Táaro no túma Hámako no mèígi ‘zyóo,
Táro no ziyuu ni wa naránai ‘This house is in the name of Táro Satô’s wife Hamako and he is not free to dispose of it’; Atási mo, [Yúki san o] Kyóoto e saosotta sekinin zzyoo, zutto tuki-kkiri de kanbyoo sitá no yo ‘In view of the fact that I am the one responsible for having invited her [= Yukí] to Kyóoto, I have stayed close to her sick bed for the entire time’ (Fn 306b); Osiu ru tugo zzyoo asitá kara daigaku e ikanákereba naránai ‘Owing to the circumstance that I am to teach I must go to the university starting tomorrow’; ... ziturei o ageru bengi zzyoo, ‘for convenience in citing examples’ (Nagano 1966.206); Tonári ni súnde iru óto iu kankei zzyoo koosai sainai wáke ni wa ikan hí ‘In view of our living as neighbors we can’t help associate’; ... seizí zzyoo yóri wa músi ró syódógyoo zzyoo ni iroyku o móte itá n da né ‘they [the newspapers] had power with respect to business rather than with respect to politics, you see’ (Tk 3.225a).

(146a) ‘zyuu ‘all through (a time)’; ~ ni ‘(at some point) during/within (the specified time)’: Sonosiki no aida zzyuu ‘All through the ceremony’ (SA 2668.121b); tabi no aida ‘zyuu ... ‘all through the trip’ (Kb 265b); Syoo-gakkoo no toki káiko o kawaserárete né, sore o yate iru aida ‘zyuu, bóku(’) wa gakkoo o yusanmásita né ‘When I was in primary school we were made to raise silkworms, you see, and all the time they were doing that I skipped school [because I disliked silkworms so much]’ (SA 2663.42a); Kono san-kágetu ‘zyuu ni ... ‘(At some point) during these three months ...’; Kotosi/ Konsyuu/Kyóó ‘zyuu ni ... ‘Within the year/week/day ...’; Asitá ‘zyuu ni naósite moraitai ‘I’d like it fixed by tomorrow night’; Kyóó ‘zyuu ni kono heyá o akete kudasái né ‘I’d like you to clear this room sometime today (= before the day is out)’ (R); Kono tukí ‘zyuu isogasái ‘I am busy through this whole month’; Kaeru wa huyú ‘zyuu nemutte iru ‘Frogs sleep all through winter’; Sono hí ‘zyuu atamá ga ítakatta ‘My head ached that whole day through’; Akanboo wa atúi aida ‘zyuu naki-tuzúketa ‘The baby cried the entire time it was hot’; Káno-zyoo wa käre ga binboo na aida ‘zyuu mendóó o mite yatta ‘She looked after him the entire time he was poor’; Sono káigí ‘zyuu kintyoo si-doosi dátta ‘I was a bundle of nerves through that entire conference’; Watasi ga hima na aida ‘zyuu wa kodomo no mendóó o mite yareru ‘I can look after the child all the time I’m free’; Hitó-ban ‘zyuu benkyoo sitá ‘I studied all evening long’.

(146b) ‘zyuu ‘throughout, all over (a place)’: Nihón ‘zyuu ga kintyoo sitári ‘All Japan was nervous ...’ (Tk 2.128a); Kono tií sa na ma ti ‘zyuu o arúita ‘I walked all over this little town’; Sono heyá no naka ‘zyuu kemuri ‘dárake dátta ‘That entire room was filled with smoke’; Karada ‘zyuu ga itái ‘I hurt all over my body’; Káre no súmu murá ‘zyuu ni sono uwasa wa hi ro matte ‘The rumor spread all over the village where he lives’; Sekáí ‘zyuu ga odoro ‘The whole world was startled’; Sekáí ‘zyuu o odorokáseta dái-ziken dátta ‘It was a major incident that startled the entire world’.


In an unpublished paper Aihara Setsuko has grouped a somewhat smaller list of
restrictives and quasi-restrictives according to the types of modification permitted the preceding noun—Adnoun, Adjectival Noun, Adjective, Verb—and according to whether the result could be followed by tó or ní or gá/o (thus incorporating some of the information contained in the "Grammar" column of our list). Although there are a few difficulties of methodology and interpretation, Aihara's categories can be taken as reflecting the relative versatility of the items:

- **Type A**: dakē a, nómi, -bākari b, kirí, -gūrai b, -ígai, hodó b, máde b, -dōkoro, -izyoo.
- **Type B-1**: -ātari (a and b together), -kāgiri, -gōto, máde, -goto, -īgo, -īrai, -zénō, -góro, -nami, -īka, -dōmari, -dārake, -tuki, -zyuu (a and b together), -buri b, -dōori, -zoi, -zūtai, -gōsi (?—also B-2).
- **Type B-2**: -ate, -yori, -tikāku, -izen, -māe, -gōsi (?—also B-1), -bari, -gūrai a, -máigire, -zükume, -ātari c, -dakē b, -gākari, -kēntoo, -māmire, -āmari, -bākari a, -buri a, hodó a, -īnai, -zyāku, -kitté-no, -kyōo, -ōki(’), -sugi, and -zūtu.

(The order within each list goes from most to least versatile.)

Given these types, Aihara has considered the possible combinations of two and three restrictives. (But certain items in the lists just above were left out of the study: -ate, -bari, -buri b, -máigire, -yori, and -zükume. Also the five items -ātari a, -kāgiri, -nami, -dārake, and -dōmari were erroneously treated as B-2 rather than B-1; this does not significantly affect the statistical picture.) According to her study, particles of Type A will occur freely after those of Type B, with only 12 exceptions out of a possible 140 sequences of B-1 + A (the ratio of exceptions to occurrences is .0857) and 49 exceptions out of a possible 260 sequences of B-2 + A (the ratio of exceptions is .1885). In general, particles of Type B do not occur after those of Type A and particles of Type B-2 do not occur after those of Type B-1, with these exceptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Exceptions</th>
<th>out of</th>
<th>Possible sequences</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
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<tr>
<td>A B-1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A B-2</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-1 B-2</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>364</td>
<td></td>
<td>.23</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In studying the possible sequences of three restrictives, Aihara excluded Type B-2 altogether (because of the low versatility already found) and obtained these results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence kind</th>
<th>Occurring sequences</th>
<th>Possible sequences</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1170</td>
<td>.4265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A A A</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>.2708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A B-1 A</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>.0650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-1 B-1 A</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td>.0301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A A B-1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>.0248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-1 A B-1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td>.0071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A B-1 B-1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td>.0064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-1 B-1 B-1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>.0009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although our list of restrictives and quasi-restrictives is quite long, it is probably not
for we are dealing with a grammatical class which, while essentially closed, appears to be growing. One of the common sources of quasi-restrictives is the compounding of a verbal infinitive with a noun adjunct in a way that does not deprive the noun of its freedom to conjoin with prior nouns, to be modified, etc. Thus, it should not be surprising that we can elicit somewhat unexpected usages such as these with -izime ‘the teasing of’: Mada mon’o yoku wakaranai osanai kodomo -izime ga oo ‘There’s a lot of teasing little children who still don’t know much about things’; Musuko no tokoroe e atarasiku kita yome -izime o sakeyou to sita ‘We tried to avoid teasing the bride newly arrived at my son’s’; Akago no yoo ni teikoo-ryoku no nai yowai mon’o -izime da ‘It is teasing the weak who lack resistance like babies’.

And having run across hookoonin-kómarase ‘harassing the help’ we expect the likely elicitation (?) Sekai-iti takai yatin o harawaseráete iru syakuya-nin ‘kómarase no akuhoo da ‘It is an evil law harassing tenants who are forced to pay the world’s highest rents’.

The following words may turn out to be quasi-restrictives:
- baki [‘haki] ‘wearing (on the feet/legs)’: zoori-baki ‘wearing straw sandals’;
sandaru-baki de yatte kita ‘dropped around in sandals’ (SA 2837.32a).
- buki [‘huki] ‘roofing’: kawara-buki ‘(with a) roofing of tiles’, ...
- gae [‘kae] ‘changing’: koromo-gae ‘change of dress’, ...
- ‘ki [‘ki ‘garb (ed in)‘wearing’: gaisyutú-gi ‘streetwear’, hoomón-gi ‘formal attire’, hudán-gi ‘everyday clothes’, ...
- ‘moti ‘for ... to have’: onna-moti no tokei ‘a ladies’ watch’, ...
- ‘nage ‘throwing’: enban-nage ‘discus throwing’, ...
- ‘ni [‘ni ‘resemblance’; titiyo-ni ‘resembling one’s father’, ...
- ‘sagasi ‘searching for’; ni-hiki ‘mé no dozuyoo ‘sagasi ga hazimatte iru to ‘ka ‘saying something about the search for the second loach getting under way’ (SA 2813.3)
- ‘soe ‘adding’: tikara-zoe ‘assistance’, ...
- ‘zure [‘ture] ‘taking along, accompanied by’: kazoku-zure ‘accompanied by one’s family’, ...

The first problem is to find examples that are criterial. I have been unable to elicit any such for -zuki [‘suki] ‘devotee, enthusiast of’ as in yakuyu-zuki ‘a baseball fan’, onnazuki ‘a womanizer’, sibai-zuki ‘a playgoer’, etc. In atarasi [i]mono-zuki ‘one with a taste for novelties’ (Ig 58) atarasi [i]-mono is functioning as a single noun. We cannot assume that just any verb infinitive will freely turn up as a quasi-restrictive.

Another problem is the productivity of the constructions. The word -datera ‘despite one’s status as’ would appear to deserve inclusion as a quasi-restrictive by virtue of a sentence like Sitóyaka de áru ‘beki onná’ -datera ni arare-mo-nai ‘it is ill becoming to a proper

44. Surely to be added to the list, for example, are -itorro ‘(to) the east of’, -isei ‘(to) the west of’, -inan ‘(to) the south of’, -ihoku ‘(to) the north of’; Saezu -itorro no hitobito ni kötü wa ‘... for people living east of Suez’ (Tanigawa 198); Hokui ni nizuyu-gozen ‘ihoku no|| Kita-Bétanamu | bakueki no | teisi o méi-zi || ‘Ordering the suspension of bombing North Vietnam north of the 25th parallel ...’ (R). There is also -tozi ‘(at) the time ...’ as in Meizi shinzyuu hati-nen ‘tozi ni ‘(Back) in 1905 ...’. Notice also the English loanwords in ... Itaria-go ONRII no un-tyan ... ‘the driver who spoke only Italian’ (SA 2816.32a), yosan ’OOBAAA datta no wa ‘what was over the budget’, Tüne ni wága-ko ‘SAIDO kara sika monó o kangaerárenai ... ‘thinks only in terms of one’s own child’s interests’ (SA 2837.32d).
woman who ought to be gentle', but there seem to be very few nouns other than onna that can be used—kodomo has been suggested—so that onna-datera is perhaps better treated as a single lexical item. (Ōtsuki derives ‘datera from tate-date-si-, an obsolete adjective ‘upright’ derived from the transitive verb infinitive tâte ‘setting it up’.)

Noun-like elements that might turn up as quasi-restrictives include these:

- `-gata [= `kata] ‘shape’: tamago-gata ‘egg-shaped’; ... .
- `-gata [= `kata] ‘type’: huyu-gata no tênki ‘wintry weather’; ... .
- `-gênka [= `kenka] ‘a quarrel between’: Ti no kayowanai kyooodai-gênka wa säiban ni made naru koto ga àru ‘A quarrel between cold-blooded brothers sometimes gets to be a court case’; ... .
- `-kêkka ‘result(s)’: Syäin(`) sên-nîn(`) o taisyoo ni sita tyoosa-kêkka ni yoru to ‘According to the results of a study that took a thousand employees as subjects ...’ (SA 2668. 25c); Atarasii hoohoo ni yoru tiryoo-kêkka wa ... ‘The results of treatment according to a new method ...’: Kisyoo no kansoku-kêkka wa ... ‘The results of meteorological observations ...’; kaihyoo-kêkka ‘the results of the balloting’.
- `-zikomi [= `sikomi] ‘training; tutelage’: ... käre ga syoonen `zidai ni, uti-dësi to site sumi-konda Utagawa Kunioosî `-zikomi no é-hude o hurutte ... ‘he wielded a brush after the style of Kuniooshi Utagawa with whom he had moved in as an apprentice in his boyhood’ (Okitsu 549). 45
- `-zîtaku [= `sitaku] ‘preparations for’: Musumé-tati no yomeiri-zîtaku o site ku reru ‘They take care of preparations for young ladies’ marriages’; ... . Note also `-ka(`) and `-si suru § 14.3.

But the final elements in the following words do not permit phrasal modification of the nouns to which they are attached: Yakunin-bânare ‘experience as an official’, syuzyutusitu-donari no kanri-situ ‘the office next to the operating room’, hutokoro-guai ‘the state of one’s purse’, watasi no tutome-saki no kaisya ‘the firm that is where my job is’, Amerika-zikomi no ego ‘English acquired in America’, Rondon-zîtate no sebiro ‘a London-tailored suit’, ... .

Longer titles ("Mr", "Dr", etc.) are often treated as separate phonological words—here considered apposition (§ 25); shorter titles are treated either as suffixes or as quasi-restrictives, as discussed in § 26. Collectivizers (§ 2.7) such as tåti and rå display similar behavior.

The counters that attach to numerals (to form numbers) function as quasi-restrictives, in that the constituency structure puts the counter with the entire numeral, however long that may be; we have included the ordinalizer -mè in the list above, because it attaches to the entire number (cf. English ‘three hundred and [three-th =] third’). The word yó ‘excess, over’ can be attached to a numeral-counter compound to mean ‘more than (the number)’; it appears to function as a quasi-restrictive: itî-nên `-yo = itînên-yô ‘more than a year’, itînên-yô ‘buri ni ‘after more than a year’. But the patterns of juncture and accentuation are not entirely clear, perhaps because the word is a bit literary; I have elicited sên’yô-nen ‘a thousand-plus years’, sanzen-yô (no[1] ...) ‘over three thousand’, sanzen-yô-en ‘over 3000 yen’ (cf. sanzen yô-en ‘3004 yen’), hyaku[1] gozyuu-yô-nin ‘over 150 people’ (cf. hyaku[1] gozyû yô-nin ‘154 people’), ... .

The word ten ‘dot’, used in reading off numbers with decimals, is similar: san `-ten nanâ-byoo ‘3.7 seconds’ is read sânten l nanâbyoo.

An expression of AGE + `-tîgai ‘differing by ... years’ may qualify as a quasi-restrictive: Hon-no hitotu `-tîgai no kodomo ‘a child who is a mere one year’s difference in age’. Notice

45. This example clearly indicates that `-zikomi is indeed a quasi-restrictive, so I have dispensed with the hyphen.
that the reciprocal valence of the underlying infinitive 
tigai ‘differing (from/with)’ is retained: Atasii muttii 
‘muttii’ 
‘tigai de, Um‘ desu na ‘There’s six years difference in age from 
me, so you were born in the Year of the Horse, I guess’ (Tk 269a).

Among the words probably qualifying as quasi-restrictives is ‘mitasa [de/nii] ‘[from] a 
desire to look at’ as in Kubota Man‘roo saku(-) no wa ‘the one written by 
Mantarō Kubota’; ty‘ authoring by’ as in 
Kubota Man‘roo tyo no wa ‘the one authored by Mantarō Kubota’. We will 
have to account for such cases as an ellipsis of something like N [ga] saku(-) [sita] and N 
[ga] tyo [sita]. Or, perhaps it will be simpler to assume N [no] saku(-) and N [no] tyo,
leaving the further derivation of the ‘creative’ or ‘effective’ genitive to be accounted for 
under the explanation offered in § 3.11.2.

Not all speakers are in agreement that the words for ‘departure’ and ‘arrival’ are to be 
treated as quasi-restrictives. In public announcements you may hear ható and tyaku pre­
ceded by juncture, as in this example: Mata II zyuukū–zi II sānzip–pun ni I tuku yotei no I 
Nihon–kōoku no I ható I Hōnkōn ‘kēiyō I ni-bin ga I zyuugō–hun I okurete I 
zyuukū–zi I yōnyuu I go–hun ni I tukimāsu ‘Next, Japan Air Lines Flight Two departing 
Singapore due to arrive at 19:30 is fifteen minutes late and will arrive at 
19:45’ (R). And in news reports you may hear such phrases as Detorōtō [1] ható II Ee–Pī 
ni I yorimāsu to II ... ‘According to an AP dispatch from Detroit ...’ (R); Teru–Abibu [1] 
ható ni I yorimāsu to II ... ‘According to a dispatch from Tel Aviv ...’ (R).

Jorden (1962) treats these words as if syntactic reductions: the juncture and accent are 
suppressed but the accent of the preceding word is unaffected: Kōbe ható I iti–zi tyaku wa 
... ‘The train from Kōbe due at one o’clock ...’ (BJ 1.347); Zyuuiti–zi ható I Kyōto–iki wa 
... ‘The train for Kyōto leaving at 11 o’clock’ ... . According to Jorden these are ‘nominals 
which follow time and/or place words directly without intervening particles [and] may also 
follow each other directly’ (BJ 1.348).

Structures such as ni–zi ni–hūnmae ‘two minutes before two o’clock’ and go–zi go–hūnsugi 
five minutes past five o’clock’ (cf. BJ 1.121) are probably best treated as some sort of ellip­
sis-derived apposition—either direct, ni–zi [de aru] ni–hūnmae ‘the two-minutes before that 
is (of) two o’clock’, or inverted: ni–hūnmae [de aru] ni–zi ‘two o’clock that is two-minutes 
minus’. In any event, the second elements are best considered as complex counters,

Not all elements that occur after a noun are particles, restrictive, quasi-restrictive, 
quasi-suffixes, or the like. We have mentioned titles and collectivizers above. Certain other 
words derive from semantically “verbal” morphemes of Chinese origin and are used in 
ways reminiscent of “hatō ‘departure’ and “tyaku ‘arrival’ in our list, but they are separated 
from the noun by an underlying juncture: sākū(-) ‘written/composed by’ as in Kubota 
Mantarōo sākū(-) no wa ‘the one written by Mantarō Kubota’; tyō ‘authoring by’ as in 
Kubota Man‘roo tyo no wa ‘the one authored by Mantarō Kubota’. We will have to ac­
count for such cases as an ellipsis of something like N [ga] sākū(-) [sita] and N 
[ga] tyo [sita]. Or, perhaps it will be simpler to assume N [no] sākū(-) and N [no] tyo,
leaving the further derivation of the ‘creative’ or ‘effective’ genitive to be accounted for 
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sis-derived apposition—either direct, ni–zi [de aru] ni–hūnmae ‘the two-minutes before that 
is (of) two o’clock’, or inverted: ni–hūnmae [de aru] ni–zi ‘two o’clock that is two-minutes 
minus’. In any event, the second elements are best considered as complex counters,
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--hünmae and --hünsugi, which behave morphologically like other counters in combining with appropriate numerals: zip-pünmae ‘ten minutes of [the hour]’, san-pünsugi ‘three minutes past [the hour]’. Compare ni-zi zip-pun --mæ ni ‘before 2:10’, zip-pun mæ ni ‘ten minutes earlier/ago’; ni-zi zip-pun --sugi ni ‘after 2:10’, zip-pun áto de ‘ten minutes later’.

An adequate semantic analysis of the words under discussion is yet to be undertaken. Henderson has given us insight into the four words daké, gúrai, bákari, and hodó; the following analysis into semantic components is largely based on his description:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXACT</th>
<th>EXCLUSIVE</th>
<th>LIMITED</th>
<th>EXTENDED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daké</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bákari</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodó</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gúrai</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that gúrai is the "unmarked" restrictive, and that accounts for its general vagueness and its frequency. After QUANTITY words (such as numbers) all but daké mean ‘about, approximately’; daké, on the contrary, usually means ‘neither more nor less = exactly’ and you will sometimes see it written after a carefully spelled-out sum, as on a check: nimân gosên yônhyaku gozyuu-en "daké ¥25,450.***".

Isami presents a somewhat different scheme for three of these (daké, bákari, gúrai), adding máde and also nádo and nánka (§2.9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>daké</th>
<th>bákari</th>
<th>máde</th>
<th>nádo</th>
<th>nánka</th>
<th>gúrai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limit</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pejorative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "pejorative" use of which Isami speaks is that illustrated by such sentences as Uso bákari tûite iru ‘You do nothing but lie’ and Kudarânaî kotô bákari syabêru ‘You say nothing but stupidities’, in which daké will not substitute. Isami says that máde represents an UPPER BOUNDARY (Uisûkîi made nómu ‘I drink even whiskey’) and "gúrai represents a LOWER BOUNDARY (Budô-syu 'gúrai nómu ‘I drink wine at least’), noted on his chart by the presence or absence of "definite".

Where do these words come from? Many of those with distinctively voiced initials go back to elements with voiceless initials, having picked up the voicing as part of the well-known compound nogi process. The restrictive daké is from the noun také ‘length; total quantity’, related to tâka ‘amount, volume’ and tâka- ‘high, tall’ (as is také ‘peak’). The restrictive bákari is from hakarî ‘measure; weight; balance’, the regular derived noun from the infinitive hakarî ‘measuring’, "gúrai is from the noun kurai ‘grade, rank; situation’, itself originally a compound from kura-[w] ‘being in a seat or saddle’; ‘doori comes from the postadnominal tôori, in turn derived from toorî ‘way’, the derived noun from the infinitive tôori ‘passing by’; ‘dôkororo is from tokorô ‘place’. The origin of "dârake is problematical; one suggestion (Otsuki) has it related to târa-tara ‘dripping profusely’. The quasi-restrictive "gôro is from the postadnominal kôro ‘time’; 'gôto [ni] is said to be an abbreviation from koto-gôto [ni] ‘[in] everything’, a reduplication of kôto ‘thing’, which is no
§ 2.4a. YUE [ni]

Yue is a postadnominal which means 'reason' or 'cause', much like woke or tamé, but rather formal or literary, so that 'due to' N is a good translation for N no yue [ni]. You will find that sometimes verbal and adjectival sentences, instead of undergoing adnominalizations (V-ru/-ta yue, A-i/-katta yue), are directly nominalized (§ 14.6) and attach 'due to' as ... ga yue: V-ru ga yue, A-i ga yue. (Cf. ... ga tamé.) But N ga yue apparently is not.

46. But goto [-ku] 'like' offers a tempting alternative etymology for both.

46a. Both Ōno Susumu and Ōno Tōru favor an etymology that presumes a semantic extension of the Old Japanese word ma-de 'both hands' > 'fully'.
used; instead you find N yue, with the ‘due to’ functioning as a postnominal particle much like a restrictive or focus marker: Sore yue ... ‘Due to that,...'; Kayoo na sidai yue, ... ‘Owing to circumstances of this sort...’; Bōku("") wa dansei dā kara tasukāri, kāno-zyo wa, taikyūu-ryoku no suknāi zyosei yue ni sinde simatta ‘I was saved because I am a man, but she ended up dead due to being a woman with little endurance’ (SA 2637.57).

2.5. THE DISTRIBUTIVE ("ZŪTU")

When the distributive marker "zūtu is attached to a phrase the meaning of the simplex sentence is affected as a whole: the activity or state described is thought of as equally distributed among two or more subjects or objects or as equally distributed among two or more times (or, if mentioned, places, etc.). The marker must be included in some phrase that contains as its head a NUMBER; this is typically a numeral-counter compound, but it may be selected from certain other expressions that refer to limited quantity: sukōsi "zūtu ‘a little each’, syoosū "zūtu ‘a small number each’, syoryō("") "zūtu ‘some each’, zyakkan "zūtu ‘some each’, kore-dake "zūtu ‘this much each’.

But expressions of unspecified large quantities are apparently excluded: *takusan "zūtu ‘lots each’, *tasū "zūtu ‘a large number each’, *taryō "zūtu ‘a large quantity each’.

Perhaps large quantities are to be considered indefinitely unspecifiable where small quantities would always be subject to some kind of limited specification.

There are two competing accentuations for the distributive: "zūtu and "zūtu. Sukōsi "zūtu is pronounced /sukosizūtu/ and sukōsi "zūtu is pronounced /sukosizūtu/; zyuu-en "zūtu is /zyuuenzūtu/ and zyuu-en "zūtu is /zyuuenzūtu/. In this book we will choose to write the accentuation always as "zūtu.

The older spelling of "zūtu is dutu = "tutu; the word is said to come from a reduplication of the general counter -tu that we find in hitō-tu ‘one’, huta-tu ‘two’, etc. Notice that the distributive is NOT related to V-i-"tutu ‘while doing’ (§9.1.4). As dutu, the particle is attested from Heian times (Terase 125). Dialect versions of the distributive include zuka (in Nara prefecture, Zhs 4.337); the origin of that can be seen in the Shikoku forms dukā and duku (Doi 281)—probably ("")tu (number) + particle ka ‘whether/or’, with assimilation of the second vowel in duku. Throughout the Ryūkyūs a totally different etymon (... naa), of unknown origin, is used to mark the distributive.

The reference of the distributive is vague; whatever the sentence says is happening may be treated as happening “distributively” (= in equal distribution), but the distribution can be with respect to an imputed dual or plural meaning of any adjunct—typically the subject or the direct or indirect object—or it can be with respect to time or frequency. In a sentence such as Māiniti("") ū-pai "zūtu nōmu ‘I drink one cupful each day’ the ‘zūtu may be semantically redundant, simply reinforcing māiniti(""); but in other interpretations of the same sentence the distributive adds an otherwise unmarked meaning: ‘I take one cupful of each beverage every day’, ‘Each of us takes a cupful every day’, etc. Similarly, in a sentence that contains sōrēzō ‘respectively, individually, as individually appropriate’, one of the interpretations will make the distributive redundant: Šankā-ṣya wa sōrēzō hitōtu "zūtu moratta ‘The participants each received one individually’. (Other interpretations: ‘The participants individually received one each time’.)

The phrase that contains the distributive can be marked for case; the case marker will always follow (never precede) the distributive marker: Gakusei hitōri "ZUTU KARA

47a. Chūgoku dialects use "wate (Matsue), "waate (Nagahama), or "watté (Hiroshima), from the gerund of war- ‘divide’.
§2.5. The distributive (～zūtu)

atūmeta ‘I gathered them from each student’ (*karā-～zūtu); Gakusei hintōri ～ZUTU NI watasite kudasai ‘Hand them out to each student’ (*ni-～zūtu); Gakusei hintōri ～ZUTU TO hanasi-au ‘I will talk with each student’ (*tō-～zūtu); Onōono pin ip-pon ～ZUTU DE tomote kudasai ‘Fasten one with each pin’ (*dē-～zūtu); Ni-kasyo ～ZUTU E itte kudasai ‘Go to two places each’ (or ‘Go to each of two places’) (*e-～zūtu); Nǐ-ko ～ZUTU GA tekitoo dá ‘Two apiece is suitable’; Tamagō hintō ～ZUTU O yōkū awa-dātetete tukau ‘You use one egg each, whipped into a froth’.

The distributive phrase can be adnominalized: Iti-dōru ～zūtu no go-hōobi ‘an award of one dollar each’; ... zyakkan-～zūtu no reigai ... ‘a few exceptions each’ (KKK 3.61).

Although *N-～zūtu-～zūtu is impossible, you can have more than one distributive-marked adjunct in a sentence sentense: Kodomō-tāti wa hutuka ～ZUTU hatarai moratta iti-dōru ～ZUTU no go-hōobi de ni-satū ～ZUTU hōo no katta ‘The children bought two books of each kind for each of the one-dollar awards that they each had received for working two days’. But in such a sentence each distributive-marked adjunct belongs to a different predicate (respectively hatarai, nó = de āru, katta), so that it is safe to assume that we are permitted only one distributive-marked adjunct for each predicate.

The distributive can be found before or after various restrictive limits and the like; but sē, nādo, and mittai will not precede ～zūtu, though they may follow it. No combinations will be found of the distributive with those restrictives and quasi-restrictives that have temporal meanings: ～gōro, ～iro, ～irai, ～izen, ～māe, ～sugī, ～zyuu. You will also find ～zūtu after kā but only when that particle is part of a phrase nān-/īku-COUNTER ka ‘some ...’: Enpītu o nān-bon ka ～zūtu moratta ‘We received several pencils each’; Īku-tu ka ～zūtu tābeta ‘We ate several each’. (These phrases, like nān ka ‘something’, come from interrogative sentences, §15.6.)

The following examples will permit the distributive to occur either before or after the restrictive: Hitōri ni nī-hon ～ZUTU ～IYOO (or ～IYOO ～ZUTU) wa aigerenai ‘I cannot give more than two to each person’; San-nī de, hitōri gohyakū-en ～ZUTU ～ĪKA (or ～IKAI ～ZUTU) de wa sukuna-sugirū desyoo ‘With three people getting less than five hundred yen each, it is surely too little’; Iti-dō ni go-nīn ～INAI ～ZUTU (or ～ZUTU ～INAI) narā hautte mo i ‘If it’s no more than five people at a time, you may go in’; Mītā HODO ～ZUTU kubāte kudasai ‘Distribute three each’; San-nī ni gohyakū-en ～ZUTU HODO kasite itadakemasen ka ‘Won’t you lend five hundred yen to each of us three?’ (but HODO ～ZUTU would be more common); Sukōsi sika nāi kara ip-pon ～DAKĒ ～ZUTU wakēyō ‘There are only a few so let’s divide them up just one each’ [awkward?]; Hutari ～ZUTU ～DAKĒ de dekaketa ‘We left just two at a time’ [uncommon]; Mītā ～BAKARI ～ZUTU kubāte kudasai ‘Please distribute just three each’; Tattā hintō ～ZUTU ～BAKARI de ohazukasii no desu ga, dō-zo ‘I’m ashamed that it is only just one each, but please (accept them)’ [awkward?]; San-nī ni hutatū ～ZUTU ～GURAI SIKAI nāi n da yō ‘Each of the three has only about two each’ (KKK 3.61); Da kāra, hutari no kodomo wa Nihō no gagkoo no syottoo-kyōōoku wa iti-nen ～GURAI ～ZUTU SIKAI ūkete imasen ‘For that reason, my two children have only received a year each of elementary education in schools in Japan’ (SA 2674.112e).

In certain combinations the distributive must come first: Hitōri ～ZUTU ～IGAI nyuuusitā shi wa ikenai ‘You must not enter the room except one at a time’ (*igai-～zūtu); (?)Ip-pon ～ZUTU ～GOTO ni tutūnde kudasai ‘Wrap one (each) each time’ (*gōto-～zūtu ni); *gōto ni ～zūtu); Kore-dake ～ZUTU SIKAI wataisenai ‘I can only hand over this much each’; Biiru o ip-pa ～ZUTU NĀDŌ dō do desu ka ‘How about a beer each or the like?’; Ano ōbun(*) wa, māda, iti-gōo ～ZUTU DE MO moti-yoretā kke ‘In those days, I recall, we could each still bring a gō (of sake) or the like’ (Kb 267b).
The only example I have succeeded in eliciting with "ókí(-) [ni] puts "zútu after "ókí(-) and before ni', with other orders rejected: Go-nín "ÓKí (-) "ZÚTU NI hitóri tori-agete sirábete miyóo ‘Let us try checking every sixth person (each time)’ ("zútu "ókí(-) ni, *"ókí(-) ni "zútu).

About the longest combination that has been suggested as acceptable for "zútu is Hutarí "DAKÉ "ZÚTU KARÁ SAE MO moraenai ‘I can’t even get any from each of just the two of them’ and that can be said with other orders: Hutarí "ZÚTU "DAKÉ KARA SAE MO moraenai; Hutarí "ZÚTU KARA "DAKÉ SAE MO moraenai. Another sequence that is said to sound acceptable is Hyaku-en ĀTARI MADE "ZÚTU "GŪRAI "DAKÉ nára, kasite agerareru ‘I can’t even get any from just the two of them’; at least eleven other orders are said to be possible for this combination of five particles, all with "daké at the end.48

2.6. THE COMPARATOR (YÓRI); COMPARISONS

In Literary Japanese the ablative ‘from’ is marked by the particle yóri where the collo­quial would use kará, whether the ablative is local, temporal, or personal. This usage of yóri is still found in somewhat formal contexts. In both the literary and the spoken lan­guage yóri is used to mark the point of departure for a comparison (the standard of com­parison) ‘more/other/rather than’; we will call it the COMPARATOR.49 In earlier texts both yóri and yuri are attested; it has been suggested that the particle was originally yuri and came from yuri, an old noun meaning ‘later, in the future’ (Terase 226). But the shape yuri was uncommon for the particle even in the Nara period and it completely dis­appeared in Heian times. (Abbreviated forms yu and yo are attested in old songs; compare the modern abbreviation yó’ ka for yóri ka mentioned below.) I wonder if the true etymology may not be the infinitive yóri ‘selecting’ with yuri an aberrant variant. The Ryûkyû forms for the comparator are (Okinawa) yaka, yuka; (Yaeyama) yakañ (Amami) yukma, yumma. It seems likely that the Ryûkyû forms come from something like yo[ri] ka {mō}; short o regularly becomes u in the Ryûkyûs. The forms with /a/ in the first syllable have assimilated the vowel to that of ka; the nasal syllables in Yaeyama and in Amami ap­parently are reflexes of mó, and the vowel at the end of the Amami forms is to be attrib­uted either to assimilation (to the subsequently contracted vowel of ka—with optional as­similation of -k[a]m- to -mm-) or to whatever explanation underlies the Miyako particle mai (see p. 88).

The comparator yóri can be followed by the focus particles wá or mó: Sore yóri wa ... ‘Rather than that ...’ (SA 2672.49a); Isáaska zíga zisan dá’ga, náhi mo sinai kuni yóri wa í ‘It is a bit self-laudatory, but better surely than a country that does nothing at all’ (SA 2659.111a); Sore zya, taitei no ningen yóri wa ōoku mawatte irassýáru [n] désu ré ‘And you’ve been around more than most people, haven’t you’ (Tk 2.260a); Beikokú no “ekuzékyút’ibu” (kigýoo-kánbul) yóri wa Nihon-teki na mén o tabun ni mótte iru ‘Rather than (being) the American executive, he has a good many Japanesey aspects’ (CK 985.51);

48. For parts of the above information I am indebted to Ritva Sinikka Hayasaka, Kyôko Hom­ma, and Yasuo Kubota.

49. Sometimes the translation will be ‘instead of (= rather than, preferably)’, especially when fol­lowing a verbal noun or nominalized verb; cf. V-(a)nai de = V-(a)zu ni ‘not doing = instead of doing’. Chûgoku dialects use tâa (?) < tô wa) for the comparator (Shin Nihongo-kôza 3.214). In Kyóoto sika and hoka are synonyms for yóri (Okumura in Hôgengaku-kôza 3.145).
§2.6. The comparator (yori): comparisons

Moo iti-dō, mae yori wa ōoki na kōde yobimasu to ... 'When I called again, in a voice louder than before ...' (KKK 3.231); ... dooke-sibai yori mo, matomo na sibai o yari-tai ...
'I want to do serious plays rather than farces' (Tk 2.273a); Dā ga, kono kotō yori mo mondai nā no wa ... 'But what is more problematical yet than this ...' (SA 2676.98c);
Sentyō yori mo onnā no hōo ga tosi o tōtte iita 'The woman was older than Senchō' (Kb 8b); Syokūgyōo "gara, o-kao yori mo hā-namīni (―) no hōo ga ki ni narimāsīte ... 'From my voca- tion, I am more concerned about teeth than about faces ...' (KKK 3.231).

In the informal speech of downtown Tōkyō yori ka is often used to mean yori mo; a common option allows the contraction yo' ka: Sore kara noboru yō' ka orīru hōo ga muzukasii n desu 'And then it is harder to come down than it is to climb up' (Tk 4.43b). Yōri ka mo also occurs: Okātyan no kao dāi-suki−o-kāsi yori ka mo, o-tāmago yori ka mo 'I love Mommie's face more than the cake, more than the eggs' (KKK 3.231)—this could be a blend of yōri ka + yōri mo, but it is not to be mistaken for yōri ka mo [sirenaj 'maybe than'. And I have one example of yō' ka mo: Zitubutu o miru yō' ka mo māe ni, hukusei o mite kansin sita kotō ga āru n da kedo né, ... 'Well before seeing the real thing, I saw a copy and admired it, you see, and ...' (Tk 4.295a).

When the comparator, with or without mo, follows an indefinite the meaning is 'than any other (thing, person, place, etc.)'; the accent is optionally suppressed. Dāre yori [mo] means 'rather/more than anyone else' and nāhi yori [mo] means 'rather/more than anything else': Kore wa mata n, Honkō de tabeta n hī yori mo oisikatta 'This was, moreover, [better than anything else I ate =] the best thing I ate in Hong Kong' (SA 2666.110c).

Instead of just a noun, you will also find a sentence directly before yōri; yōri would thus appear to be also a postadnominal: Dōoro mo l omottā l yōri wa l tiyan-to site iru '(Even) the roads are in better condition than I expected' (SA 2670.43c). But I have suggested elsewhere that we treat such comparisons as a direct nominalization or as an ellipsis of the nominalization S [nō] yōri, thus accounting for the adnominal form of the copula in sīzuka na yōri 'rather than be quiet'. The juncture is optional: omōtta l yōri.

Instead of N yōri you will sometimes find N to iū yōri (pronounced either /yuyu yori or /yuuyu yori/: Sore wa, gengo zisin [or: gengo-zi sin] no mondai to iū yōri wa, bunka no mondai désu 'That is a question of culture rather than a question of language itself' (Shibata in Ōno 1967.104). On this usage, see §21.1.(17).

The comparator can follow (but never precede) a case marker: Anāta to yori hoka no hitō to iki-tai 'I'd rather go with someone other than you'; Anāta kara yori hoka no hitō kara morai-tai 'I'd rather get it from someone other than you'; Matī ni yori inaka ni sumitā n desu 'I want to reside in the country rather than in a city'; Kyōoto e yori Nāra e ikimasyōo ka 'Shall we go to Nara rather than Kyōoto?'; MU2-gata-ki wa wā-ga kuni dō yori mo Beikoku de urete iru 'The MU2 plane is selling better in America than in our country' (SA 2680.142c); Gakkoo de yōri uti de no hōo ga benkyoo si-yasui 'It is easier to study at home than at school'. But neither *gā/o yōri nor *yōri ga/o occurs.

Frequently particles marking case (or other functions) will optionally drop before yōri.
If you choose to drop the particle in Watasi ga āni [ni] yori hito ni sinsetu da 'I am nicer to others than [to] my brother' the sentence becomes ambiguous since it could be taken as 'I am nicer to others than my brother [is]'; but selectional constraints leave only one interpretation for a sentence like Watasi wa Eigo [ni] yōri Huransu-go ni tuyōi 'I am surer of my English than of my French'. Another example of a dropped particle: Sore de
mo Kyōoto no wa Tookyoo [nō] yōri mo oisii kedo 'Still, Kyōto's are better tasting than Tōkyō's', but ...' (SA 2689.55b).

It is possible to follow yōri with sika: Anāta yori sika tayorēnai 'I can depend on you alone'. But 'N yōri nādo is rejected, though N nādo yōri is acceptable: Nihon-zin nādo yōri Indō-zin no hōō ga Eigo ga umai 'People from India are better at English than the likes of (us) Japanese'.

In English we have a special form for the adjective when we make comparisons: "this is MORE interesting—than that, than it used to be, than it is educational, etc.". After a short adjective the "more" is put on the end as a suffix and pronounced "er": 'This is cheaper—than that, than it used to be, than it is useful, etc.'. Japanese normally use the simple adjective without any element corresponding to "more": Yasūi 'It is cheap' or 'It is cheaper'. If you choose not to subordinate the subject, a comparison is often implied: Kore ga yasūi 'This one is cheaper', cf. Kore wa yasūi 'This one (among its other characteristics) is cheap'. Sometimes tyōtō 'somewhat' is prefixed to bring out a comparison: Tyōtō yasūi 'It is a bit cheap; it is on the cheap side'. You can be explicit and use the adverb mötto 'more', often implying 'more than it used to be': Mötto yasūi 'It is cheaper (than it was)'. Or you can use moo sukōsi 'a little more': Moo sukōsi yasūi no or mise kudasā 'Show me one a little cheaper'.

But Japanese prefer to compare ALTERNATIVES, and they like to mark either or both of the alternatives with ... hōō 'the alternative (of) ...'. Yasūi hōō da means 'It's the cheaper (of the two alternatives)' and Kono hōō ga (or Kotira ga) yasūi means 'This (alternative) is the cheaper'. Thus Dōtira (or Dōtira no hōō) ga yasūi ka means 'Which (of the two alternatives) is cheaper?'

When the standard of comparison is to be mentioned you can mark it with the comparator yōri, but first you may wish to phrase it as an alternative: Sensēi no hōō yōri umai '(He) is better at it than the teacher'. Or you may put the alternative in the other part of the comparison: Gakusei no hōō ga sensēi yōri umai 'The student is better at it than the teacher'. And nothing prevents you from marking both parts as alternatives: Gakusei no hōō ga sensēi no hōō yōri umai. Moreover, the order of the two parts is fairly free, so that you can also say Sensēi [no hōō] yōri [wa/mo] gakusei [no hōō] ga umai—including any combination of the options in brackets.

When you want to ask a question about two items, you can conjoin and thematize the two nouns and then begin your inquiry with dōtira 'which one (of the two)' or dōtira no hōō 'which alternative of the two': Kono yama to sono yama de wa dōtira [no hōō] ga takāi ka 'Of these two mountains, which is higher?'

If you are asking about three or more things, you often conjoin and thematize the three nouns as A to B to C de [wa]—or sometimes A to B to C no utī(”)/nāka [de] [wa] 'among A and B and C'—and then ask about dāre 'which of them' or dāre 'who among them', adding itiban 'most' before the adjective: Kono yamā to sono yamā to ano yamā de wa dāre ga itiban takāi ka 'Of these three mountains, which is highest?'. Kono kodomo to sono kodomo to ano kodomo no utī(”)/nāka de, dāre ga itiban umāi ka 'Of these three children which is best (at it)?'

The answer to a question with two alternatives will be N ga or N no hōō ga; with three or more alternatives the answer will be N ga: 'Kono yamā [no hōō] ga takāi 'This mountain is the higher'; Kono kodomo ga itiban umāi 'This child is the best'. (You will notice
that when a short adjective is involved, the English marker for the superlative "most" is pronounced "-est" and attached as a suffix. In place of "more good" and "most good" we normally use "better" and "best", and in place of "more bad" and "most bad" we normally use "worse" and "worst".

Under the influence of translations from English, modern Japanese has developed a usage of より as a kind of bound adverb, so that you will hear—and, more often, see—such expressions as these: よりよい親鸞に遺言を内にわし 'in order to lead to a better life' (KKK 3.233); よりよい親鸞に遺言を内にわし 'considering that there are things that are making him even more unfortunate' (KKK 3.233). As to whether this is better treated as a prefix or as an adverb, see pp. 797-8 (§ 13.7). A few English comparatives and superlatives have been borrowed outright, notably より 'better, preferable, advisable' (see p. 561) and より 'best, tops; one's best, one's utmost'.

We have been discussing comparisons of INEQUALITY, those that tell us one thing is MORE so (or LESS so) than another. There are also comparisons of equality; instead of the comparator より the restrictive ゆうげん 'as much as' will mark the standard of comparison: この山はその山より高くない 'This mountain is not as high as that mountain'. To deny such a comparison you use the restrictive ほど '(not) so much as': この山はその山ほど高いくない 'This mountain is not so high as that mountain'. The latter sentence is logically equivalent to この山はその山よりも高くなる 'That mountain is higher than this mountain'.

2.7. COLLECTIVIZERS; IMPLIED PLURALS

Some languages, such as English, normally require the speaker to make it clear whether each of the nouns in his sentence is singular or plural. Various devices are provided: a suffix produces "cats" from "cat", a vowel change turns "man" into "men", a totally different word "we" serves as the plural of "I", etc. A single form may be pressed into service as the plural of more than one word: "they" is the plural of "he" or "she" or "it" or any aggregation of those pronouns. Sometimes the plural is indicated only by the agreement of some other word ("this sheep" : "those sheep"); sometimes the difference between singular and plural is neutralized—"Look at the sheep" can call attention to one animal or to many animals.

In Japanese, as in many other languages of East Asia, nouns are characteristically vague as to number. With a few exceptions, such as the collectives "mankind" and "womenfolk", an English noun is to be taken as singular unless otherwise marked. In a situation that forces the English speaker to draw an immediate distinction between "I need a book" and "I need (some) books", the Japanese will usually say just 本がいる (I need books) with no need to commit—or reveal—himself. Japanese is also free of the obligatory distinction of definite vs. indefinite that forces the English speaker, once he has made up his mind about plurality, to say either "I need a book (some books)" or "I need the book(s)". It does not follow that Japanese has no way to express definiteness; though "the" usually

50. Instead of ゆうげん you can sometimes achieve much the same meaning with ように 'like よう or よう to おなじょうに 'the same as よう'.
goes untranslated, you can readily translate it as sono ‘that’, or you can thematicize the noun to show that it has already entered the discourse in earlier context.

In a similar way, the Japanese have no difficulty when they wish to express plurality. An obvious device, of course, is that of explicit counting: Hōn ga i-satu'[1] iru ‘I need one (= a) book’ is singular, Hōn ga n-i-satu iru ‘I need two books’ is not. And the plural count can be made vague in a number of ways: Hōn ga suu-satu'[1] iru ‘I need a number of books’, Hōn ga ann-i-satu ka iru ‘I need several (= some number of) books’, Hōn ga n-an-satu mo iru ‘I need ever so many books’, Hōn ga takash[i]-satu iru ‘I need a lot of books’, Hōn ga is-satu'[1] i-zyoo iru ‘I need more than one book’, etc. But the important point is that the Japanese do not go out of their way to inform you whether the noun is singular or plural, especially when it does not refer to an animating being.

When animates, especially human beings, are referred to, a Japanese is much more likely to mention plurality: hito ‘person/people’ remains vague, but hito-tati ‘people’ is explicitly plural. And it is unusual not to mark as plural a personal pronoun that refers to more than one person; by “personal pronoun” we mean to include those noun phrases that have come to be used for pronominal reference as well as the traditional pronouns. You will find that wata[ku]si and its synonyms nearly always means just ‘me’, since ‘us’ will be said as swata[ku]si-tati (or synonym); anata will normally refer to a single ‘you’—though the second person pronoun is usually avoided by using the name and/or title or kinterm, and anata-tati ‘you people, you all, youse’ will be the ‘you’ that refers to more than one—though mina-san or minasa-gata ‘all of you’ will often be used instead. Ano-hitotan and ano­ko are normally taken as singular ‘he’ or ‘she’, since ‘they’ will be made explicit as anohitotati and anoko-tati. Even the inanimate pronoun kore ‘this’ or ‘these’ (vague) has an explicit plural koré-ra, though ordinarily inanimates are not usually marked for plurality: there is no *hōn-ra ‘books’ but you can say koré-ra no hōn ‘these books’. Similarly, sore-ra is an explicit plural for sore ‘that/those’ and aré-ra is a specific plural for are ‘that/those [more remote]’, but for dōre ‘which’ there is no corresponding *dōre-ra. When referring to people, koré-tati, sore-tati, and aré-tati are also possible; the interrogative is dōre-tati ‘who all’, as in: Nara e ikú no wa dōre-tati desu ka ‘Who all are going to Nara?’, but it is not used when the plurality is obvious: Anohitotati wa dōre desu ka ‘Who are those people?’ The most common Japanese marker for plurality is the quasi-suffix tati, which can be attached to almost any inanimate noun. The connotations of tati are quite neutral, and usually it can be replaced by the more formal rā, especially when writing. You can show

51. According to Satō 1985 tati was originally exalting as well as collective.
special respect toward the noun by choosing the exalting euphemism gata, and you can show depreciation (or humility) by choosing the humbling domo. While it is often easy to predict the likely occurrence of one of these connotationally loaded substitutes for tātī—as in tekkihei-dōmo ‘enemy troops’ (SA 2679.104a), Natisu no buraikan-dōmo ‘the Nazi scoundrels’, and hosyu-ha no yárō-dōmo ‘those bastards of the conservative wing’ (Tk 3.86b)—we cannot preclude unexpected combinations such as ningen-dōmo ‘(wretched) humans’ (Ogaeri 35), tuukkoon-dōmo ‘passersby’ (Tk 4.91), or génzai no zyoosiki-ya-dōmo ‘today’s men of commonsense’ (Tk 3.153). The presence of the exalting suffix -sama does not necessarily mean that the plural will be -gata: for ‘guests’ okyakusa-mā-tātī (SA 2655.113c) is polite enough, though okyakusamā-gata will also be heard. And while katā-gata is an appropriate plural for the exalting katā ‘esteemed person’, katā-tātī is also quite common: dōkusya( ) no katā-tātī ‘the esteemed readers’ (SA 2658.46); soo iu katā-tātī mo ‘such persons too’ (SA 2655.41a); Karuiizawa no katā-tātī no kange-kāta wa dō desu ka ‘What is the opinion of the ladies and gentlemen of Karuiizawa?’ (SA 2642.46b). It is safe to say that you can always substitute TĀTĪ for any occurrence of DŌMO or GATA. By picking the humble monō for ‘person’, the author of Wa-ga tīhō no monō-tātī wa ... ‘People in our area ...’ (SA 2674.108e) no doubt felt he was showing sufficient deference to his readers without saying monō-dōmo. The polite way to say ‘we’ is watakusū-tātī or wataśī-tātī; on formal occasions watakusū-dōmo will be appropriate, but in less formal circumstances it is better avoided. (And watasi will hardly ever be heard with DOMO.)

The accentuation of plural forms shows much variation, in part reflecting the peculiar grammar of what I am here calling the “quasi-suffixes”. To begin with, the meaning of the suffixes is not plurality of the noun itself; but rather the reference is to a COLLECTIVE that includes—or centers on—the noun. Thus bōku( ) means ‘I (a male)’, yet bōku-tātī or bōku-ra can mean a group of ‘us’ that includes one or more females; it is, in fact, the form that a young man would use in talking to his girlfriend. (In Japanese there is no distinction of inclusive vs. exclusive forms for the first person plural; watakusū-tātī or a synonym will translate both nous and nous autres of French, as well as both Peking pronouns wōmen ‘you and I/we’ and zā-men ‘he/she/they and I’. The modern pronouns kāre ‘he’ and kāno-zyo ‘she’ are explicitly masculine and feminine, where the older—and more common—anō-hito or anō-ko is vague; the plurals kāre-tātī or kāre-ra and kāno-zyo-tātī or kāno-zyo-ra refer to collectives that need include only one of the explicitly noted sex. But in some contexts the intention is obviously to limit the group to male or female, and that leads to such expressions as kāre-ra [to] kāno-zyo-ra no waraigao no naka de ... ‘among the smiling faces of the boys and girls’ (SA 2664.135c).

Another peculiarity of the quasi-suffixes is that they can refer to an entire phrase, including conjoined nouns: Dōko de mo oto-kō-no-ko, onnā-no-ko, obasān-TĀTĪ ga sakana o tutte iru ‘Everybody there are boys, girls, and women fishing’ (SA 2681.93c); Dantai de yatte kīta nookkyōo no ozi-san ya obasān-TĀTĪ ga ... ‘(Middle-aged) men and women

52. But in kotō-dōmo ‘facts’ no special connotation is intended: īzyoo no kotō-dōmo kara ‘from the above facts’ (Kokugo akusento ronsō 387). In older Japanese dōmo was used as a pluralizer for objects as well as people: humi-dōmo ‘letters’. It was also used like nādo to mean ‘and others’.

53. Cf. Hinds 1973, who defines N tātī as ‘a group of people with N as the focal point’ and cautions that sensē-tātī means ‘the teacher and others’, not necessarily ‘the teachers’.

53a. Inclusive vs. exclusive ‘we’ is distinguished in certain Ryūkyū dialects: Kikai (Zhs 10.26), Miyako Irabu (Zhs 11.224), Ishigaki Kabira (Zhs 11.259, 264), Yonaguni (Zhs 11.334).
from farm organizations who had come in groups ...' (SA 2681.58ab); Zyuuroku-nin no sākka(\text{\textdegree}), hyooron-ka, sisoo-ka, kagakúsya-TATI o aité nii ... 'With as partners sixteen writers, critics, thinkers, scientists ...' (SA). It can be argued that each of the above sentences is grammatically ambiguous, since certain contexts would force you to translate the plural only with the last noun in a conjoined series; so long as it is spoken in a country that permits progeny but forbids polygamy the phrase kánai to kodomó-tāti can only mean 'my wife and children'. The meaning of these quasi-suffixes TATI, RÅ, and GATA, then, is 'a group that includes N' and that may or may not be 'a group of more than one N'. We can call these markers COLLECTIVIZERS.

In written Japanese it is not uncommon to put rā at the end of a group of names, as in these examples: Mata, "sekai no riiada" to sitewa Nikuson daitōoryoo, Erizábesu zyōoō, Moo-Tákútoo, Hoo-Ti-Min, Gánzii RA to tōmo(\text{\textdegree}) ni, Sātoo Eisaku syusyoo ga toozyouyoo suru to iu 'And it is reported that as "world leader" [in the wax museum]—in the company of President Nixon, Queen Elizabeth, Mao Tse-Tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Gandhi—now appears Prime Minister Eisaku Satō' (SA 2670.108b); ... gānrai saikōosai hānzi no Gōorudobāgu-si ya Kurāaku zēn Bēi sīhō-tyōokan RA ga bēngō o hiki-ūketa no o hazime ... 'Beginning with the taking on of the defense by sometime Supreme Court Justice Goldberg and former American Attorney General Clark' (SA 2666.121d); Kōoho to sitewa, Hukuda zoosyoo o hītoon ni [site], Tanaka kanzi-tyōo, Maeo Sīgesāburoo, Mīki Takeo, Nakasone Yasūhīro si RA zituryokū-sya ga meziro-osī da 'With Finance Minister Fukuda at the head of the list, the candidates—Secretary-General Tanaka and Messrs Shigesaburō Maeo, Takeo Miki, and Yasuhiro Nakasone—are jostling each other' (SA 2661.127b). The last example shows not only that rā goes with the preceding four names, but also that si 'Mr' is to be taken—as a title—with the preceding three. Titles, like collectivizers, are quasi-suffixes; when they are long they are often set off as separate phonological words (Nikuson daitōoryoo 'President Nixon'), when short they are attached to the preceding noun as a phonological suffix (Tanakā-si 'Mr T.', Nikuson-si 'Mr N.'), though often with special accentuational rules (see \S\ 26). In this book we generally attach the quasi-suffixes other than san with a hyphen unless a word juncture (either overt or underlying) forces us to insert a space instead; we thereby sacrifice consistency of syntax in order to make the phonological bonds clear. (A contrary decision is taken for the restrictives in \S\ 2.4; that is partly because of the greater versatility they display in forming sequences.)

In written Japanese you may also see a collectivizer preceded by some parenthetical remark; when reading such a sentence aloud, you have no choice but to pronounce the quasi-suffix as a phonological word, preceded by a juncture: Kono hi ni, ima syōbun ga mondai ni nātte iru Á kyouyu (24)−kokugo−RÅ wa ... 'On this day, Instructor A (24 years old)—Japanese Language—whose treatment has now become an issue, AND HIS GROUP ...' (SA 2665.23—the context makes it clear that it is the disciplinary case of Instructor A to which the "issue" refers).

The following bit of fancy legalese puts RÅ right after an occurrence of TATI: Kēibo(\text{\textdegree}) no zissi (saikō mó na tore-ko, saikō no tokī no kol ya yosi ga ārea, sonōko-tati, ko ga nāi tokī wa kēibo(\text{\textdegree}) no hūbo ya keitei-simai (matā-wa sonō-ko-tati) RÅ ga isan o soozoku suru wāke desu 'If there are blood children of the stepmother (children from previous marriage, children of the remarriage) or adopted children, those children; if there are no children then the parents and siblings of the stepmother’s parents and siblings (or their children); THESE succeed to the inheritance' (SA 2679.121b).
example was read into a tape recorder with /sonókotatiraga/ pronounced as a single phrase.

Apposition (§ 25) will sometimes pose a nicety of translation: Súúsúrohu-ra san-nín wa, ... ‘Suslov and two others’ (SA 2673.131a).

The suffix -ra which appears in ikura ‘how much, some amount’ and nán[i]ra ‘what, some’ is not a collectivizer, though it is etymologically related, as is the -ra in kotira ‘this direction/person’, sotira ‘that direction/person’, atira ‘that direction/person’, and dótira ‘which direction/person’. The latter set of words also appear without the suffix and then give the /t/ compensatory lengthening: kotti, sotti, atti, dotti. In very limited contexts we also find kótí, sótí, and (only in compounds?) átí. (The element ti is related to the etymon for ‘way’ which appears in ti-mata ‘crossroads’ and may be a truncation of miti ‘road’ unless that was originally a compound; cf. kóózi ‘alley’ < [koؤ] < ko-m[i]ti ‘little road’.)

In addition to the common collectivizers mentioned above, there are a few other quasi-suffixes, notably ren = renzyuu ‘gang, group, class’ as in these examples: ... kaikaku o yorokobânai hoka no sakká-ren o waratte iru sákka(¯) daróo ... ‘it is an author who laughs at the other authors who find no joy in the [language] reform ...’ (K 1966.74); Mitibata de tati-bánasi o site iru okusán-ren ni, hyoi-tô1 kóe mo káketa ‘(He) suddenly addressed the ladies standing in conversation by the roadside’ (SA 2669.37a); Zennis-sei [= Zenniti-sei] zyo-séito ni PTÁ,doosóo-sei no obasamá-ren ni wa kuwawátte no hunso de áru ‘It is a struggle that includes PTA and middle-aged alumnae who have joined with the full-time [high school] female students’ (SA 2665.127a).

According to K the quasi-suffix atonizes a preceding noun: onná ‘woman’ but onna-ren ‘womenfolk’, bûnî ‘literary man’ but bunsî-ren ‘the literati’. (MKZ, however, lists it as a preaccentuated suffix -ren, and that is the version used by Hamako Chaplin.)

The noun syùû ‘large group, mass (of people)’ occasionally serves as a collectivizer suffix -syuu: yakusyá-syuu ‘actors’, otokó-syuu ‘menfolk’, siroto-syuu ‘the amateurs’ (Tk 3.97b), geisyá-syuu ‘geisha girls’, danná-syuu ‘husbands, masters, gentlemen’, .... But these words are little used in modern Tókyō speech. Other collectivizers are -dan ‘group’ as in ooén-dan ‘boosters, fans’, and ingái-dan ‘the lobbyists’; and -zoku ‘tribe’ as in tyooházuki ‘the longhairs’, kyayó-zoku ‘1) the impoverished aristocracy, 2) the expense-accounters’, sin’yá-zoku ni wa ‘for the late-nighters’ (SA 2792.121d), sin’ya no ozisamá-zoku ni ‘for the late-night gentlemen’ (ibid.).

We have spoken of the flux in accentuation that results when the collectivizers are attached to nouns. Listed below are forms that I have found or elicited to show the nature of the variation. The table also displays certain gaps that are primarily due to semantic incompatibilities; these are marked with a dash (–). The nouns are arrayed according to their inherent accent patterns; for each suffix one or more accentuation patterns is given with key numbers. Some variations are due to vowel unvoicing and should be covered under more general rules of phonological options; in our list the unvoiced vowels are marked with italic letters.

### A LIST OF JAPANESE COLLECTIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>(1) 〜tāti</th>
<th>〜ra</th>
<th>(1) 〜gata</th>
<th>(2) 〜gata</th>
<th>(3) 〜gata</th>
<th>(4) 〜gata</th>
<th>(1) 〜dōmo</th>
<th>(2) 〜dōmo</th>
<th>(3) 〜dōmo</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wata[kur]si</td>
<td>watasūtāti</td>
<td>watasūra</td>
<td>watasūtāti</td>
<td>watasūtāti</td>
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<td>〜dōmo</td>
<td>〜dōmo</td>
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<tr>
<td>ore</td>
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<td>orēra, ōira</td>
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<tr>
<td>cf. Akiyama-kun</td>
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<td>Akiyamakunra</td>
<td>Akiyamakunntāti</td>
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<td>heitāira</td>
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</tr>
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<td>senpāigata</td>
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<td>zibūnra</td>
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<tr>
<td>(go-)sinsei</td>
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**ATONIC**

- wata[kur]si
- ore
- kimi
- omae
- kodomo
- gakusei
- Tanaka
- Tanaka-san
- Tanaka-kun
- cf. Akiyama-kun
- okosan
- okosama
- tomodati
- otomodati
- nezumi
- dooryoo
- heitai
- senpai
- zibun
- go-zibun
- (go-)sinsei
§2.7. Collectivizers; implied plurals

**OXYTONTIC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collectivizer</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
<th>Example 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oni</td>
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<td>(oni-ra)</td>
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<td>(hitō-ra)</td>
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<td>Nihonzinra</td>
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<td>kozōora</td>
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<td>kozōoo-domo 2</td>
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**PROTOTONTIC**

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<th>Usage</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
<th>Example 3</th>
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<td>kāERA</td>
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<td>kanōzyora</td>
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<td>kanōzyo-domo 1</td>
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<td>būkadomo 1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ōkusamatati-1,2</td>
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</tr>
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<td>boku = bōku</td>
<td>bokurtati-1 =</td>
<td>(*boku-ra)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōsu</td>
<td>bōsurtati-1,2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bōsudomo 1</td>
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<td>nyōobo[o]ra</td>
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**MESOTONTIC**

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<th>Collectivizer</th>
<th>Usage</th>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>anataga 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the data in the list it is clear that when RÁ follows an anatomic noun, it behaves as a good monosyllable should: it attaches itself with a shift of accent back one syllable. When RÁ follows a tonic noun it loses its accent, as a particle or other free element would do; cf. kodomo máde and néko made with kodomó-ra and néko-ra. But after an oxytonic noun either interpretation would lead to the same result; cf. inú made and inú-ra.

On the other hand, when TÁTI follows an anatomic noun, there appear to be two options. You can attach it as if it were a particle, so that kodomo-táti is like kodomo máde, or as if it were a preaccentuated suffix (kodomó-táti like kodomó-ra), the latter being perhaps more common. A tonic noun retains its accent, so that the collectivizer is attached as if a particle: néko-táti is like néko made. And after an oxytonic noun either interpretation would lead to the same result; cf. inú made and inú-táti. NHK lists both murabito-táti and murabito-tati for 'vil lagers'; the former shows TÁTI attached to anatomic murabito as a particle, the latter as a suffix. Since NHK also gives a variant murabito for 'villager' we would expect to find the form (?)murabito-táti as well.

It is not surprising to find several competing versions for the accentuation of forms with GÁTA and DÓMO, since they are less frequent than TÁTI and RÁ. If we disallow certain variants as exceptions, to be noted individually as lexical items, we can represent the basic patterns of these quasi-suffixes as *gáta and *dómo, i.e. they attach as if

\[\text{§2. Predicate Adjuncts}

\begin{verbatim}
onóono       anóhitotati 1,2  anóhitotara       onoonógata^b 3
anó-ko       anókotati 1,2   anókora        anóhitodomo 1
miná-san     minásantati 1,2  minásangata 3    anókodomo^c 1
miná-sama    minasamatai 1,2  minasamátatai 1,2
okáasan      okáasantati 1,2  okáasangata 2
mibóo-zin    mibóozintati 1,2  mibóozínra  mibóozindo 1
              oo-ótokotati 1,2  oo-ótokora  oo-ótokodomo 1
              taréntotati 1,2   _d _d _d
              dezáinaatati 1,2  _ _ _
ekóno-misuto  ekónomisutotachi 1,2
keesuwákkaa^e  keesuwákkaatati 1,2
norikumiminatai 1,2  norikumínra  norikumarito 1
              senmón'itati 1,2  senmón'ira  senmón'idomó 1
              soosáintati 1,2  soosáínra  soosáindo 1
              sinbun-kísya  sinbunkísyátati 1,2  sinbunkísyára  sinbunkísyado 1

deepak

\[^a\] Hamako Chaplin also has nyoobóotati, nyoobóora, and nyoobódodomo, as if there were an anotic or oxytonic variant *nyoobó[o], *nyoobó[o].
\[^b\] An obsolescent expression meaning 'all of you'.
\[^c\] Notice the contrasting accent in anókodomo 'those children' and ano kodomo 'that child'.
\[^d\] It should be possible to get RA and DOMO with foreignisms such as those cited here, but I lack authentic examples; GATA probably does not occur.
\[^e\] ... keesuwákkaa-táti 'the caseworkers' (SA 2660.56b).
\end{verbatim}
accentually dominant restrictives but with an optional left-shift of the accent. (Another way to put it: they attach either as if they were restrictives or as if they were preaccentuated suffixes.) But Hamako Chaplin is doubtful about the option of the left-shift. The words kotira-sama ‘this person’, sotira-sama ‘that person’, and atira-sama ‘that person’ form atonic collectives kotirasamagata ‘these persons’, sotirasamagata ‘those persons’, and atirasamagata ‘those persons’. Dönata-sama and dötira-sama ‘who’ form collectives that are optionally atonic: dönatasamagata(’”) and dötirasamagata(’”) ‘who [all], what persons’.

For those who would like a prescription, I recommend using the patterns ‘tati, ‘gata, and ‘dōmo when creating new forms.

There are a few prefixes that pluralize nouns, notably ta- as in ta-hōomén ‘many areas’ and syo- as in syo-būkka ‘prices’, syo-gāikoku ‘foreign countries’, syo-mōndai ‘problems, issues’, syo-tāisaku ‘policies’, syo-gensyoo ‘phenomena’, syo-kōzin ‘(various) individuals’, hoka no syo-syākai ‘other societies’ (Nakane 153), syo-zyōokēn ‘conditions’, and syo-yōoso ‘elements, factors’; the particular formations must be entered individually in the dictionary. The prefix suu- ‘several’ is a kind of numeral, for which see § 13.6. The old prefix moro-means ‘both’ in morosode ‘both sleeves’ and morote ‘both hands’, ‘all’ in morobito ‘all people’, but it is hardly productive.

A number of short nouns derive a kind of plural or collective by reduplication, usually with the initial consonant of the repetition voiced whenever it is basically voiceless and there is no -b-, -d-, -z-, or -g- within the word: kamfgami ‘gods’, kunfgun ‘nations’, hitobito ‘people’, simāzima ‘islands’; sankan no ekieki ‘remote rail stations’ (F N 244a); kasanari-āru ryōkan ya hōteru no madōmado ga ... ‘the windows of the inns and hotels piled up one on top of each other’ (F N 239a); ... Each such word is an unpredictable lexical unit (there is no *kawāgawa ‘rivers’ or *tanādana ‘shelves’) to be entered individually in the lexicon. Sometimes the meaning is narrowed, and the accent is not always predictable: kutigutu(’”) means ‘each entrance/mouth’, tokorodorokoro means ‘here and there, (in) various places’ (a place noun that is often directly adverbialized), sūmizum means ‘every nook and corner’, tuzutuzu ni ni ni ‘at every street corner’, kīgi means ‘every tree’, edaeda means ‘all the branches’. And simōzimo means ‘the lower classes, the masses’. In kāzu-kazū no sināzina ga tinretu sare, ..., ‘numerous goods of all sorts are displayed and ...’ (SA 2679.35b), the accent of the first word indicates it is a more recent formation, a syntactic reduction; but the accent of hōoboo ‘every direction, everywhere’ is not necessarily indicative of the same thing.

Most of the reduplications are old and are built on native Japanese nouns, but we also find iterations (§ 27) of longer elements, including binoms of Chinese origin (the reduplication being given the accentuation of a compound noun), and these can be used for plural reference: ... kokumai no tiiki-tiiki de hu-tōoito de āru koto, ... ‘the fact that it is not uniform from area to area within the country’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.238). The formal pronoun wāre ‘I’ has a plural form warewāre as well as wāre-ra.

Sometimes a singular number can be iterated and used as a quasi-compound to mean ‘each and every’ or ‘every single (one)’ (cf. *zūtu); the second accent predominates: ikken-ikken no zuuytuku de wa ‘in every single residence’ (Tk 4.180a), ippon-ippon no enipu ‘each and every pencil’, hitotuki-hitotuki ‘each and every month’, itimai-itimai no kamī ‘every single sheet of paper’, itionsu-itionsu ‘every single ounce’, ... As variants we find hitoricitori = hittingi-hitōri ‘every single person’ and hitotubitotu = hitotu-hitōtu ‘every
single one’, with the regular accentuation of a noun compound. From kózin ‘individual’ comes kózin-kózin de ‘(each) individually’, and there is an abbreviated version ko-kózin.

Some nouns are inherently collective, for example iín-kai ‘committee’ in contrast with iín ‘committee member(s)’, which can in its plural interpretation (equivalent to iín-taî) refer to the same group as iín-kai. Many such words are formed by the suffix ‘-kai’ ‘meeting’ and ‘-tai’ ‘group’ (perhaps best regarded as an abbreviation of dantai ‘group’) as in tanken-tai ‘expedition’, gakusei-tai ‘the student body, the students’, and demo-tai ‘the demonstrators’; by adding the suffix ‘-iín ‘member(s)’ you can refer to one or (= ‘-iín-taî) more of the individuals who comprise the group.

There are other nouns that are inherently PLURAL, notably the coordinate (or “dvandva”) compounds such as óya-ko ‘parent(s) and child(ren)’—meaning one parent and one child, one parent and two or more children, two or more parents and one child, or two or more parents and two or more children. Titihaha or húbo ‘parents’ will normally be taken to refer to a pair, but the words can be used for logical aggregations similar to the ones just mentioned and thus they are inherently plural rather than dual. But the word kyóodai ‘sibling(s)’, like other animate nouns, is vague as to plurality, despite an etymology that might suggest otherwise. An inherently plural noun can be the subject of a reciprocal-valence verb, incorporating the reciprocal adjunct within itself: Óya-ga nite iru ‘Parent(s) and child(ren) are resemblant’ is logically equivalent to Óya-ga ko to nite iru ‘The parent(s) resemble the child(ren) and Ko ga óya to nite iru ‘The child(ren) resemble the parent(s)’. A dvandva compound can be regarded as a lexicalization made from a syntactic reduction of two conjoined nouns: óya to ko > óya-ko. (When the accentuation differs from that of the first noun, the reduction is old; the accentuation of yóru [to] hirú > yóru-hirú ‘night and day’ shows a more recent lexicalization.) The word húuhu ‘husband and wife, a couple’, a borrowing from a Chinese dvandva, is inherently dual; for ‘three couples’ you use the counter for sets and say mi-kumi no húuhu ‘three sets of husband-and-wife’. Dánzyo ‘male and/or female’ may be taken as dual, and that is why it can be used in such expressions as dánzyo o awásete nihyakû-nin ‘including both male and female 200 people’ and dánzyo o tówazu(-) ‘without discriminating sex = both male and female’. The literary cliché roozyaku-dánzyo ni ikán mo tówazu(-) ‘without regard to age or sex’ is often said with the variant pronunciation roonyakunáníno; a similar old cliché is ñkókon> tóozai o tówazu(-) ‘without regard for [the era or] the place’. But tówazu(-) merely implies variety: tó/ñzinkyu o tówazu(-) ‘irrespective of position/race’.

Numbers are, of course, specifically singular, dual, etc. Some words contain numbers lexically incorporated within them: hutago ‘twins’, mitugo ‘triplets’, yotugo ‘quadruplets’, itutugo ‘quintuplets’, ... ; ryoo-kan = ryoo-me ‘both eyes’, ryoo-hó(o) ‘both (alternatives)’, ryóósin = hutaoya ‘both one’s parents’, ryoo-te ‘both hands’, ryoo-así ‘both feet’, ryoo-mimi ‘both ears’, ryoo-hasi/-hazí) ‘both ends’, ryoo-gawa ‘both sides’, ryoo-zín ‘both camps’, etc. When such words mean more than one, they are inherently plural if they incorporate reciprocal valences and certain other syntactic properties—such as the possibility of plural-subject reference with a predicate in the representative form -tari; otherwise they are collective. To say ‘a twin’ you must rephrase the concept as ‘one of (a pair of) twins’—hutago no hitóíi. Some counters are inherently collective: hitó-kumi ‘one set’, it-tui ‘a pair’, is-sokú ‘a pair (of shoes, socks, gloves), ... .

Sometimes it is necessary to interpret a noun as dual or plural because the noun is modified in a way that would be logically impossible for something singular: yottú to
.§2.7. Collectivizers; implied plurals

hutatū no magō ‘grandchildren of four and two (years of age)’ (SA 2686.36a) must refer to at least two grandchildren, since a single child could hardly be both ages simultaneously; in the cited example the intention was obviously dual, but the full range of meaning would be ‘one or more grandchildren of four, and one or more grandchildren of two’. To be sure, the vagueness of the adnominalized propredication represented by nō permits a wide variety of farfetched interpretations that would hardly be appropriate here; as elsewhere, we will ignore this discomfitting vagueness of nō. But I would be prepared to believe someone might intend an interpretation ‘the grandchild at ages four and two’ with generalized reference, though ‘my grandchild [when he was] at age four and at age two’ would seem quite an unlikely interpretation for this particular phrase.

The plurality of a noun is often IMPLIED, rather than marked. We have observed that a reciprocal-valence verb such as nīru ‘resembles’ will sometimes signal that a subject-marked noun incorporates two or more entities: Kodomo ga nite iru ‘The children look alike’. Certain adverbs also imply plurality, e.g. [o-]tagai ni ‘reciprocally’, tōmo(ー) ‘together’ (and synonyms); tende[n](ー) ni ‘separately’, kakubetu ni ‘individually’, betu-betu ni ‘separately’; sorōzore ‘respectively’ (and synonyms onōono and meimēi); ...

A few verbs necessarily imply plural subjects or objects: atumāru ‘they gather’, atumēru ‘gathers them’; tir-u ‘they scatter’, tīrasu ‘scatters them’; ... . Verbs that are characteristically thought of as instantaneous will be taken as referring to more than one subject when they are put into a context that suggests beginning, continuing, or ending: ... (rentyuu mo) ki-hazimete iru rasi yō ‘they (the gang) are starting to arrive, it would appear’ (CK 985.377a.9). Of course ki-hazimeru could be used of a singular subject if it is conceived of as the beginning of an iterative or habitual action, as in ‘I start coming (to school every day a half hour early)’. And certain verbs refer to acts that a singular subject would only be able to perform once, such as—barring metaphorical attempts—umareru ‘is born’ and sinu ‘dies’. Thus Kodomo ga umare-sugiru can only mean ‘Too many children are being born’ and the following sentence will not permit interpretation with a singular subject: Iyakū-hīni(ー) no gōtoki wa, sūde ni hāyaku kara urī-tūkete, mukasi nāra hayazinī(ー) sita hitō ga, ima wa sinanaku nāte iru ‘People who would have died prematurely in the old days are beginning not to die, as a result of having drugs urged upon them early on’ (SA).

The representative form (-tāri § 9.4) is a signal that the predicate so marked is to be taken as one of several predicates—a vague sort of plurality that can be pinned on particular arguments (= the adjunct nouns) or on the proposition (= the predicate) itself. The word nādo (or a synonym), presented as a generalized conjoiner in § 2.9, marks a noun adjoinct with a very similar vague plurality ‘or the like’, and dē mo or d’āte (§ 2.11) is sometimes to be interpreted in a like way; sonō-ta ‘and others’ (§ 2.9, § 25) and [no] hoka (p. 76) = ‘īgai ‘besides’ (p. 113) are similar. The set-opener ablative karā ‘(to include others) starting from ...’ and the set-closer allative māde ‘(having included others) extending to’ mark an adjoinct as the first or last of an ordered set (§ 3.7a). Most uses of focus imply other entities or other sentences, especially the uses of mō that Chamberlain referred to as “aggregative” (see the discussion in § 2.3). Plural implications are also often present with the excessive (-sugiru § 9.1.9), the concurrent (nāgarā § 9.1.3), and some of the verbal auxiliaries of § 9.1.10 when combined with verb infinitives of particular aspectual types: -hazimeru ‘begins’, -tuzukeru ‘continues’, -owaru ‘ends’, -au ‘does reciprocally’, etc.

Other expressions that imply more than one entity include (...) no aida ‘between/among ...’ and the quasi-restrictive ‘ーkan ‘between’, which attaches as a quasi-suffix to the
second of two directly conjoined nouns to form a noun phrase such as Nára Kyóoto-kan ‘between Nara and Kyoto’ (§2.4). The distributive ‘zútu ambiguously marks plurality: íp-pái ‘zútu nómu means ‘drinks a glass of each’ or ‘each one drinks a glassful’ or ‘drinks a glassful each time’, as well as (by residual vagueness, if nothing else) any combination of these. See §2.5.

2.8. LINKAGE OF ADJUNCTS; NOMINAL CONJOINING

Japanese has a number of devices that serve to link separate sentences with meanings such as ‘and’, ‘or else’, ‘but’, ‘when’, ‘if’, and so on; these are taken up at various places in this work. There are also devices that serve to conjoin grammatically parallel adjuncts so that, for example, a single process or attribute can be predicated of two or more nouns either conjointly (‘and’) or alternatively (‘or’). Many—perhaps all—of these devices can be explained as reductions from separate sentences that have been put together with the shared part (the predicate—or the predicate together with OTHER adjuncts) simplified to a single occurrence. Thus the sentence Tití mo háha mo rúsú da ‘Both father and mother are out’ can be explained as an optional reduction from something like Tití mo [rúsú nara] háha mo rúsú da ‘If (it be true that) father is out (himself) then mother is out (herself also)’ as explained in §9.3.2. Leaving aside the marking with mó, which is a special case of focus highlighting (§2.3), we will here take up certain other markers typically used to conjoin nouns or noun phrases; unlike the paired use of mó mentioned above, these markers are used to conjoin adjuncts BEFORE any relational marker is added. That is, the conjoined noun phrase as a whole is related to the rest of the sentence by a single occurrence of the appropriate marker as in Tití to háha NI ioo ‘Let’s tell father and mother’, cf. Tití NI mo háha NI mo ioo ‘Let’s tell both father and mother’.

The markers in question are these: (1) tô ‘and’ (inclusive); (2) yá ‘and (among others); or (as a representative sampling)’; (3) ni ‘and (additionally)’—in a somewhat formal list and also in a few clichés; (4) ká ‘or’ (alternative).

Each of these would seem to be derivable from other conversions. Thus tô perhaps derives from the quotations of §21 or the conjunctivization N da ‘when (it is)’ of §17.2 if not directly from what I am calling the ‘subjective essive’, rather than from the comitative (= tô issyo) or reciprocal ‘with’ of §2.2 and §3.6, which itself is perhaps to be treated as a reduction from the conjunctivization (if not independent in origin). The conjoining ni may come from the nominal infinitivization (§9.1.11) ‘its being’, or directly from the “objective essive”, rather than from the “change of position” (MUTATIVE-LOCATIVE) marker of §2.2 (cf. Rókú ni san o tosú to kyüú ni nárú ‘Six and three make

55. Yet I have elicited examples (perhaps a bit stiff) of conjoinings AFTER as well as before case-marking: Kyóoto e to Nara e [to] ikimašita = Kyóoto to Nara [to] e ikimašita ‘I went to Kyoto and [to] Nara’; Tanaka san kará to Yosida san kará [to] kikimašita = Tanaka san to Yosida san [tô] kara kikimašita ‘I heard it from Mr. Tanaka and [from] Mr. Yoshida’; Sono misé de to ano misé de [to] tabéta = Sono misé de to ano misé de [to] de tabéta ‘I ate at that restaurant and at that other restaurant’.

Perhaps it is possible to use this difference to make subtle differences of implication for certain sentences—such as whether the two actions are closely connected in time or logic rather than being independent of each other. But notice that the subject marker can be applied only after conjoining (N tô ga but not *N gá to): Tanaka san to Yosida san tô ga ikú no nara, sinpai nái ‘If it’s Mr. Tanaka and Mr. Yoshida who are going there’s nothing to worry about.’
nine’), which is itself probably secondary. And ká and yá are reductions from nominal questions ‘is it ...?’ → ‘whether ... or’ with the sentence-extensions of § 15.6 and § 15.6a, respectively, which call for ellipses of the imperfect copula dá. This means we impute a somewhat complex derivation to a sentence like Senséi ka gakusei ká ga yobu ‘The teacher or the student calls’—a sentence that, once made, is reducible to Senséi ka gakusei ga yobu by optional (and common) suppression of the second ká, or to Senséi ka gakusei ka yobu by optional omission of the case marker gá (producing ambiguity with the similar reduction of Senséi ka gakusei ká o yobu ‘I call the teacher or the student’), or even to Senséi ka gakusei yobu by both processes (the latter sentence also being ambiguous with respect to subject and object). The immediate derivation of the subject is from a nominal sentence Senséi ka gakusei ká da ‘It is a question whether it is the teacher or the student’ and that sentence is a nominalization of a pair of alternative questions conjoined by simple parataxis: Senséi [da] ka gakusei [da] ka ‘Is it the teacher or is it the student?’ (This explanation is supported by the occurrence of dátta ka in similar conjoinings.) The individual questions are, in turn, interrogativized (§ 15.6) nominal sentences, serving either as identifications or, more likely, as propredications (§ 3.10).

Similar devices are the use of dánó (§ 15.17), yára (§ 15.18), and nári (§ 15.19). The two expressions dé mo and d’ätte (§ 2.11) ‘even being’ conjoin adjuncts after the pattern of mó, being applied AFTER relational marking (but cf. p. 170n): Oosaka kárá de mo Kóobe kara dé mo tegami ga kimásita or Oosaka kárá d’ätte Kóobe kara d’ätte tegami ga kimásita ‘Letters came from as far as Ósaka and Kóbe’ but not *Oosaka dé mo Kóobe de mo kara ... or *Oosaka d’ätte Kóobe d’ätte kara .... But with tó ka ‘or the like’ (§ 21.6) case markers can be applied either before or after conjoining: Oosaka kará to ka Kóobe kara to ka tegami ga kimásita; Oosaka tó ka Kóobe to ka kara tegami ga kimásita ‘Letters came from such places as Ósaka and Kóbe’. (Examples of tó ka ga/o/ni will be found in § 21.6.)

The effect of the tó ka or dé mo is largely independent of the conjoining; in a sense, this may be true of mó as well. Some other paired devices with much the same effect as dé mo (‘whether ... or ...’) are ni si ró or ni sè yo (§ 16.1, § 9.1.11) = ni sité mo (ni sit’ätte) and dé aróo to/ga/ni (§ 21.5, § 17.6, § 17.7).

See also nádo (§ 2.9) with its inbuilt implication of conjoining.

One difference between ni and the other markers (tó, yá, ká) is that in general the items linked with the latter are semantically reversible (A to B = B to A) but those linked with the former are generally ordered so that A ni B [ni] cannot be easily reversed with the intended meaning.

In spoken Japanese it is usual not to mark the last item in a nominal conjoining—... yómú kótó to kákú kótó [to] wa ... ‘reading and writing’ (SA 2672.109b), especially if a marker is called for to relate the conjoined phrase to the rest of the sentence: A to B ni ageru ‘I will give it to A and B’, A ka B ni ageru ‘I will give it to A or B’, A ya B ni ageru ‘I will give it to A and B (and perhaps others)’.

56. In the following example, only yá marks noun conjoining, for tó marks the conjoined phrase as reciprocal, in valence with the verb: ... hippii YA gakusei TO syuu-hei ga syoototou sita ‘the state troops clashed with the hippies and students’ (SA 2685.16c). This means syuu-hei ga could be permuted to appear in front of hippii ya gakusei to. (The other interpretation is not impossible, however.)
item with to or ka (or tô ka) or even yâ—though that is largely limited to set phrases—for special emphasis or to bring out the full flavor of the predicate.  

ÀÔ: A to B tô kara nâte iru 'It is made up of A and B'; Monô to monô to o kookan suru 'They barter things for things'; A to B tô no tunagarî ... 'The links between A and B'; Káno-zyo to o re tô no kotô wa ... 'The affair between her and me' (SA 2642.37d); Sosite, dekiru yâtu to, dekinai yâtu to o tya -to ku betu suru 'Then you make sure to separate those who are able and [= from] those who are not' (SA 2668.47c); Yoorôppa no bûngaku wa, koogo to bungô tô no hedatâri(-) ga óokiku nai 'The literatures of Europe have no wide disparity between colloquial language and literary language' (Ôno 1966.233); Sina-go to Nihon-go tô ga sessyokuzu suru 'The two languages Chinese and Japanese come into contact with each other'; Puro-yâkkyuu no gîzyutyu to daigaku-yâkkyuu no gîzyutyu to ga, sore-hodo hakkiri sita sâ(-) wa nai desu né 'The techniques of pro baseball and those of college baseball are not all that clearly different, you know' (Tk 3.60b—the sentence would sound better with ni in place of ga).  

KÁ: Watakusi ka otootô to ga o-ukagai simásu 'Either I or my little brother will come to see you'.  

DÁTTA KA: Syuusen tyôkúguo(-), Tookyoo no zyosidaigaikusei-kan ni "kimi" dâta ka "bóku(-)" dâta ka o moti-iru kotô ga ryouuku sita 'Right after the war, it was popular among college coeds in Tôkyô to use "kimi" or "boku" ' (Maeda 1962.69).  

TÔ KA: ... keibi-taisei to ka keikai-hôôhoo to ka o zyuubûn ni kenkyuu site ... 'adequately studying defense arrangements and alarm methods (and the like) ... ' (Tk 3.6b); ... gó-ri to ka rókú-ri to ka hanâreta tokorô e ... 'to a place some five or six rî away' (KB 55a).  

YÂ: Are ya kore ya [de], sigoto ga takusâh âta 'What with that and this, I had a lot of work'; Are ya kore yâ o kangaette miru to ... 'Considering one thing and another ... ' (Shiba 155); Kûne-kune sita hassoo ya bûgaku ya no kooryuu de âru 'It is the interchange of meandering expressing and [= with] esthetics' (SA 2662.33d).  

And you will find the last item marked somewhat more often in written Japanese: wakâi monô no kiboo to yumé to o syootyoo suru 'it symbolizes the hopes and dreams of young people' (KKK 25.80a). But even in written Japanese, A to B is five times as frequent as A to B to; and A ka B is almost ten times as frequent as A ka B ka (KKK 25.140ff). Written Japanese also overwhelmingly prefers A ya B over A ya B ya, which is largely limited to set phrases. But A tô ka B tô tô ka has about the same frequency as A tô ka B, and an equal ratio apparently applies also for A yâra B [yâra] and A nári B [nâri]. In written Japanese it appears to be easier to mark the last item if it is short; of 100 examples (in KKK 25.143), the B of 68 was a single bunsetsu (= basic phonological phrase, i.e. accent phrase) and the B of 12 contained only two bunsetsu. In choice of conjoiner, we find tô almost twice as frequent as yâ, and kâ and tô ka are each far behind (only five percent as common as tô), according to the statistics on written Japanese in KKK 25.  

In some cases you might feel that it is necessary to mark the final item in order to avoid ambiguity, thinking that Sekâi-si to Nihon-si to no hón o kau will mean 'I will buy books on world history and on Japanese history' but Sekâi-si to Nihon-si no hón o kau will mean 'I will buy a book on world history and Japanese history (i.e. a single book that  

57. But the final tô will never appear before the reciprocal tô: A to B ô tôô tô to soodan suru 'consults with A and B'.


§2.8. Linkage of adjuncts; nominal conjoining

covers both); in fact, however, either has both meanings. This is part of a larger problem of
ambiguity that arises when more than two items are involved. If you have, say, A to B
to C... it is possible to treat them as in a polymer—an unstructured series that, like a
string of evenly matched pearls, is totally permutable, the meaning 'A and B and C ...
being the same as B to A to C or as C to B to A or as C to A to B. But it is also possible to
assign a structure that brackets some groupings as against other groups: (A to B) to C 'A
and B—with C', A to (B to C) 'A with B and C'. The possible ambiguities increase, of
course, with the number of items conjoined; junctures often, but not always, give cues to
the intended meaning. When an adnominal element precedes coordinated adjuncts (whether
tightly conjoined as N to N or loosely conjoined as N mo N mo) the reference may be
either to both of the adjuncts or to the first: yuumei na A to B 'A and B who are famous'
or 'A who is famous and B', yuumei na A mo B mo 'both A and B who are famous' or
'both A who is famous and B'. In order to cue specifically the latter meaning (with the ad­
ominal intended only for the first item), the typical minor juncture used to signal the
conjoining will be promoted to a major juncture. No such ambiguity will be present if the
adnominal is applied only to the second element (A to yuumei na B 'A and B who is famous',
A mo yuumei na B mo 'Both A and B who is famous') because whatever is modified must
follow the adnominalization.

Another ambiguity arises with phrases such as A ya B mo, which can be interpreted
either as A ya B + mo 'even/also A and B (among others)' or as A ya + B mo 'among others' A and even/also B', depending on whether the focus highlighting is intended to apply
before or after the conjoining.

In theory, at least, it is possible to conjoin with a different (or even the same) marker
two or more sets of conjoined phrases: A ya B to C ya D, A to B ya C to D, etc.; ?A to B
to C to D to [to], ? A ya B ya C ya D, ? A ka B ka C ka D ka [ka]—but in
such attempts the surface repetition of the marker would normally reduce to a single oc­
currence, leaving the listener with an ambiguity. A conjoined phrase can be further con­
joined with a single noun, but the result is ambiguity: A ya B to C could be taken with
two different constituency structures. In the following example the structure appears to
be A to [B ni C]: ... hutā-kumi no sīngū TO tukue NI hōnbatoko to iu kantan na hikkosi­
imotu ga ... 'a simple moving-load that consists of a couple of sets of bedding and a desk
and bookcase' (Fn 100a).

Certain pairs of words are conventionally said in a given order and sound odd when re­
versed (like English 'bread and butter, rain or shine, bed and board', etc.). Where Eng­
lish says 'This and that' Japanese says Are ka kore (ka) or Are ya kore (ya) and the oppo­
site order sounds as out of place as the English 'that and this'. Such expressions, being set
phrases, will allow the second conjoinder to surface more often than is usual: Are ka kore
kā ga ātta 'We had this and that'; Are ka kore kā o kaimasyōō 'I guess I'll buy this and
that'; Are ya kore yā ga kiki-tākute ... 'Wanting to listen to this and that ...'; Are ya kore
yā to mendōo na kotō ga āru kara 'What with this and that there are all kinds of nuisances.
so ...'; Are ya kore yā o kangae-awaseru to ... 'After putting this and that together (I con­
clude that) ...'. Are mo kore mo means 'both this and that' and are-kore is an adverb that
means 'what with one thing and another', tō-ya-kaku (iu) '(says) this and that = objecting,
criticizing' is an adverb, derived from *tō ya kaku ya.

Another device for conjoining nouns or noun phrases is direct juxtaposition (parataxis),
usually marked with a juncture that is often written in Japanese texts with a comma or a raised dot.\footnote{Examples of the comma: ... yottu-mozi no higo, waigo ga ... ‘four-letter vulgarisms and obscenities’ (SA 2678.98b): Syoogakkoo, tyyuugakkoo e kayoi-nagarâ, tokidoki butai e wa dëte ‘ta wâke desu ka ‘You mean you sometimes appeared on the stage while still going to elementary school and junior high?’ (Tk 2.270b); Kyooosan-toó d’atte Márukusu, Réénin no sinzya de nài desu ka ‘Aren’t the Communists themselves believers in Marx and Lenin?’ (SA 2671.19a). Examples of the centered dot: Ázia · Áhurika ... ‘Asia and Africa’; ... múzu bukkâ · genzei, túide(‘) daigaku · kyoooku, san-ban ‘mé ga noose; dâta ... ‘first of all it was prices and tax cuts; next, universities and education; third, farm policy ...’ (SA 2661.116c)—when taped, this was read as daigaku-kyóooku ‘university education’. Sometimes there is no written signal to warn against misinterpretation as a compound noun: Sono kóro no sinbun zassi no kizi ... ‘Articles in the newspapers and journals of the day’ (Tk 2.268). In general there will be an accentual clue when read aloud; thus the minor juncture in ûha · sâha (ga momete iro) ‘the right wing and the left wing (are in discord)’ signals a syntactic structure—here, that of conjoining. And we know that gízyutu no kenkyuu kaihatsu [sic] ‘the research and development of a technology’ (SA 2660.117c) is to be taken as two nouns in direct juxtaposition rather than as a compound noun, for it is read aloud without the compound accentuation (*kenkyuu-kaíhatsu which, if used, would mean ‘research-development’). (Similar: yotoo yatoo ‘the in-party and the out-party’.) But when the first noun is atomic and the second is prototypic there may be no clue in the pronunciation to tell you whether it is a direct juxtaposition or a compound noun: the dropping of the juncture in rekisi · bungaku ‘history and literature’ will make it sound the same as rekisi-bungaku ‘historical literature’.}

Elsewhere (Martin 1970a) I have suggested that we treat this phenomenon of direct juxtaposition as an ellipsis of one of the markers tó or yà, but we will have to add also kâ on the basis of the following example, where direct nominalization is applied after the conjoining: ... saiyyoo surî [ka], sinâi [ka] o kimerú no ga hutuu dâ ... ‘it is usual to decide on whether to offer employment or not’ (SA 2652.66c). A more abstract view would perhaps treat parataxis as an undifferentiated conjoiner at a higher level. Numerous examples of parataxis will be found in Martin 1970a and in MJW. Here are some additional examples, with the assumed ellipsis marked, and with juncture shown: Kore wa · tokoro · warûi tokoro · ga · arimasu · yo ‘This has good points, {and} bad points’ (R); ... iiroir · Kyûoto · to · Nara no · butuzzo dé mo ... ‘the various statues of Buddha in Kyûoto and Nara ...’ (R); Kodomo no koto · [1] katei no koto o · zikkûri to · kanagête · sinbô · si-nasai ‘Think of your children, (and) of your family; persevere!’ (SA 2649.108d); ... kâ- re- [to] · kánozô- [to] · warai-gao no · naka de ... ‘Among the smiling faces of the boys and girls ...’ (SA 2654.135c); ... keikiki-teki na mono · [1] · [2] · [3] · [4] · [5] · ‘... odorôítari · akiretatâ · sîta ‘I was startled and aghast at how many formalities and routine chores there were’ (SA 2659.134a); Yômi-kaki · [1] · [2] · soroban ‘Reading, writing and arithmetic’ (Kusakabe 1968.61).

Parataxis can also be used to conjoin adverbs and adverbial expressions where ellipsis of the above sort would not serve as an explanation: Bôku(‘) no operettâ-netu wa, hi-goto(‘)

58. But the raised dot is occasionally used for other purposes, as well, including such oddities as treating puratot(‘)-hwôôomu as if it were ‘flat form’ in English by inserting such a dot (Tk 2.160a), perhaps under the influence of the Japanese abbreviated version h[w]ôôomu; a similarly misguided dot is used in Berurin no hwwiru(-)hâamonii to iu yâto ‘the Berlin Philharmoric’ (Tk 3.50b).
§2.8. Linkage of adjuncts; nominal conjoining

[ ] yó-goto(−) ni takamátte, ... 'My enthusiasm for opera rose day by day and night ...' (SA 2641.50c)—the ellipsis can only be of nî). See also the possibility of directly conjoining adjectival nouns (§13.5a) or verbal nouns (§14.3).

Certain idiomatic phrases are doubtless reduced from conjoined nouns but the ellipsis is now obligatory: kókon atform of nózoi 'all ages and all places'.

There are a number of linking phrases—usually set off by juncture—such as sósitoe ‘and then/also’, sôre ni ‘and also’, sôre kara ‘and then (also)’, sôno u ‘on top of that = additionally’, máta(−) ‘and also’ (often following mò), arûi-wa = mátá-wa ‘and/or’, narabî ni ‘and (equally)’, óyobi(−) ‘and additionally’, kátu ‘also’, etc. These often serve as fillers to explicate the parataxis. (From the juncture alone we cannot always be sure how to interpret N ∣ N or N ∣ ∣ N, in view of the variety of ellipses possible; see Martin 1969.) But they also occur after a conjoiner-marked phrase: Ozi ya sósito mí mo zóogyóko surú ‘The uncle, and the niece too, will be coming to the capital’.

On conjoining see also Kunihiro 1966, Yamada and Igarashi 1967. Some related questions are discussed under apposition §25.

A number of problems remain. For example, there are unusual conjoinings when quantifiers such as numeral-classifier compounds are present: Hón o is-sátu to pén o ní-hon kau ‘I will buy one book and two pens’ is problem enough, but what about Hón is-sátu to pén o ní-hon kau with the same meaning? The explanation for these oddities is to be found in the underlying structures for quantification of nouns, as explored in §13.6. Here, I will simply list the possible conjoinings that occur as direct object (ó) or as subject (gá), with formulas to show the number word or quantifier (Q) and noun (N) as well as the typical conjoiner tó. Other surface versions are possible by suppressing the marker ó, which can be regarded as optional in all occurrences below.59

CONJOINING OF QUANTIFIED NOUNS

| Q no N to Q no N o | Is-sátu no hón o to ní-hon no pén o kau. |
| N o Q to N o Q | Hón o is-sátu to pén o ní-hon kau. |
| Q no N to N o Q | Is-sátu no hón o to pén o ní-hon kau. |
| N o Q to Q no N o | Hón o is-sátu to ní-hon no pén o kau. |
| *Q no N o to Q no N o to | *Is-sátu no hón o to ní-hon no pén o to kau. |
| *N o Q to N o Q to | *Hón o is-sátu to pén o ní-hon to kau. |

Examples of yá-conjoinings: Minami kará ya kita(−) kará ya hóoboo kara atumátta ‘They came together from north and south and all over’; Kiirói no ya akái no ya samázama(−) no iroai(−) da né ‘They are yellow and red and all sorts of shades’; Hítorarîzumû ya puoreîráia no dokusai no sinpóo-sya ni tóto kono syó ga omoširóku nái kotô wa toozen de arôo ‘It is only natural that this book would give no pleasure to the devotees of Hitlerism and (= and/or) the dictatorship of the proletariat’ (KKK 3.223); ... syákai o hametu ya konran kara mamóri, ‘... ‘protecting society from collapse and/or chaos’ (KKK 3.223); ... sitagâtte(−), sîî ya henken ya gáî ga táda genzitu-teki na kóoka no na ni yotte minogasâre(−) iru zîtuyóo de âtê mîreba, ‘... ‘accordingly, when we consider that selfishness and bias and wilfulness are countenanced in the name of actual

59. See §13.6 for a more explicit formulation.
effectiveness ...’ (KKK 3.223); Wareware wa hooritu ya suyuukan ya reigi no yurūsu han’i-nai ni ōite(‘), ... ‘Within the sphere permitted by law and custom and etiquette, we ...’ (KKK 3.223); Kissā-ten no kāsi ya sūsi nādo ga mondai ni nāru no de, ... ‘Since the pastry and pickled rice and the like (served) in teashops are in question ...’ (KKK 3.224).

Examples of ni-conjoinings: ... yamatakā-boō ni kuro-sebī no hutarī no syoonen ga ... ‘Two boys in bowlers and black suits ...’ (KKK 3.151); Akai syatu ni, hosomē(‘) no zubōn, gomu-zōori to itta hulkanoo ’(He was) attired in a red shirt with narrow trousers and rubber zori’ (Gd 1969/9.101)—the parataxis indicated by the comma represents the ellipsis zubōn [to]; Tenpura ni l susami ‘Fritters and sliced raw fish’; Pān ni l bāta ‘Bread and butter’; Bīru ni l Masāmune, lī an-pān(‘) ni kyārameru! ‘Beer and (Masamune-brand) sake, beanjam buns and caramels!’ (KKK 3.151).

In poetic clichés the ni often seems to be equivalent to ni [tai-site] wa ‘in contrast with’: Tuki ni murakumo, hanā ni kaze ‘The moon has its clouds, and blossoms have the wind [to contend with]’. Āsa ni ban ni ‘both morning and night’ is an idiomantic phrase used to mean ‘all the time, always, frequently’. The noun āsa-ban (a reduction from āsa tō ban, as shown by the accent) ‘morning and night’ is also used as an adverb to mean ‘always’.

Examples of sentences conjoined by tō or tō ka will be found in KKK 3.118-9; for conjoinings with tō ka and dā tō ka see §21.6. Examples of conjoining marked by other particles—kā, dā/dātta ka, dā no, mô, dē mo, etc.—will be found in the appropriate sections of this book. Sometimes direct nominalization (§14.6) with ellipsis of the nominalizing nó leaves a conjoining tō directly after a verb or adjective: Yōmu {no} to miru {no} to wa oo-tīgai [da] ‘Reading it and seeing it are vastly different’ (Kusakabe 1968.62).

Some roundabout expressions that conjoin nominals are described elsewhere in this book:

- X to ii Y to ii
- X to ii Y to ittē mo
- X to ittē mo Y to ittē mo
- X ni sitē mo Y ni sitē mo
- X ni sit’tātte Y ni sit’tatte
- X ni si ro Y ni si ro
- X ni se yo Y ni se yo

(These quotative and mutative-putative conjoinings are often followed by predicates that imply an unfavorable evaluation.)

2.9. NĀDO; NĀNKA; NĀNTE

The word nādo is used with at least three meanings; for the third meaning nānte is a synonym and for all the meanings nāndo [Tk 2.238—dialect?], nānzo, nāzo, and nānka are variants or synonyms.60 But nānka and nānte are informal and lively, hence more susceptible

60. According to Maeda 1961 nānzo is a Tōkyō form, Ōsaka preferring nānka. MKZ gives two other uses of nānzo: one is equivalent to nāni ka ‘something’ or ‘anything’ (the example given is Nānzo nāi ka ‘Isn’t there anything?’) and the other is a literary rhetorical ‘how (possibly)’ or the like, as in this example from modern prose: ‘...’ tō wa nānzo ya ‘What ever do they mean by “...”??’
to special connotations, such as sarcasm. (Nánzaa is an abbreviation of nánzo [wa] = nádo wa. Nádo2 and názo2 are synonyms of náze 'why' in Literary Japanese.) You may detect a semantic resemblance in yára (§15.18) and ...-tāri (§9.4).

The meanings are these:

(1a) 'or the like, or something; maybe, say, just'—sometimes used to show deference, modesty or diffidence, as also is dé mo (§2.9): Watakusí nádo tote-mo damé desu 'Poor me, I’m just no good at it'; Go-issyo ni syokuzi nádo (= dé mo) ikaga desu ka ‘Won’t you have a bite with me?’; O-tati no katá wa turikawa nádo ni o-tukamari kudasái ‘Persons standing please hang on to the straps or the like (= other secure holds)’ (sign on bus).

(1b) 'for example, say, (let us) take ...'—sometimes, but not always, prefaced by tatóe 'so to speak': Tatóe ya yuu syoku no tokí nádo wa, konna húu da ‘For instance at, say, dinner time it’s like this’ (SA 2640.107e); ... mukasi no yóo ni nónkí ni turi nánzó site iru monó wa hitori d’álte arimasén ‘there wasn’t a soul idly fishing, say, the way they used to’ (Kubota 127a); Ōngaku nádo o-suki desu ka ‘Do you like, perhaps, music?’ Cf. ... (no/ga) gótoki wa (§13.2, §14.6).

(2) 'the group of ... (with or without others); such things/people/places etc.; and others; and the like; and so on'—more often implying others than not: Inú ya nêko nádo made oo-sáwagi da ‘What with dogs, cats, and all, what an uproar!’ A close synonym of nádo in this meaning is sonó-ta ‘and others, and the rest, and so on’: Sêihu sonó-ta no | tantai kara ‘From the government and other [or: and like] groups ...’ (SA 2670.108c); Omake ni, I kénsha sonó-ta de, ... 'In addition, with the investigation and all ...' (SA 2664.27b).

(3) 'the likes of; such a thing/person/place etc.'—often used for belittling. Nánka and nánte are particularly common with this meaning.

In the second meaning (cf. §2.7) nádo is sometimes reiterated: nádo l nádo 'etc., etc.' as in Zyon no kao da kä o utúshita tanpen-êiga “Sumáiru” nádo de, iwayýuru "ryooziki" to "títúzyo" ni tyozen site kita ‘With the short film “Smile” that showed nothing but John’s face and so on and so on, he [= John Lennon] has started challenging so-called “conscience” and “order”’ (SA 2670.134). In somewhat formal speech nádo in this meaning can be replaced by tóó, the Chinese reading of the character often used to write it, and l l nádo l nádo ll can be replaced by ll tóó l tóó ll, as in Tookyoo, l Oosaka, l Nágoya ll tóó l tóó no l dai- tôkai ... 'large cities such as Tókyô, Ósaka, Nagoya, etc.'.

Nádo appears after adnominalized sentences as (or, as if?) a postadnominal and it also appears after nouns as if it were a restrictive (§2.4). But in accentual behavior nádo differs from most of the usual restrictives for they are attached to nouns with no juncture (and earlier accents are cancelled). Nádo, on the other hand, is like mítai (§2.12) in attaching to nouns with an optional minor juncture; the juncture seems to drop more readily in the “belittling” meaning so that zimú-in ( ) nádo = zimúín nádo more likely means 'office workers for example (or etc.)' and zimúín nádo more likely means 'a mere office worker'. The distinction will be neutralized for atonic nouns, since the minor juncture will normally be suppressed: kodomo ( ) nádo = kodomo nádo. After an oxytonic noun, the juncture will remove the final accent and then disappear, so that otokó ( ) nádo = otoko

(SA 2672.125c). Examples of nádo are given in Terase. Nádo goes back to Heian times (Satô 2.102).
nádo will be distinguished from otokó nádo with no underlying juncture. Cf. the remarks on optional juncture with dé mo and d’atte, p. 171.

Like the restrictives, nádo can either be followed by a peripheral case marker or be attached to noun + peripheral case marker, with slight differences of meaning: ló:gami ga
tomodati nádo kara kíita or ló:gami ga tomodati kará nádo kíita ‘Letters came from friends and the like’.

Examples of nádo preceding and following various case markers: Yuuzin nádo kara kíita ‘I heard it from friends (and the like)’; Aitu kara nádo hanagami iti-mai de mo mora-
taku nái ‘From the likes of him I wouldn’t even accept a Kleenex’; Yuuzin nádo ni hanásita ‘I spoke to friends (and the like)’; Yuuzin ni nádo hanásita rasi ‘Apparently he spoke to a friend or someone’; Yuuzin nádo to hanasi-au ‘I will talk with friends (and the like)’; Yuuzin tó nádo hanasi-au kóto wa mëtta ni nái ‘I seldom talk with friends or any-
thing’; Yuuzin nádo e sirasemasyóó ‘Let’s tell our friends (and all)’; Yuuzin e nádo wa sirasezu ni kázo kó dë ki ni siraseyóó ‘Let’s not tell our friends or anything but just tell the family’; ... gyyunuyu ya zooketú-zai nádo de eiyó o yóku sité kara ... ‘after improving the nutrition with milk and blood-enricheners and so on ...’ (KKK 3.132).

An example with nánka FOLLOWING ní: Konna syuuikai ni nánka sánka( ) si-taku nái ga ... ‘I don’t want to participate in any such meeting as this but ...’ (SA 2661.112e). And examples of nánka following the marker dë in several meanings: Gakkoo de nánka sonná kóto wa osienài daroo ‘At school, say, they wouldn’t teach any such thing, surely’ (locative); Enputu de nánka káite wa ikenai ‘You mustn’t write with (= in) pencil or any-
thing’ (instrumental); Soko wa miti ga sémakute kuruma de nánka ikenai tokóro da ‘That is a place that the roads are too narrow to get to by car or anything like that’ (vehicular).

But the core case markers gá and ó (also, often, ní?) more often attach after nádo, as in these examples (the first of which shows the variant nánzo): Anáta no ožíi-sama nánzo ga, iroiro omosiori monó o o-káki ni náttá kara ... ‘That grandfather of yours has written a lot of interesting things, so ...’ (SA 2663.46c)—notice how ‘that’ or ‘that ole (=old)’ sometimes captures the flavor of nádo and its variants; Koo hi, o-tya nádo ga arimášu ‘We have coffee, tea, and so on’; Náo zoowai ‘gawa wa kaisya, kobútú-syoo, insyókú-ten nádo o hittoo ni ... ‘And as for those engaged in the bribery, [we can put] companies, antique dealers, restaurants and the like at the head of the list ...’ (KKK 3.132); ... kono hwírumu o tukatte densyoo-syásín nádo o ooyoo suréba ... ‘if we use this film to put into practice telephotography, for example, ...’ (KKK 3.131).

And an example of a communicative-instrumental FOLLOWING nánka: Iya, sinbun nánka de iroiro itte ‘máshu kedo, zenzen noo-kánkei desu yó ‘Oh, in the newspapers and the like they say all sorts of things, but I have absolutely ’no interest’’ (SA 2678.46b).

It seems obvious that (1) nádo, which first appeared in the Heian period, comes from an abbreviation of (1) nó:̃n[ǐ] to ‘and what’ just as (1) nán[ǐ] ka ‘or what; something’; cf. ... ítu mo nán[ǐ] ka sirá yatte ‘ru ‘I’m always doing something (or other)’ (Tk 314a). (Japanese grammarians usually take tó as the quotation marker, but both that and the ‘and’ tó may well be extensions of a single form, the subjective essive.) It is interesting that the nk of nánka has not made the grade to /g/ despite the passage of nt to /d/, no doubt by way of [nd] as the variant nándo would indicate; does (*) nágá turn up in any dialect?

In any event, I would like to suggest that the postnominal nádo be explained as a generalized conjunction: N (1) nádo is a surface realization of something like
§2.9. Nádo; nánka; nánte

N to | nání to 'N and what/anything' and N (i) nánka is a surface realization of something like N ka | nání ka 'N or something'.\footnote{61} Such an explanation would account for the phrasing (the junctures) as well as for the shapes of several of the variants. (Etymologically zó may be related to -dó and to, as pointed out on p. 89.) Nání-to was early used as an equivalent of nádo; both versions go back to Heian times (Meikai kogo jiten 1135a).

Examples of nádo and its synonyms will be found in KKK 3.131-3 and in Alfonso 118 ff, 1138 ff. Alfonso (1138) says that nánka is rare after anything other than a noun, and that *N nánka to iu is replaced by N nádo to iu or by N nánte iu. He considers nánte an abbreviation of nádo to; but historically, at least, the abbreviation would seem to be from nání(ite) = nání to, the same source as for nádo itself. Notice that *nánte TO iu does not occur.

I have said "something like N to | nání to" because we must allow for sentences of the sort A ya B nádo and A ka B nádo as well as A to | B nádo. It is not quite clear, however, whether the nádo of such sentences is to be considered the final member of a polymer (a coordinate chain)—the last bead on the string, as it were—or whether B nádo is an already conjoined unit, derivable from B to nádo regardless of what may happen next. Relevant to this problem, perhaps, is the fact that A to B nádo to seems to be acceptable, (?) A ya B nádo is questionable (but recall that marking the last item with yá is always in some question), and *A ka B nádo ka is apparently rejected—in the intended structure, though as a full sentence (= A ka B nádo desu ka) used to question A ka B nádo [da], the surface form is possible. If the nádo-conjoining is indeed to be taken as in harmony with the conjoinings that precede it, we will have to assume that we are dealing with a higher-level undifferentiated conjoiner that is expressed (doubly) in nádo and its synonyms. An example: Tyokoreeto TO kyarameru NÁNKA wa, rieki-ritu ga oói hóó desyoo né 'Chocolate and caramel (and the like) have a higher margin of profit, you see' (Tk 4.193a).

A fourth use of nádo has been suggested, when N nádo is followed by a negative and the nádo functions much like mó 'even': Uso nádo tukimasén 'I tell you no lie' (MKZ 632).

Nádo and its synonyms in the first use mentioned above can be applied—as can dé mo—to express nuclear focus: N dé nádo áru, A-ku nádo áru, V-i nádo suru. See §5. These elements can also separate the gerund from auxiliaries; see § 9.2.4.

When quoted, nádo can be preceded by various finite forms (presumably under direct nominalization) and even by sentence extensions (= sentence-final particles, § 15): Kóndo no Syoogató, mósi atarasi gomu-in o osita gazyoo ga todóitara, insatú-dai(\footnote{61}) o ketitta nádo to omowánai yóó ni negai-tái 'If this January you should get a greeting card with a new rubber stamping, please don’t think such thoughts as “so he’s too stingy to have it printed, eh’’ (SA 2658.39d); Báka da nádo to wa yûmé-sara omótte inai zíko o ... ‘... oneself whom one would never dream of thinking “I’m a fool” about or the like’ (Maeda 1962.25); Toruko-go dá nádo to iu to, ... ‘Speaking of Turkish and all ...’ (Shibata in Óno 1967.69); Zyukén o kyoosei-sitá nádo to iu zízítu wa arimasén ‘There are no cases

61. As indicated by such a sentence as Bökut\footnote{61}) ka Kyûûsyuu ka nánka e iku toki desita yó, ... ‘It was when I would go to Kyûûshû or the like, I tell you, ...’ (Tk 2.273-4). Also: ... kéko no si-kata ya nánko tigá desyoo né ‘the way you practice and the like must be different, I suppose’ (Tk 3.15b); Sensoo no eikyooy de, wakái monó ga pan-syoku ya nánka ni néarete kita kara daróo to omótta n desu kedo né ‘We thought it must be because the young people, under the influence of the war, had grown accustomed to eating bread and so on’ (Tk 3.81a). (‘N tó nádo is apparently unacceptable.)
of people having been coerced into taking the examinations [for the Self Defense Force] or anything' (SA 2678.29b)—recorded both /sitánado/ and /sita[|]nádó/: ... Eikokú-zin-tati wa, móo kaikyuu wa naku-nattá nádó to ittári surú ga, ... 'It is sometimes said that for the English their social classes have perhaps disappeared, but ...' (SA 2681.108a).

These examples put nádó after a hortative that enters a quotation: ... zénbu o yomó nádó to kangaénaí de ... 'wasn't thinking of reading all of it, exactly, but ...' (SA 2657.104b); Nihon-zín wa, sono sizen o, ningen no tikárâ(*) de sáyyoo siyoo nádó to wa kangaézu, hitásura(*) sono sizen no iýoku, ríýoku no máe ni kasikomatta ‘The Japanese did not think to control Nature by man’s strength or anything of the sort, but stood with total awe before Nature’s power and authority’ (Ôno 1966.64).

Some examples of nádó with restrictives, focus, etc.: Soozi nádó dáke wa dekíuru ga ryóóri wa dekínai ‘Just cleaning and all I can do, but I can’t do cooking’; ?Mizu dáke nádó de wa ikirarenai ‘One cannot live on, say, water alone’; Tumaránaí zassi nádó bákari yönde iru ‘I’m just reading dull magazines and the like’; (?)Soko ni áru no wa hón, zassi bákari nádó desu ‘What is there is just books, magazines, and the like’; Soozi nádó ‘gúrái wa dekíuru ga ryóóri wa tyôt-to ... I can do at least the cleaning and all, but the cooking, well ...’; Kyokutyoo ‘gúrái nádó nara kantan ni náréru ‘One can easily become at least the likes of a bureau chief’; Konna yowái sake ‘gúrái nádó (or: sake nádó ‘gúrái) wa nomérú desyoo ‘You should be able to drink the likes of wine this weak’; Sake, tabako nádó hodo karada ni warui monó wa nái ‘There’s nothing so bad for the body as liquor and tobacco (and the like)’; Sore-hodo nádó to wa omóo mo oyobanakatta ‘I just never thought of it that much or anything’; Hutarí ni mittú ‘zútó nádó de wa tarinai ‘It’s hardly enough, three for every two people or the like’; Kyokutyoo máde nádó nara sugú náréru ‘One can get to be a bureau chief and all in no time’: Tyuugoku-go, Nihon-go wa motivón, Tagarogu-go nádó made benkyoo sita ‘I even studied Tagalog and all, to say nothing of Chinese and Japanese’; Kyokutyoo ‘átari nádó ni nárú to sekinin ga taihen da ‘When you become a bureau chief or the like the responsibility is terrible’; Kimi nádó ‘átari ni wa bóku(*) no taisi wa wakárú ‘máí ‘I don’t expect the likes of you to understand my ambition’; Méiži ’zidai, Taisyoo ’zidai ‘ígo nádó ni wa, soo iu syuuukan wá naku-natta ‘Since the Meiji period and the Taishô period and all such customs have disappeared’; Kamakura(*) ‘zidai, Murômáti ‘zidai nádó (*)ígo ni wa soo iu syuuukan wá naku-natta ‘Since the Kamakura period and the Muromachi period and all, such customs have disappeared’.61a

And some examples of nánká with focus, restrictives, etc.: Kanzyo no kao o syoomén kara utúsita siín nánká mo átte ... ‘There are even scenes showing patients’ faces from the front and the like and ...’ (SA 2672.116e); Tuke-mátuge nánká de mo [= d’atte] hazime wa iya-gáttá món desu yó ‘Even false eyelashes (and the like) they disliked at first, you know’ (Tk 2.103a); Bóku(*) nánká de mo ... ‘Even such as I ...’ (SA 2679.119d).

Nádó and nánká also occur as postadnominals, directly after a sentence. But it is more common for a noun or an adjectival noun NOT to convert the copula to nó or ná, but to leave it as dá or de áru; and the subject of the sentence will not permit the marker gá to be replaced by nó as most postadnominals will allow (§13.1.6). For these reasons, it would probably be better to think of the sentences as being DIRECTLY NOMINALIZED (§14.6) and then conjoined with nádó/nánká. Examples: V-rú nádó: Anó-hito no kettén(*) wa konki ga náku sigoto o súgu yamerú nádó da ‘The trouble with him is that (among other things) he lacks patience and is quick to give up on a task’.

61a. According to Okutsu 1974.160, nádó can precede but not follow súra (presumably also sáe?), kóso (cf. p. 851), sika, or dáke (see questioned example above).
§2.9. Nádo; nanka; nante

V-tá nádo: Aitu no túmi wa hito no monó o nusúnda, sore o uttá nádo da ‘His crime is that he has stolen others’ property; that he has sold it, and so on.’

A-i nádo: Keóii-mono(-) no tokutyoo wa karuí, attakai nádo da ‘What is special about woolens is that they are light, warm, and so on’.

AN dáll(ná) nádo: Génti dal(/na) nádo to wa, oo-úso(-) de, zítu wa sini-soo da ‘I heard he was well and all but it’s quite untrue; in fact, he’s at death’s door’.

AN dáta nádo: Hushin na ten wa myóó ni sžuká datta nádo da ‘The unaccountable thing about it was how strangely quiet it was and all’.

N de áru nádo: Hantai no gen’in wa tatebá káre ga gunzín de áru nádo da ‘The reason for the opposition is perhaps that he is a military man or something’.

Nãonte can be regarded as an abbreviation of several different expressions, including at least the following: (1) nádo to {tú ó no} wa; (2) nádo to wa; (3) nádo to iu; (4) nádo to {ítte}. Examples:

N nãonte = N nádo to {tú ó no} wa: Moo anna tumaránaiz zuyen-bénkyoo o suru kimoti nánté, zenzen arimasén ‘I no longer have the least desire to do such dull studying for exams’ (SA 2663.26d); Motomoto, gakkoo wa oré-tá tó no yookyuu nánté kangaé ya sínái n da ‘Of course the school never gives any thought to OUR requests’ (SA 2665.24e); Ningen nánté, náretéyuu (= náreté simaú) món desu né ‘The human being accustoms himself, you see’ (SA 2674.47a); Osóra kawá kátá datta, zó ni yómé nai hitó nánté áta kotó ga ná ‘I daresay those of you who are young have never met anyone who couldn’t read (characters)’ (Ôno 1967.164).

N nãonte = N nádo to iu: ... ‘gakusei-zídai kara no sin’yuu’ nánté no ga, ... ‘those said to be “close friends from school days” or the like’; Seérusu nánté sigoto wa, tükí ni níí-nání ni hataráte nóruma o hataáte simaêba áto wa himá ná n desu yó ‘Working in the sales field you finish up your quota working two or three days a month and the rest of the time you have free’ (SA 2662.96e); Sisoo ni tai-súru taisaku nánté monó wa nái n da yó ‘There’s nothing in the way of any sort of policy toward the ideas’ (SA 2672.27b); Kawabata Yasunari nánté hitó wa, ... ‘The likes of Yasunari Kawabata’ (Tk 2.89b); Otokó nánté monó wa, íma no seikatu nya (= ni wa) hituyoo náí ‘You feel no need for a man in your present life?’ (Tk 4.147a).

N nãonte = N tó wa! (see p. 945): Anó-hito ga gakusuyá nánté! ‘You call HIM a scholar?!”

V-rú nãonte = V-rú nádo to {tú ó no} wa: Íma no rosen o sansen ya huku huku-sen ni surú nánté, íma no Tooyoo no tiká wa hoowa-zyóotai de gozyuu-méétoru mo horánai to múri daroo si, tenmōgaku-teki suuzi no hiýoo de mo kanoo ka dóó ka ‘To make the present lines into triple or quadruple lines would be unreasonable without digging at least 50 meters down, what with the saturation of Tokyó’s subways now, and I wonder whether the astronomical expenditures would even be possible (or not)’? (SA 2640.19b).

V-rú nãonte = V-rú nádo to iu: Dórai bu o tanósímu, nónte tódó zá yá né desu yó ‘I’m hardly of the age to enjoy driving’ (SA 2664.98a— the comma in the original text was evidently intended to warn you against interpreting as nádo to iu NO WA ‘As for enjoying driving or the like, [mine] is not the age’).

V-[y]óó nãonte = V-[y]óó nádo to {tú ó no} wa: Syokubá(-) o sagasu tokí-zibun no sáánoò(-) o nobásoó nánté kangaénakatta ‘When looking for a place to work it never occurred to me to think of developing my talents or anything’ (Fujin-Kóròn 636.126).
V-\{y\}ōō nante = V-\{y\}ōō nado to wa: Sonna koto o siyōō nante omowānai ‘I have no intention to do any such thing’; De mo, watashimai wa Koizima to kekkon siyōō nante, yumē-ni-mo omowānakkata. Sono toki kekkon site itā si ‘But I hadn’t the least thought of marrying Koizima or anything. For at that time I was already married’ (SA 2685.43c).

V-rū -māi nante = V-rū -māi nado to wa: Tabako o yameru -māi nante omowāna ‘It has never occurred to me that I might not quit smoking’.

V-\{y\}ōō nante = V-\{y\}ōō nado to iu: Ryyukoo-gō o tukurōō nante ito wa, zenzen nai n desu ‘We [cartoonists] haven’t the least intention of deliberately creating fashionable slang, or anything’ (SA 2661.43a).

V-i-tai nante = V-i-tai nado to iu: Sini-tai nante omotta koto wa nai desu ‘I’ve never actually felt I wanted to die (or anything)’ (SA 2671.47b).

V-\{a\}nāi nante = V-\{a\}nāi nado to iu: announcer hocado hū kazai nante itā nai? ‘Isn’t it unfair that only the Osaka people can see it?’ (SA 2671.108c).

N da nante = N da nado to iu: Kanemōtō(―) da nante tondemōnai ‘You certainly couldn’t say I’m a rich man or anything’ (SA 2680.114d); Gōgaku(―) no tensai da nante tondemōnai ‘I’m absolutely no genius at learning languages or anything’ (SA 2671.65d); Iya, akū da nante itte inai ‘No, I’m not saying it’s wrong (= evil), exactly’ (SA 2671.19d); Sore zya, Minamata-byoo ni natta tokī ni, zense no gō da nante kangaeta to sitē mo mūri wa nai ‘And then it is not unreasonable to assume that when they came down with the Minamata disease [= poisoning from organic mercury pollution] they thought it was the karma from an earlier life’ (SA 2681.43b).

V-tā nante = V-tā nado to iu: Ozyoosama wa hontoo wa, īkite itā no desu. Sore ni, nāze, hito wa, sindā nante, ii-kagen na ūso o tūku no desyoo ‘Your daughter was really alive. Why would people nonetheless tell such a wild lie as that she was dead and all?’ (KKK 3.134); ... yatōonā ni butyoo(―) san ga dekita nante, dō-mo osōi desu ne. Mōto háyaku dērū ‘bēki desu yō... it’s taken an awful long time for a woman finally to become a department head, you know. It ought to happen [= have happened] sooner’ (SA 2672.62a).

And it should not be forgotten that the surface string /nante/ can represent nān [t]tte = nān[ti]tte = nān[ti] ‘saying what’ as in this example: Nān te iēba ī no ka nāa ‘Wonder what I should say’ (SA 2679.60b). Nān te ‘ttatte has the meaning of nān[ti] ‘ttatte mo ‘say what you will = in any event’; Nān te ‘ttatte damē da ‘In any event, it won’t do’.

When nānte represents an abbreviation of nādo to iu, the final vowel may be lengthened (tēe being an abbreviation of to iu, §21): Zigoro nānte yātu wa minakkata? ‘(In Paris) you didn’t see any gigolos or the like?’ (Tk 2.193a); ... minnā [sindē simaunā] nānte kōtō ga kāite atta no o obōete ‘masu nē ‘I remember it was written that they [= the goldfish] all died or something’ (Tk 4.200a); Sindē mo ū nānte onnā ni wa, tū ni dekkusasakkata nā ‘I just never ran into a woman that I wanted to die for or anything’ (Tk 3.19a).

\[2.10.\] DĀ KA, DĀTTA KA

The expression N dāttka ka ordinarily means ‘Was it N?’ To say ‘Is it N?’ in the plain style you will normally omit dā, but the full form is sometimes heard: N tē ka = N de āru ka. These expressions, which are full sentences, can be downgraded to the status of a simple noun phrase meaning ‘N, I think/believe’ or ‘perhaps N’, and then followed by case
markers and the like: *Tyuuoo-kōron da ka ni dasāretā ...* ‘... which was published by Chūō Kōron, I believe’ (Tk 2.82)—the sentence might be said as *Tyuuoo-kōron datta ka ni dasāretā ‘was published by Chūō Kōron as I recall (if my memory serves me right)’; Tanaka san dā ka ga itte ita to omōu kedō ... ‘I think it was perhaps Mr Tanaka who was saying it, but ...’ (Mio 152); Ubagaya tte Rosiya-taisikan no bessō o da ka no āru tikāku datta ka nā ... ‘Ubagaya, I seem to recall, was in the vicinity of where what I believe is the Russian embassy villa is located’ (Mio 152); ... ereveeta-bōoi da ka ga hát-to(‘) o-zigi sitāra ... ‘when, say, the elevator boy suddenly bows’ (Tk 3.96b); ... Ōyama san da ka ni kikimāsita ga ‘I think it was Mr Ōyama from whom I heard it [that ...]’ (Kb 41a); ... Meizī nanā-nen datta ka ni, ... ‘in perhaps it was the 7th year of Meiji’ (Shiba 68).

Sometimes dā ka appears where simple kā is usual, as when both itu datta ka and itu ō-da ka can be used to mean ‘at some time (in the past)’: ... itu da ka Sinagawa māde itta toki ... ‘one time when I went as far as Shinagawa’ (Kb 34a).

Paired phrases of N1 dā ka N2 dā ca or N1 datta ka N2 datta ka can be used much as N1 ka ka ‘N1 or (maybe) N2’: Dōk [o] ka no, geisyā da ka, zyokyyuu dā ka ni ... [situren sita] ‘[He was disappointed in love] for a geisha or waitress from some place or other’ (Kb 399a); Ore no, are, tyūugaku no yo-nen dā ka go-nen dā ka no toki datta ‘It was when I was in the fourth or fifth year of middle school’ (Kb 396a); Syuuuen tyōkūgo(‘). Tookyoo no zyosidaigakūsei-kan ni ‘kimi’ datta ka ‘bōku(‘)’ datta ka o moti-iru kotō ga ryuukokō sita ‘Right after the war, it was popular among college girls in Tōkyō to use “kimi” or “boku” to each other’ (Maeda 1962.69).

Apparently there are speakers who prefer datta kke (or even datta kke ka) rather than datta ka. Instead of dā ka, dā kke can be used; but *dā kke ka seems to be rejected. Cf. §15.10 (kkek). See also dā no (§15.17), kā (§15.6). For N dā to ka, see §21.6.

2.11. DÉ MO; D’ATTE

We are treating dé mo as the highlighted gerund of the essive (or of the copula), deriving its various meanings—‘even; also; just; whether/either ... or; for instance; or the like, or something’—all from the same source as the expected ‘even/also being ...’.62 But at a certain level of sentence structure dé mo functions as a unit and we might wish to consider it a quasi-particle in its own right; the various forms of the copula make a sort of continuum with respect to particle-like characteristics, with certain uses of ni and dé (deriving from the infinitive and gerund, respectively) now definitely to be treated as particles but other uses still to be assigned to the relatively empty category of essive or copula in its various uses, with such forms as nara, dā to, dé wa, and dé mo belonging somewhere along the way between. The unitary functions of dé mo that we are speaking of share a resemblance to (1) the focus markers such as wā, mó, sē, sika, etc.; (2) the restrictives such as bākari, dake, etc.; and (3) the generalized conjunction represented by nóto and synonyms. Words of all four types resemble each other in that most of them can be inserted into the structure of gerund + auxiliary and can split the nucleus into its underlying components of

62. In the following example N1 dē mo N2 dā is used to show narrowing identification: [Tokorō-ga, hinikū ni mo, siyō-soya ga hiite motometērō kotoba no ōoku ga,] singo dē mo hikaku-teki atarashi singo de āru ‘[But, ironically, many of the words that the user seeks by looking up] are neologisms and relatively new neologisms, at that’ (Shibata 1966.145).
infinitive + auxiliary: V-î ... surû; A-kú ... áru; colloquial N dé ... áru, literary N nî ... áru/ári. For example, we find sentences such as Nâni ka okôte de mo irû no daroo ka 'I wonder if he is angry or something', in which dé mo separates the gerund -tê from the auxiliary irû, and Okôri de mo sînî desyö ka 'Might he not get angry or something?', in which dé mo splits okôru into its underlying components okôri ... surû before negativization. (More examples will be found in § 5.3.)

There are a number of uses of dé mo to be carefully differentiated; all but the first two will allow d’atte to substitute:

1) Dé mo as a unit is attached to a noun or a case-marked noun (but gâ/o are suppressed) or to an adverb (including some adverbializations § 5.5) with a meaning much like one of the meanings of nádo: ‘or the like, or something; maybe, say, just’—sometimes used to show deference, modesty, or diffidence. In this meaning, d’atte can NOT be used: Miti ga wârûkute žipû de de mo [*de d’atte] ikanâkereba naranâi ‘The road is so bad I’m afraid we’ll have to go by jeep’—notice how ‘I’m afraid’ carries the nuance of diffidence; Kao dâkâ mite iru to dôko ka no syôô ni de mo syutuen site iru yôô na kâo, ... ‘When you just look at the face it is the sort of face that seems to be appearing in a show somewhere or the like’ (SA 2673.120a); Kôogai(∗) no mizuuûâi ni de mo [*ni d’atte] ukâberéba, sâra ni suuzûi kôôtô daroo ‘It would be still cooler to float in a lake somewhere outside town’ (Gd 1969/9.37)—I have used ‘somewhere’ rather than ‘or something’ to bring out the application of dé mo to the locative: Žîko de mo okôsita no de wa nâi ka ‘I wonder if they (not) have had an accident, or something’ (= zîko I o de mo); Komî de mo nominasên ka ‘Won’t you have a little coffee or something’ (= Komî I o de mo); Nagâi tabi kara de mo kâette kita tokî no yôô na kokoro-yôôasa ga kyuû ni kâre no munamotâ(*) ni komi-ageta ‘Suddenly his heart welled up with a faintness of heart as if he had just returned from a long journey or something’ (Kb 166a); ... tok[u] no hoo e de mo turete ikareru yôô na ... hên na ki ni nárô no ‘I get a strange yen to be taken, say, to some distant place’ (Kb 52b); Désu kara kottî wa, maru-de zyanguru no naka ni de mo iru yôô na kimotô désu ‘So this place feels just like being in a jungle or something’ (Tk 2.321a); ... tô de mo ierû daroo ka ‘Could we say, perhaps, ...?’ (SA 2673.40c).

2) The copula itself can be highlighted (§ 5) by splitting dâ into its components dé ... áru (equivalent to literary nî ... áru/ári) and inserting mó; one interpretation of N dé mo áru will be ‘it even/also is N’ or, with negative, ‘it isn’t N even/either’: Sâkka(∗) dé mo ârëba, hyooron-ka de mo áru ‘He is both a writer and a critic’; Sôô de mo nai ‘It’s not quite like that, either’. In this meaning d’atte can NOT be used.

3a) The copula gerund dé ‘being’ (literary nî-te) can be highlighted with mó to mean ‘even/also being’ or ‘even/also is ... and’; d’atte can substitute for dé mo: Takâi monô de mo kamaimasên ka ‘Is it all right even if it is an expensive one?’ Tîisa na helyâ de mo iî desu kara ‘Even a small room will do’. For this meaning, the livelier d’atte will freely substitute: Dé mo, totyuu mâde d’atte îî, issyô ni nê ‘But up to half way will be all right, won’t it, together?’ (KKK 3.68).

3b) Paired phrases A dé mo B dé mo (or A d’atte B d’atte) can mean ‘whether A or B’ or ‘both A and B’—negatively ‘neither A nor B’—often as representative instances of a larger group; this is more emphatic than just A mo B mo: Môô kaisya d’atte, yakusyô d’atte, minnâ[1] moematimatte irû n desu yô; anta-gata wa ninsiki husoku désu yô ‘Both the company offices and the municipal offices, everything is burned down, I tell you. You people are ill-informed, I see’ (KKK 3.68); Môô o-tomodati wa minnâ[1] kâettyatta wâ yô;
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Uragami san d’atte, Sugiyama san d’atte ... ‘All of your friends have gone back [to Tōkyō].
Uragami, Sugiyama, ...’ (KKK 3.68); Koohii de mo, kootya(-) de mo, (nándé mo) nomimasen ‘I will have neither coffee nor tea (nor anything else)’.

(3c) With an indeterminate like nan ‘what’, dé mo or d’atte translates as ‘wh-...ever’ or ‘at all’: Wareware wa, zaisai no syak’ai-séiku hai de wa, nándé mo suki ni koto o ittari, sitári suru kótó wa dekínai ‘Living in the real world, we cannot say whatever we like and do whatever we like’ (KKK 3.99); Sanpá-réngoo seiritu tôzozi wa, sinái no dé mo ziyuu ni de-aruketa ‘At the time the [Laotian] Tripartite Alliance was formed, they could freely gad about anywhere in town they wished’ (SA 2688.40a); Dúre d’atte [= Dúre d(1) mo] sitte ‘ru yó ‘Everybody knows’; Motión, dâr d(d) dée sin-tákú nánde mo desu yo ‘Of course nobody ever wants to die or anything’ (KKK 3.68); Sória dâr d’atte hazime kara zibun ga sinú nádo to honki ni náte kangaérú yatsu wa óru ‘mái ‘Well there probably isn’t anybody from all who seriously thinks from the beginning that he is going to die or anything’ (KKK 3.68); Negura wa i kura d’atte áru sá, Gotanda máde ikyá [= ikeba] hyaku-en de tomareru zé ‘Places to flop come at all prices, man, why if you go out to Gotanda you can spend the night for a hundred yen!’ (KKK 3.68); Tizuko no inai zínei wa, dónná tanosíi kótó ga ár de mo kokóri no soko kara waraezu, dónná oisíi monó de mo, azíwátte(-) irú ki ga sinái no desita ‘Living without Chizuko, whatever pleasant thing might happen I could not laugh from the bottom of my heart, nor did I feel up to enjoying the taste of things however delicious they might be’ (KKK 3.98); ... dónná tuyó yátu ni d’atte kátérú zu iu sinnen ... ‘the conviction that one can win against a fellow of any strength’ (KKK 3.68). Additional examples of d’atte in this use will be found in §15.11. Phrases such as these can be accentuated on the indeterminate, on the first or on the second syllable of the marker, or the whole phrase may be atonic: dâr de mo, dâr de mo, dâr d’atte, and dâr d’atte. (But the noun/adverb na ndemo-ka[n]demo ‘anything and everything; anyhow’ is a lexical unit with only one accentuation.) It should be noted that when an expression like nan de mo is subdued with wa (p. 54, §2.3) you cannot substitute d’atte:

* Dé mo d’atte wa dekimásen → Dé mo d’atte wa dekimásen ‘Not just ANYBODY can do it’. This is perhaps a confirmation of the proposed identity of d’atte as a contraction of dé atte {mo} (pp. 938–9).

(4a) An extended use of the preceding puts dé mo after any adjunct (noun, noun + marker, adverb, etc.) to mean ‘even’, somewhat like mae {mo} or sái {mo}: Súgu ni de mo tukái-konásemáu; dókó e de mo tegarú ni moti-hákonde tukaemasu ‘You learn to use it immediately; you can take it anywhere to use’ (SA 2639—back cover advertisement); Tukái-nagará de mo zyuuden dekíru ‘You can charge the batteries (even) while using it’ (SA 2637.13); Sósitó só ré kárá de mo súdê ni yonzuyú-nen o [é-síte(-) =] kemi site (= héte) irú ‘And there has already elapsed forty years (even) since then’ (KKK 3.98). For this meaning, the livelier d’atte will freely substitute: Dé mo né, uti no okamisan wa watasi no sitá kótó ni íppén d’atte hantái sitá kótó wa arimasén yó ‘But, you see, my wife has never opposed what I did even once’ (KKK 3.68); Nékó d’atte sanpo ‘gúraí sinákyúta ‘Even cats gotta stretch their legs, at least’ (KKK 3.68).

(4b) And sometimes the meaning of dé mo or d’atte is ‘also, too, as well’—like mo[1] yahári: Kookoo é de mo singaku siyoo to omóeša, mániiti(-) oohuku hyaku[2] gozyúk kiro no basu-ťúugaku o kákúgo sinákeréa naránai ... ‘If they want to go on to high school, as well, they must be resigned to a daily round-trip bus commute of 150 kilometers ...’ (SA
2666.121e. In this meaning d’atte freely substitutes: Kēsa d’atte tikoku sitā desyōō ‘I bet you were late again this morning, too’; Umarete kūru āka-tyan no sēmē(‘) [= inoti] no mondai d’atte āru ‘There is also the problem of the life of the baby being born’ (SA 2666.115d); Syuuukyōo-sin wa Nihon-zin ni d’atte āru n da kedo mo, ... ‘Religious feeling is something Japanese have, too, but ...’ (Tk 4.273a); O-nii-san d’atte kit-ōtore-ūresii to omō no kimatte māsu wā ‘Your brother is bound to be pleased, too’ (KKK 3.67); Gōhan o tukēru no d’atte, otōosan o itiban hazime ni tūkete, tyōōnān o tugi ni tūkete, haaoyā nānka itiban o-simai né ‘In serving rice, too, you start with father first, then the oldest son, and the likes of mother comes at the very end’ (KKK 3.67). With negatives, the translation is sometimes ‘not ... either’: Anō-hito d’atte siranai ‘He doesn’t know, either’ (or: ‘I don’t know him, either’); Koko no tāisyoo d’atte, anmari matomo zya arimasen zē ‘Our boss is none too honest, either!’ (KKK 3.67); Íma no kono zise(‘) wa yoppodo benkyōo site kangaete minai to, oya ni d’atte wakaranuki kotō ga zuibun takusan āru mono né ‘The way things are today, there are a lot of things that parents wouldn’t understand, either, without a good deal of study’ (KKK 3.68).

(4c) But sometimes—like mô itself—dé mo and d’atte express an emphasis that is difficult to translate: Kinō d’atte yonhyap-piki tōtta ‘Yesterday alone we caught 400 fish’ (KKK 3.67)—notice the purely emphatic function of English ‘alone’ here; Dā kara, îma d’atte kono tōori, watasi no mé no māe ni wa hakkiri ano komāgusa ga saite irū no ne ‘So right now here in front of my very eyes, that dicentra is clearly blooming, you see’ (KKK 3.67); Íma no tantei-syōosetu ni d’atte, kore ni masāru(‘) bungaku-mi wa nai ‘In all the detective novels of the present day there is none to surpass this one in literary flavor’ (KKK 3.68).

It is not always easy to differentiate ‘even’ (4b) from ‘also’ (4c), whether in Japanese or in English. Thus the sentence Kodomo ni d’atte zinken ga āru n da zō (SA 2665.102b) could be translated as either ‘Even children have personal rights!’ or ‘Children, too, have their personal rights!’

The subject and direct-object markers are obligatorily suppressed with dé mo and d’atte: N gua/ōf dé mo, N gua/ōf d’atte. But they can occur with the highlighted gerund representing proprediction. This perhaps explains Henderson’s example (78) Kore dō de mo kaaoo ‘I’ll buy this one—such as it is!’63 And, like the sometimes criticized dāre mo ga (p. 55), dāre dō na gua turns up everywhere now and then: ... dāre dō na gua sitte iru zizítu de aru ‘it is a fact that everyone knows’ (SA 2688.43b). The following examples of N dō dé mo ga are from conversation in modern prose; many speakers would feel happier with the ga suppressed: Sore dō dé mo ga kāmi no seturi ka ‘Is even that God’s will?’ (Kb 412a.5); ... iro-oasobi o site iru yātu de mo ga, ... taikutu dātte n de [= to itte irū no de] ... ‘since even the playboys say they got bored ...’ (Kb 38a.1).

A surface sentence of the type N dé mo āru has at least three grammatical interpretations. One stems from N de āru = N dā by way of nuclear focus (§5) and means ‘it is also/even N’; the second—rather unlikely—has the highlighted gerund of the copula conjoined loosely with some elliptical sentence [...] āru ‘there is [something]’ to yield the meaning ‘even/also N, there is something’; and the third, related to N ga āru and 63. And the more disturbing example: ... asāgao no hitō-hatide mo hutsu-hatide mo o kaaoo to iu ki-moti ... ‘an urge to buy one or two pots of morning-glories’ (Kb 277a). This is a counterexample to the claim that N dé mo N dé mo CASE is unacceptable (p. 155).
created by way of highlighting the gerundized essive/copula, means ‘there is (we’ve got) N or something’.

After a tonic noun, Tōkyō speakers have the option of inserting a minor juncture before the dé mo that means ‘even’; but the dé mo that means ‘or the like’ will ALWAYS be attached without juncture, as is appropriate for the copula and for particles:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ásahi d'é mo} & \quad \text{‘even Ásahi’ (= Ásahi d’atte)} \\
\text{Ásahi d'é mo} & \quad \{ \text{‘even Ásahi’ (= Ásahi d’atte)} \\
& \quad \{ \text{‘Ásahi or the like’ (= Ásahi nánka)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

When the noun is oxytonic (i.e. when the inherent accent is on the last syllable), the juncture will remove the accent and then disappear, leaving the accent of dé mo to dominate the phrase:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o} & \quad \text{otoko d'é mo} \quad \text{‘even a man’ (= otokó d’atte)} \\
\text{o} & \quad \text{otokó d'é mo} \quad \{ \text{‘even a man’ (= otokó d’atte)} \\
& \quad \{ \text{‘a man or the like’ (= otokó nánka)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

But this distinction will not be heard after an atonic noun, since the minor juncture will normally just disappear with no trace:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k} & \quad \text{otoko d'é mo} \quad \text{‘even a child’ (= kodomo d’atte)} \\
\text{k} & \quad \text{kodomo d'é mo} \quad \{ \text{‘a child or the like’ (= kodomo nánka)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Some other examples of dé mo and d’atte after various adjuncts and markers:

Tōkyōo d'é mo (= d’atte) áme ga húte i ru ‘It’s raining even in Tōkyō’—more or less equivalent to just Tōkyōo d'é mo (= d’atte) ... or even Tōkyō mo ...; Íkura ká dé mo (d’atte) ‘Just a little bit ...’; Bóku wa hón dáké d'é mo (= dáké d’atte) yuubin de okuro ‘I will send at least the books by mail’ (Inoue 97). Further studies of the distribution of dé mo are needed. Apparently both *Kóre síka d'é mo wakaránai and *Kóre d'é mo síka wakaránai ‘understand just this only’ are unacceptable.

If we derive d'é mo from the copula, some sentences would seem to contain a double copula (possibly even a triple?)—but these will have been inserted at different levels of sentence construction. Thus in kikai-teki ní d'é mo ‘mechanically, for example’, don'na ni d'é mo muzukásiku(−) suru kótó ‘making it ever so difficult’, byooki ní d'é mo náru to ‘when you get sick, say’, and Isya ní d'é mo náru desyó ‘You’ll become a doctor, even’ the ní is to be explained as the copula infinitive (= the essive). With propredication, of course, it is possible to construct sentences such as Kikai-teki ní d’a ‘It is mechanically [that they do it]’.

The sentence-opener D'é mo ... is an ellipsis for [Sore] d'é mo ‘Even being that = But ...’.

64. Henderson 72 gives the example Nán DATTE sonna kótó o surú no da ‘Why do you do such a thing?’ and says that datte is here an abbreviation of de d’atte. That would make the expression congruent with Nán dé = Náze ‘why’; but it would be the only instance where d’atte did not have the dé mo meaning, so I wonder if it may not rather be Nán da tte = Náni d'ér to itte.
And D’atte ... is similar, but (according to Y 388) a more feminine usage. On other uses of démo, parallel to those of -tēmo and -kūte mo, see § 9.2.2. On nī/to sitēmo and sīmo as equivalents of démo, see § 9.2.2, § 9.1.11, and § 21.4; on nī siro and nī sē yo as equivalents, see § 16.1.

From such expressions as Sensei de mo siyōo ka ‘Shall I be a teacher or something’ or ‘Shall I be a teacher, even’ and Sensei sīka dekinai ‘I can only be a teacher’ the compound prefix demosika- will yield the pejorative demosika-sensei ‘a teacher—of sorts’. The prefix sometimes translates as ‘uninspired’ or ‘half-hearted’ or ‘faute-de-mieux’: ... yō(—) ni ooi demosika-okugata-dōmo e no go-hihan ... ‘your criticism of us many poor women who have no choice but to be half-hearted housewives’ (SA 2685.120a); “Go-zōnzi desu ka demosika-zieikan ...” ‘Do you recognize him—the uninspired Defense officer?’ (SA 2679.144d quoting from SA 1970/5/8). Other examples are demosika-taini ‘uninspired trooper’, demosika-kyōoiku ‘an education—of sorts’, demosika-hōosiki ‘perfunctory forms/methods’. Dictionaries list the prefix just as démo(-) with the meanings ‘would-be, so-distant’ or ‘reluctant, irresolute’ (MKZ gives the example demo-gakusya ‘a self-styled scholar’ and Kenkyusha offers demo-kuritsu yon ‘a pseudo-Christian’); Shimmura says dé-mo is sometimes used as a free noun ‘a pseudo’.

In western Japan the particle kàte is used where Tōkyō uses d’atte or démo: naa kàte = nawa d’atte ‘a rope even’ (Zhs 4.159), ban katee = ban d’atte ‘evening even’ (Zhs 4.159—the lengthened e is for emphasis, perhaps the particle è = yō). Thus where the Tōkyō speaker may begin a sentence with D’atte, an ellipsis of [Soo] d’atte = Sōo de mo ‘even being so’, the Ōsaka speaker will say Soo yaji kate (Maeda 1961.211). The suppression of the copula ya (= Tōkyō då), apparently optional, suggests that kàte incorporates the question particle kā (§ 15.6), perhaps followed by te = to (itte) or by [to ii)te ‘saying’; cf. the sentence opener Kā to itte, ... ‘If that surprises you’ or ‘If you question that’. Sometimes a simple mó is a better Tōkyō version for Kansai kàte; Maeda 1961.100 has a woman saying Uti kate mita wa and gives the Tōkyō translation Atasi mo mita wa ‘I saw it too/myself’ (or ‘Even I saw it?’). For further discussion of kàte and the reason for the apostrophe in our notation of d’atte, see § 15.11.

There is also a dialect variant yātte (= dy’ætte) for d’atte, as in kodomo yātte ... (Y 402); and I would not be surprised if the variant (?)yātte were to turn up.

2.12. MİTAİ (DA/NA/Nİ)

The word mîtai is like nādo in that it appears after adnominalized verbal and adjectival sentences as a postadnominal and after nouns as if it were a restrictive, but usually attaching to nouns with an optional minor juncture: zimu-in mîtai = zimui mîtai or zimu’in mîtai ‘like an office worker’. The result is a nominal sentence that differs from nādo in that it adnominalizes in the fashion of an adjectival noun (da becoming nā): Zimu’in mîtai na hito da ‘It is people like office workers’; Zimu’in mîtai na nado no hito da ‘It is people who are office workers and the like’.

Adjectival nouns, when used, behave like regular nouns in attaching mîtai and suppress the copula; apparently ‘... nā mîtai never occurs. In the sentence Sizuka de kirei mîtai da ‘It appears to be quiet and clean’, the reference of mîtai is to the entire conjoined sentence
§2.12. Mitài (da/na/ni)

Sízuka de kirei da ‘It is quiet and clean’; a major juncture can appear before mítaí or before kirei (with minor before mítaí): Sízuka de l kirei ll mítaí da or Sízuka de l kirei l mítaí da. Alfonso (1070) says that Japanese seem reluctant to use mítaí with adjectives or adjectival nouns, but he finds examples such as ‘Yasasii mítaí de muzukaisii(‘) mondai děsu ‘It is a problem that looks easy but is difficult’ and Kantan mítaí desu ga hukuzatu děsu ‘It looks simple, but it is complicated’.

The word mítaí has come into existence as a contraction of the older expression ... [(nó) o] míta yóo ‘like one saw (it)’ and that accounts for the adnominalization, since the postadnominal yóo (§13.2)—itself of Chinese origin (<yau<yang ‘appearance’)—is an adjectival noun.65 The infinitive form mítaí ni, like yóo ni, is used adverbially. Sentences with mìn mítai da have much the same uses as those with ...yóo da: (1) ‘it looks like’, expressing resemblance; and (2) ‘it seems like’, expressing an inference or an uncertain (roundabout) conclusion based either on sensory impression of the object itself or on the surrounding circumstances—cf. rásii, dàrō, hazü dá. The adnominalized form mítaí na N has an additional meaning of BELITTTLING; many speakers apparently do not use yóo na to belittle. Notice that yóo da/na/ni has a number of uses inappropriate to mítaí. For example, ōmétà gē hūrú yóo na hi ‘days when it rains’ cannot be said with mítaí na, and neither máninit(‘) no yóo ni ‘every day’ nor Sátō syusu yóo wà tugi no yóo ni nobémástá ‘Prime Minister Sátō spoke as follows’ will be said with mítaí ni; nor will mítai da be used in Kono gēniri wa tugi no yóo de aru ‘These principles are as follows’ (KKK 3.276)—for these are all examples where yóo serves to introduce CONTENT or LIMITATIONS. Yóo ni is also used, as mítaí is not, to express purpose or desired result as in Wasurenai yóo ni týūüi site kudasäi ‘Please pay attention so as not to forget’.

Although mítaí normally requires something before it, opening ellipsis ([Sóó/Sore] mítaí, §24) can leave the word standing alone at the beginning of a sentence: Anátá ga puromyóusu site?—Mítai ni náttyatta n desu ‘With you producing it?—So it seems’ (SA 2666.43a). This will never happen to yóo.

A comparison of various expressions for appearance and resemblance will be found in the discussions of §19 and §20.

Here are examples of mítaí in the several uses mentioned:

(1) RESEMBLANCE: Anó kūmô, tyót-to, hituzi mítai darōo? ‘That cloud looks a little like a sheep, doesn’t it?’ (KKK 3.273); Maru-de shinkon mítai née ‘Why it’s just like a honeymoon’ (KKK 3.273); Sóó, wareware, itátte(‘) onna-rásii wà née, zibun de homérú mítai da kedo ... ‘There we are—extremely feminine, aren’t we; though we shouldn’t say it ourselves …’ (KKK 3.273); Nán da ka, atasi no kao o niránde hótte iru mítai ‘Somehow it’s like he’s staring a hole in my face’ (KKK 3.273); Hûné ni notte ‘ru mítai da ‘I feel like I am on a boat’; Totu-zen no árasi mítai desita né ‘It was like a sudden storm, you see’; Sore ga maru-de senséi to o-desi mítai na n desu tté ‘I hear they are just like teacher and pupil!’; Ore nánzáa [= nánzo wa = nádo wa] kore dé mo kînyûu-gáisya no zyuuyaku-sama nà n da kara warawasera mítai na món sà[a] ‘I may not look like much but I happen to be an important executive in a finance company and am not to be laughed at!’ (KKK 3.273); Hana no saki ga itáí mítai na sámú-sá ‘... a cold [day] such that my nose almost hurts’;

65. The contraction from míta yóo(o) became popular in print during the Taishô period (1912–25) according to Yoshida, who gives examples from modern fiction of mítae, mitei, and mitee (Y 346). Examples of mítta yóo used for mítaí will be found (passim) in Okitsu.
Sosite, hontoo ni é ni káta mítai na katadóori no kekkon-hiróoen ga hazimatta ‘Then there began a formal wedding announcement banquet that was just as if drawn in a picture’ (CK 985.378); Zyoodán zya nái, sonna zyogákusei mítai na amai yumé o mítte iru zidai dé wa náí n da ‘It’s no joke, you’re not at a time of life to be dreaming such sweet dreams like a schoolgirl’ (KKK 3.273); Watasi wa zibun ga síkara reté iru mítai ni atamé o ságeta ‘I lowered my head as if I were being scolded myself’ (KKK 3.273).

(2a) DIRECT SENSORY IMPRESSION : Nání ka tote-mo sáiwase na kotó ga áta mítai ‘You look as if you had a most happy time’; Wakáreta tokí yori mo kíre ni náta mítai da ‘You seem to have grown even prettier than you were when we said goodbye’.

(2b) INERENCE : Kaze o hiita mítai da ‘I seem to have caught a cold’ (KKK 3.273) = Kaze o hiita mítai na ki ga surú ‘I feel as if I must have caught a cold’; Áme [ga] hútte ‘ru mítai desu ‘It must be raining’; Anó-hito wa báka mítai! ‘What a fool he must be!’

Takamura san tote-mo náyánde irasshá yá mítai ‘Mr T. seems to be quite distressed’. (2) BE LI TTLING (always adnominal): Anáta mítai na hitó, kirai da ‘I hate people like you’; watasi-ra mítai na, iroonna omo- ni ni nárú yöo no zyooként(‘) ya syúui ga áru kara ‘Since there are conditions and surroundings (of the sort) that impose burdens such as us ... ‘ (KKK 3.273): Bóku(‘) wa mangá-kýoó kara syúppatu sita mítai na kanzí zya ná ni desu yö ‘I don’t feel as though I made my start [as a cartoonist] from any old craze for comics’ (SA 2653.42c—or does this belong with 2b?).

Apparently mítai can appear AFTER (but not before) peripheral case markers, as in these examples of ablatives: Anó-hito wa Oosaka kará mítai [da] ‘He seems to be from Ōsaka’; Kono tegami wa Tanaká-kun(‘) kara mítai da ga, akete mínakereba wakaránai ‘This letter seems to be from Tanaka, but I can’t tell without opening it’. But the core case markers will not appear (*ga/o mítai and some kinds of ni + mítai) except possibly under propredications of an unusually loose sort.

In sequences with restrictives, it is usual for mítai to come last, as in these examples of -kágiri mítai (*mítai -kágiri): Yóku wa sirimasén ga, ano gélki wa kyoó ‘kágiri mítai desu yö ‘I’m not sure, but it seems that play is on today only, you know’; Káre wa kore ‘kágiri mítai na kó o site wakáreta ‘He departed with an expression on his face that seemed to say this was it’.

Yet with -dókoro, mítai will precede (*dókoro mítai): Hottate-goya mítai ‘dókoro zya náí; maru-de buta-goya da ‘It is a far cry from being even a shanty; it’s a perfect pig-sty!’: Kappa mítai ‘dókoro zya náí. Mótto zyoozu ni oyógu ‘No water sprite he—why, he swims even better than that!’

And I have elicited both (‘)dáke mítai—as in Hitóiri ‘dáke mítai [da] ‘It seems to be just one person’—and mítai (‘)dáke, but the latter sequence may be limited to the special use dáke ni/átte (§13.2) as in this example: Anáta no kao wa kodomo mítai dáke ni, kuti no kíki-kata ni tyuuí sinákeryaa ‘Because your face is like a child is all the more reason one must be cautious about what you say’. Dáke[1] átte would sound odd in the above sentence but it would be all right in one with a less urgent conclusion, such as: Anáta no kao wa kodomo mítai dáke[1] átte minná ni kawai-garárete iru ‘You are all the more loved by everyone just because your face is like a child’.

Mítai appears AFTER but not before koso ‘precisely’ and -zútú (distributively) each’: Watakusi kóso mítai na kao o site iru ‘He has an expression that seems to say “It’s my fault” ’; Kyóó koso mítai na kao o site, yatte kíta ‘He dropped around with an expression that seemed to say today is it!’; Watakusi wa yóku sirimasén ga, minná moratte o-kané wa
sen-en "zūtu mitai desu yō 'I'm not certain, mind you, but it looks as though the sum they all received was a thousand yen each' (*mitai "zūtu"). But the first two examples seem to involve a kind of semi-quotatation of a propredication (Kyōo koso [...] mitai), so that the mitai is actually attached to some sort of underlying predicate in the deeper structure, and that is probably what accounts for the unacceptability of *mitai koso.

Apparently neither *mitai sika nor *sika mitai occur. Nor have I been able to elicit (*sāe mitai or (*)mitai sāe; the latter is replaced by the acceptable mitai de sāe ōreba in one of its expected occurrences.

In general the sentences ending in mitai da are open to the same conversions as other nominal sentences, including the negative (mitai zya näi), which can be used when you want to deny a resemblance. Although *yōri mitai 'appearing than' is unacceptable, mitai yori 'than appearing' will pass muster, at least in children's speech, but with an implied ellipsis: (?) Heitai mitai [na hukú] yori suīhei mitai na hōo ga ii ya 'Rather than soldier-looking [clothes], sailor-looking would be better'.
3 EXPANSION CONSTRAINTS; NOUN SUBCATEGORIZATION

Subclasses of nuclear predicates—verbs, verbal nouns, adjectives, adjectival nouns, and nouns—can be set up on the basis of various kinds of constraints. Among nominal predicates (N dá), those which never convert to the status of subject or object (→ N gá/ó) must be separated from those which do; the latter we will call pure nouns, and the former will be mostly adverbs together with a few minor classes, notably the various kinds of restricted nominals and adnouns (§13.5) and the predicopular nouns (§13.8), which are almost indistinguishable from adjectival nouns. Such classes, in turn, are composed of various subclasses (often crisscrossing) on the basis of distributional constraints, substitution possibilities, conversion restrictions, and valences or ties with other classes. Thus we find classes of nouns that can be set up on the basis of a kind of “pronominal” substitution by the indeterminates which serve to localize interrogation or generality on particular nouns (rather than, say, on the sentence as a whole):

1. For other uses of this word, see §13.7. Apparently the accent is always atonic.
2. Including the Kansai form nán-bo, a shortening from nan[i]-boo, which might be derived from -ba[k]u (cf. iku-baku ‘some amount’) by velar elision and crasis. But Ōtsuki derives nan-boo from nání-hodo(“) and MKZ2 follows that etymology.
3. As in this example: Hoka no zyookyaku wa minna1 detomatte, saigo ni wa takusii made inaku natta ‘The other passengers all took off, and at last even the taxis disappeared (= it go so there weren’t even any taxis)” (Tk 3.47a).

(1) dôre ‘which/any’
    izure1;
    dôtira ‘which/any of two’;
    iku-í-nán-COUNTER,
    íkutu ‘how many’

1a. íkura,2 ika-hodo ‘how much’

(2) dârê ‘who/anyone’
    târe
    (dónata, dôtira)
    nani-bito, nan-pito
    nani-mono1

(3) nání ‘what/anything’
    nani-mono2

COUNTABLE nouns, which may have valences with COUNTERS (§13.6)

MEASURABLE nouns

HUMAN nouns, which differ from other nouns in lacking systematic restrictions on what predicates they can become subjects of, for a human noun may be the subject of virtually ANY verb or adjective (granted minor semantic restrictions—*hito ga húru ‘it rains people’)

NONHUMAN nouns, which normally cannot become the subject of verbs of emotion, the indirect subject of adjectives of emotion, or the subject of most verbs of action or—with the exception noted below—of verbs of motion

NONHUMAN ANIMATE nouns, which can be the subject of verbs of motion and of iru/orú

SELF-PROPELLING nonhuman nouns, which can be the subject of verbs of motion and (rarely, at least) of iru/orú3 ‘is; stays’
§3. Expansion constraints; noun subcategorization

(3c) = nani-goto

EVENT nouns, with predicates in which ga áru may substitute for ga okoru ‘happens’, etc.

(4) dōko ‘where/anywhere’
   izuko(−), izuku(−)

PLACE nouns, for which the marking of the locative is ni rather than de when stasis is marked in the predicate (see §3.8)

(5) itu ‘when/anytime’
   nan-doki

TIME nouns, subdivided into SPECIFIC time nouns (for which the locative is usually marked by ni) and RELATIVE time nouns such as kyó ‘today’, háru ‘spring’, mukasi ‘long ago’ (for which the locative is usually left unmarked—see §9.1.13)

To this list we can add:

(6) dōo ‘how/anyway’
   iká-ni, ikán, iká-ga

ADVERBS (see §13.7); predicated adjectives and adjectival/precopular nouns

(7) donna ‘what/any kind’
   iká-naru; iká-ga na

ADNOUNS; adnominalized adjectives and adjectival/precopular nouns

We have not included dōno (literary izure nó) ‘which/any’ as a diagnostic. There is no ‘Dōno da (→ Dóre da); compare Dōnna da = Dōnna N da ‘What kind (of N) is it?’. Dōo da ‘How is it?’ Nor have we included náze or nán de or náni-yue(−) ‘why’ = dōo site ‘how come’, since we do not require a class of “reason” nouns; náze and dōo site focus the interrogation on larger units.


MASS nouns (like áme ‘rain’, yuki ‘snow’, kiri ‘fog’) can be quantified, as in sukósi no áme ‘a little rain’ and takusán no yuki ‘lots of snow’, but neither counted nor measured as such—durational expressions such as ni-zikan no áme ‘two hours of rain’ do not count for this purpose. To translate ‘two rains’ you say ni-dō hútta áme ‘rain which fell twice’; and zis-senti no yuki ‘a 10-cm. snowfall’ refers to a descriptive index rather than a specific measure. It is questionable whether Isami’s example kúmó ‘cloud’ really belongs here, since it is possible to say hutatú no tísa na kúmó ‘two small clouds’ etc.

RELATIONAL nouns (máe ‘front’, ué ‘above’, migi ‘right’—mostly referring to temporal, local, or logical order) cannot be counted or measured but, according to Isami, they can be quantified. What he seems to mean is that you can say sukósi máe ‘a little in front’. But surely this is different from the “quantifiability” of mass nouns, in that it is an adverbial modification by an adverb of degree (such as zúibun ‘very’, zut-to ‘all the way, by far’, etc.) rather than an adverbialization of a quantity noun like takusán ‘lots’; sukósi here is functioning as a synonym of the adverb tyó-tó ‘slightly’. The critical thing about

4. Strictly speaking, RESIDUAL countable nouns, i.e. those not included in other categories below, since you can also count humans, nonhuman animates, places, and times. With the classificatory counter -syu ‘kind’ you can count abstract nouns, action nouns, mass nouns, and measurable nouns.
relational nouns is that, unlike the other subcategories (with the exception of certain nouns of quantity) they can take adverbs of degree; they can also take relational ablative (§ 3.7): kore kara saki ‘from now on’, kawā kara higashi(‘) ‘east of the river’, etc.

ACTION nouns (turi ‘fishing’, oyogi ‘swimming’, mane ‘imitating’) are said to be quantifiable yet neither countable nor measurable as such. Even quantification is limited to the adnominalization of frequency (iti-dō no turi ‘a round of fishing’) and duration: Ano zip-pun ‘dakē no turi de nān-biki mo tureta ‘In just that ten minutes of fishing we were able to catch a great many’, Ano go-zikan no dorāibu de tukāre ‘That five hours drive left me weary’. But perhaps these expressions are best explained as adnominalized predication, with the ō ultimately substituting for suru. Isami’s diagnostic for the action nouns is their occurrence with ... o suru ‘engages in ...’; they much resemble verbal nouns (such as sanpo ‘strolling’, benkyou ‘studying’, dokuritu ‘becoming independent’), as described in § 14.3. But verbal nouns differ in that they carry individual valences with possible objects and the like and they permit the suppression of the ō-marker before suru. Although most—all?—of the action nouns are nouns derived from verb infinitives (see § 14.5), the case valences of the verbs are attenuated by the adnominalization: mizuümi o oyogi ‘swim in the lake’ does not yield *mizuümi o oyogi or *mizuümi o no oyogi but only, by way of adnominalized predication, the grammatically vague mizuümi no oyogi ‘lake swimming’. You do not say *hito o mane suru but hito no mane o suru ‘imitates people’.

ABSTRACT nouns (seigi ‘justice’, bi ‘beauty’, zên ‘goodness’) can be quantified, as in sukkō no seigi ‘a little justice’, but not counted or measured. By Isami’s criteria they differ from action nouns only in not taking ... o suru: they are not actions that can be engaged in.

QUANTITY nouns include NUMBERS (numeral + counter/measurer) and QUANTITY-FIERS such as sukkō ‘a little’, takusan ‘a lot’, minna ‘all’, zênbu ‘all’, sūbête ‘all’, oozēi ‘a crowd’, tasuu ‘majority’, syoosûu ‘minority’, zyakkan ‘a few’—but not syōosyoo or tyō-to ‘a bit’, though they are listed by Isami, for they do not take gā or ō and thus are adverbs (of degree). Quantity nouns cannot be counted or measured, nor are they themselves quantifiable, though at least some of the quantifiers can be modified by adverbs of degree; since sukkō can function as a synonym of the degree adverb tyō-to, even sukkō takusăn = tyō-to takusăn ‘a bit much’ is grammatical.

According to Isami the word sore ‘it’ can substitute for all subcategories of noun except relative nouns, place nouns, and time nouns. He also says that all subcategories are determinable by kono ‘this ...’ (etc.) except abstract nouns and action nouns—counterexamples presumably involve a secondary interpretation ‘this KIND OF ...’ or the like, as noted below. And it is lack of determinability that sets off the category of PROPER nouns (or names—presumably including personal pronouns). When, in fact, a determiner DOES occur with proper nouns or the like—kono Tanaka Târō ‘this Tarō Tanaka’, kono watakusi ‘I who am as I am’—it signals some sort of temporary recategorization analogous to personification. This perhaps accounts for Isami’s judgment of abstract nouns and action nouns as undeterminable, since kono seigi ‘this justice’ and kono turi ‘this fishing’—if acceptable—would seem to be loose attempts to say konna seigi ‘this kind of justice’ and konna turi ‘this sort of fishing’. It should be kept in mind that some nouns are susceptible to more than one interpretation and accordingly they may be assigned to more than one subcategory. On co-relational nouns such as ‘doctor and patient, parent and child, teacher and student, friend and friend’ etc., see p. 465.

In this book the word “noun” is used in two ways: loosely to mean any word that can
be predicated with dā', forming our NOMINAL nuclear sentence; and strictly to mean a
PURE noun—one that can be marked for case by the postpositions gā (subject) or ó (direct
object) and that can be extruded as an epitheme, i.e. serve as the target to receive the
adnominalization of the rest of a sentence of which it was a basic adjunct. (Certain pure
nouns, however, can be intruded as SUMMATIONAL, RESULTATIVE, or TRANSI-
tIONAL epithemes, rather than extruded from the adnominalization—see §13.1.)

Inadvertently, we may use the word “adverb” loosely to mean any word that can be
directly adverbialized or can be adverbialized with the essive ni (= infinitive of the copula);
but strictly we refer to a word that has only the directly adverbialized form; most adverbs
are PREDICABLE with dā and adnominalizable with nó, but those few that are not we
will call PURE adverbs.

We use the term “adjectival noun” strictly to mean a word that is adnominalized by
converting the copula to nā, and the term “precopular noun” (or “quasi-adjectival
noun”) to mean a word that, while neither a pure noun nor an adverb (unless individually
requiring more than one categorization), is adnominalized by converting the copula to nó.
A word which directly serves as an adnominal is called an “adnoun” (or, if you prefer, a
“prenoun”).

By “verbal noun” we refer to a word that is predicated by the dummy verb suru ‘does
(it)’; free—or “separable”—verbal nouns can (but need not) be detached from suru by the
object marker ó or by certain particles of focus and restriction (namely those which can
apply to verbal nuclei, §5) and can also enter into other cases appropriate to a pure noun
including that of subject, marked with gā. The grammar of free verbal nouns differs from
that of pure nouns in a number of ways (e.g. epithematization), as described in §14.3).

Here is a table of the criteria by which some of these categories are set up:

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There are various subcategories for each type, e.g. for pure nouns the ten-odd kinds of
common noun listed earlier; individual members may be DEFECTIVE in one or more of
the criteria; and while some words belong to only one category, others belong to two or
more categories, usually with meanings that diverge to some extent. A special type of de-
fective distribution is found in the POSTADNOMINALS, nouns which appear typically or
only after an adnominalization as what we will call “intruded epithemes” (§13.1), and the
further distribution of certain of the postadnominals is also highly restricted in individual
ways (§ 13.2 etc.). Many (perhaps most) adjectival and precopular nouns lack the adverbial conversion of the infinitive: *kenkoo ni ‘healthily’, *sinpai ni ‘worrisomely’, *nentyoo ni ‘seniorly’. This is not unexpected since many (perhaps most) adjectives do not make use of the adverbial conversion, either; the lack of an adverbial ni, however, does not mean that the ni form is completely missing, for the other infinitive conversions of §9.1.11 (such as ... ni naru/suru) are usually possible.

Examples of pure nouns were given in the earlier discussion of the subcategorization of common nouns. A few examples of some of the other categories:

pure adverb: goku ‘extremely’, tyoodo ‘just’, hobo ‘nearly’, ....

predicable adverb: sibaraku ‘for a while’, sendatte ‘the other day’, nitzuyoo ‘daily’, koo ‘thus’, mazumazu ‘tolerably, so-so’; korokore, sikazika, korokore i sikazika ‘so-and-so, such-and-such’ (followed by to only when to is required by a quoting verb and there is ellipsis of da)—korokore is also a (pro)noun ‘this and that’; tabitabi ‘often’ (tabitabi no hoomon ‘frequent visiting’), nakanaka ‘considerably (etc.)’ (nakanaka no gakusya ‘no mean scholar’); ....

predicable adverb, defective (with only the direct adverbial and the adnominal no):
zyuyurai ‘hitherto’, kyuyurai ‘from times past’, zaierai(−) ‘by tradition’; tatta ‘merely’, ....

adjectival noun: sizuka ‘quiet’, haded ‘gaudy’, ....

adjectival noun, defective (with only the adverbial ni, adnominal na): setu ‘earnest’, ....

adjectival noun, highly defective (with only the adverbial ni): tadaati ‘at once’, ....


precopular noun (lacking the adverbial ni): uttetteku ‘just right’, hatumimi ‘heard for the first time, news’: kansetu ‘indirect’; honnen (preferred to the older version honzen) ‘natural, innate’; kinsyoo ‘scanty’; akusitu ‘inferior’, tokusyu(−) ‘special’ (both also used as adjectival nouns, but lacking the adverbial in any event) ....

precopular noun, highly defective (only the adnominal no): zekkoo ‘excellent’, zantei ‘provisional’ (cf. zantei-teki na/nii), ....

adnoun: kono ‘this’, ironna ‘various’, hon-no ‘just, mere’, aro ‘a certain’, ....

Below are examples of some of the words which belong to more than one category:

konn naï } adjectival noun; adnoun (usually replacing the adnominalized form ... nii, onazi see §13.5)

tyokusetu precopular noun; pure adverb, tyokusetu = tyokusetu ni ‘directly’; cf. the antonym kansetu, a precopular noun that requires ni for adverbialization

ângai(−) adjectival noun ‘unexpected’, pure adverb ‘unexpectedly’, ângai(−) = ângai(−) ni

isâsaka adjectival or precopular noun ‘slight, trifling’ (= wâzuika); pure adverb ‘slightly, a bit’ (= tyôt-to)

totu-zen precopular noun; pure adverb, sügu = sügu ni

guu-zen predicable adverb ‘in general’; pure adverb ‘probably’ (= tábun); precopular noun ‘moderate, in moderation’

ikkoo highly defective adjectival noun (only adverbial ni); pure adverb, ikkoo = ikkoo ni ‘(not) at all’
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sasuga pure adverb; (pseudo) adnoun; defective precopular noun (lacking the predicative da)—see pp. 787-8

hitásura(−) adjectival noun; pure adverb, hitásura(−) = hitásura(−) ní ‘wholeheartedly’

sinsetu pure noun (abstract) ‘kindness’; adjectival noun ‘kind’

ziyüu pure noun (abstract) ‘freedom’; adjectival noun ‘free’

hetá pure noun (action) ‘a bungle, a mess’; adjectival noun ‘bungling, clumsy’

byoodoo pure noun (abstract) ‘equality’; precopular noun ‘equal’ (but sometimes treated as an adjectival noun)

nentyoo precopular noun ‘senior, older’ (káre yori hutatú nentyoo no zyosei ‘a woman two years his senior’)

tosiue pure noun (animate) ‘older person’ (= tosiue no hitó); (adverbial-lacking) precopular noun ‘older’

tosisita pure noun (animate) ‘younger person’ (= tosisita no hitó); (adverbial-lacking) precopular noun ‘younger’

iroiro adjective; predicative adverb, iroiro = iroiro ni ‘variously’—for iroiro to (adverbial form of the subjective adjectival noun) see p. 786; pseudo adnoun (pp. 752, 826)

kékkoo adjectival noun ‘excellent, nice’; predicative adverb ‘adequate(ly), enough’; pure noun (abstract) ‘structure, setup’

kenkoo pure noun (abstract) ‘health’; (adverbial-lacking) adjectival noun ‘healthy’

gënki pure noun (abstract) ‘vigor’; adjectival noun ‘vigorous, healthy’

husigi pure noun (abstract) ‘marvel’; adjectival noun ‘marvelous’

detarame pure noun (abstract) ‘nonsense’; adjectival noun ‘random, haphazard’ (as in Detarame na kotó o iú na ‘Enough of your wild talk!’)

kyokután pure noun (abstract/place) ‘extremity’; adjectival noun ‘extreme’

sinpai verbal noun (transitive) ‘worry’; (adverbial-lacking) adjectival noun ‘worrisome’

kyoosyuku verbal noun (intransitive) ‘feel obligation/embarrassment’; adjectival noun ‘obliging, embarrassing’

tokutei verbal noun (transitive) ‘specify’; highly defective precopular noun ‘specific, special’

koosiki pure noun (abstract) ‘formula(s), formality’; precopular noun ‘formal’

takusán pure noun (quantity) ‘a lot’; adjectival noun (takusán na) and precopular noun (takusán no) ‘much’

sukósi pure noun (quantity) ‘a little’ (of which sukósi no is the adnominalization); ? pure adverb = tyót-to ‘somewhat’

tyót-to pure noun (quantity) = sukósi ‘a little’; predicative adverb ‘for a while/moment, somewhat; (not) readily’; interjection ‘hey, excuse me, just a moment there’

táda pure adverb ‘just, only; but’; predicative adverb ‘free of charge’, táda de = táda; defective predicative adverb (= tatta) ‘merely’ (+ quantity); ? highly defective precopular noun, táda no hito ‘the ordinary person’

These examples merely scratch the surface of a vexsome area; more details will be found in later sections (§13.4 ff). Some of the instances of direct adverbialization described in
§9.1.13 should perhaps be treated as multiple class-membership; for example, those time nouns which can be directly adverbialized, such as hai = háru ni ‘in spring’, may be considered to be adverbs as well as pure nouns.

Unlike the fairly few words of temporal and locative reference that are not pure nouns (such as sugu ‘at once’ or ‘directly ahead’), time nouns and place nouns can serve as epi-themes; thus we should not be surprised at these examples of ima ‘now’: Tosi ga aketa ima mo ... ‘(Even) now that the New Year has begun ...’ (SA 2666.121c); Syobun sareru ima, hazimete seito to onazi tatibá ni tatta yóo na ki ga suru ‘Now that I am being disciplined I feel for the first time as if I am standing in the same position as a student’ (SA 2665.26e). Similarly saikin ‘(in) recent days’ can be modified—as in monó ga tákaku nátta saikin ‘lately when things have got costlier’—and can serve as subject or object: monó ga tákaku nátta saikin o kangaéte miru to ‘considering these recent days when things have become costlier’. Time adverbs like sendatte ‘the other day’, on the other hand, cannot be modified or serve as subject or object (*monó ga tákaku nátta sendatté o kangaéte miru to), though they can often take certain other markers, such as the temporal ablative kara = írai ‘since’ or allative made as in sendatté kara/made ‘since/until the other day’. Sendatté -zyuu means ‘throughout the past few days’ = sendatté utí(-) -zyuu; sendatté -{no} utí(-) (wa/mo) means ‘during the past few days’. A time noun like mukasi ‘a long time ago’ can be modified either by an adverb (sonna ni mukasi ‘so long ago’) or by an adnoun (sonna mukasi ‘such a long time ago’) as in ... sonna mukasi de wa naku, kono Syóówa(−) ‘zidai no, ima ‘génzai mo, ... ‘not so long ago, even now in Shóówa times, ...’ (Shibata 1965.32). But quantity nouns (numbers and quantifiers) are all directly adverbialized as a part of their grammar, §13.6; we have already implied in our subcategorization of pure nouns that a word such as takusán ‘a lot’ or mittú = sán-ko ‘three (things)’ can be used adverbially with no overt marker.

The category of “precopular noun” is assumed only when the facts cannot be treated under the class of “adjectival noun”; it is not alone a sufficient criterion that the word adnominalizes with nó rather than ná, unless the word fails to occur by itself as a direct ad-verb:

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The two adjectival nouns nyuuyoo (also pronounced iriyoo) and hituyoo 'necessary, needed' lack an adverbial form—nyuuyoo/hituyoo ni can only be used in the mutative conversions with naru/suru—and belong also to the class of abstract pure nouns, with the meaning 'need' as in kane no nuyuuoo/hituyoo ga atte 'having need of money'; in these respects the words parallel the precopular noun byooki 'ill; illness'. Another peculiarity is that hituyoo and the less-colloquial nuyuyoo or iriyoo when used as adjectival nouns carry the valences of POSSESSIVE grammar, just like their synonym ir-u 'needs': Dāre ni/ga nāni ga hituyoo dēsu ka 'Who needs what?'—see §3.5.

The abstract noun mondai 'problem' is used as an adjectival noun 'problematical, doubtful' but lacks the adverbial use of mondai ni 'problematically'; the other forms are seen in these examples: mondai na kōtō 'a problematical matter', Kore wa hizyoo ni mondai da 'This is highly questionable' (Ōno 1967.171).

Though dictionaries seem to list only the adverbialized form sikiri ni 'frequently', the word sikiri 'frequent' is a normal adjectival noun with the usual adnominalization (sikiri na saisoku 'frequent urging') and the usual predicative form: ... to iu rongi ga kono-tokoro sikiri da 'such arguments are frequent lately' (SA 2681.38b).

The words saikoo 'highest' and saiteit 'lowest' can be used as pure nouns (saikoo o simēsite(1) iro 'occupies the top spot') but they are also precopular nouns with adnominal and adverbial forms (saikoo no/nī); as slang they are used to mean 'the tops = best' and 'the bottom = worst'.

Saizyoo 'best, top' is similar; its antonym sai'ka 'bottommost', however, is little used. Saidai 'largest' and saisyou1 'smallest', as well as saisyou2 'fewest; youngest' are precopular nouns usually found in the adnominal form (... nō) or as the first member of a compound (... -N); the same is true of saiaku 'worst' and its antonyms saiyoo 'finest' and saizen 'best', but saizen is also used as a pure noun in the expression saizen o tukusu 'does one's (level) best'.

In the following discussions it can be generally assumed that whatever is said about "verbs" or "adjectives" as predicates will apply also to "verbal nouns" and "adjectival nouns", respectively, and that appropriate examples of the latter can be found to fit into all the subcategories set up. This follows from the fact that you can usually find at least one synonym for each verb or adjective among the Chinese loanwords that are borrowed into Japanese as verbal nouns and adjectival nouns, taking on the appropriate Japanese grammar once they have been supplied with the appropriate auxiliary—the verbal suru (from sī) and the copula dā (from nī).

3.1. CLASSES OF PREDICATES; SUBJECTS, OBJECTS, CASE VALENCE; SUBJECTLESS SENTENCES

All verbs can occur with a noun adjunct that is marked (typically as agent) by the subject particle gā. This does not mean there are no sentences without subjects. Subjectless sentences are of four types:

(1) In the first type a specific subject is so easy to supply that it was probably "intended" by the speaker and will be "understood" by the hearer even though it is not explicitly included in the message: [Ame ga] yandā ka 'Has it stopped [raining]?' Sindā ka 'Is he dead?' We can treat this as OPTIONAL ELLIPSIS of the subject; it is one use of what has been called "zero pronounization".
(2) In the second type, some sort of deictic reference is easily understood as the subject, even though the explicit verbalization of the reference is not easy to formulate. Thus the sentence Kaerimasu ‘[I’m] going (now)’—said on leaving a frequented bar or restaurant as a signal that you wish to pay up—implies a first-person subject; but whether that subject would be explicated as bōku(〜) ga or wata[ku]si ga, or the plurals bōku-ra ga or watā[kū]si-tāti ga, or (if the speaker is a woman) atasi ga or the plural atāsi-tāti ga—or even, despite the polite stylization of the sentence, ore ga or the plural orē-ra ga—that question may remain unresolved for hearer and speaker alike. In a similar way the sentence O-kaeri desu ka? ‘Are you leaving [to go home—or elsewhere]?’ implies a second-person subject (YOU) but there remains open a wide range of possibilities, with no need for either speaker or hearer to decide on anāta ‘you’, sensei ‘you, Professor’, Tanaka-san ‘you, Mr. Tanaka’, okyaku-san ‘you, Sir’ (in a hotel or the like), , ; ohutari-san (‘you two gentlemen/ladies’ or ‘you, Sir and Madam’), minā-san (you gentlemen and/or ladies), . . . . If otherwise unmarked, the subject of a QUESTION is usually understood to be second person; the subject of a STATEMENT—especially in reply to a question—is often understood to be first person. That does not always correspond to the intention of the speaker, of course, and misunderstandings sometimes result.

(3) The third type of subjectless sentence involves expressions of time, weather, and other general conditions for which an arbitrary subject could be assumed but it would not be normal to use any specific noun: Samū ‘It’s cold’, Osoku nattā ‘It’s getting late’, Yakamasii ‘It’s noisy’, Nigiyaka da ‘It’s noisy/lively’; . . . . It would be difficult to find a specific subject for such sentences as Ŭi = Yorosii ‘It is all right [to do it—or, more often, not to do it]’ and its opposite Dāme da = Ikenai ‘It is no good = You mustn’t’ since what they imply is some condition that is usually stated as an adverbialized sentence (…-tē mo in the first case, …-tē wa in the second) and the use of a vague deictic such as sore wa [〜 sore ga] ‘that’ in place of the condition is obviously secondary. Nor would it be easy to supply a subject for Dōo sita (n desu ka) ‘What happened?’, Sinbun ni yoru to … ‘According to the newspaper …’, Mōsi ka sitāra … ‘It might well happen/be that …’, etc. Mikami 1963 (Nihongo no ronri 96-7) gives the following examples of subjectless sentences with the verb naru ‘it becomes’: Yō-zi -hān ni nattā ‘It’s [become] four thirty’: Ŭi tēnki ni narimasita né ‘It’s become nice weather, hasn’t it’; Are kara zyuugō-nen ni narimāsū ‘It’s [become] fifteen years since then’: Ikisaki wa toohyoo de kimeru kotō ni nattā ‘It was arranged for the destination to be decided on by vote’; Watasi wa Oosakā-eki de yuuvin ni aō koto ni natte imasu ‘I am supposed to meet a friend at Ōsaka Station’. Such sentences might be regarded as extensions of the inherently subjectless use of the nominal sentence as propredication rather than as identification (see §3.10), since here ni is the infinitive of the copula (i.e. is the esse). Such sentences as Amerika de wa ima daitooryoo-sēnkyō no mas-sāityuu desu ‘In America they are in the midst of a presidential election at the moment’ probably belong there.

(4) The fourth type of subjectless sentence involves a generalized animate subject ‘one, people, they, anybody’ or the like, as in these examples (Mikami 1963.130—taken from Mio): 5 Ni ni ni o tasu to, sī ni naru ‘Two plus two makes four’: Ningen to umaretāra hito no tamē ni tukusānakereba naranai ‘If you are born a human being you must do all you

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5. And this interesting example called to our attention by George Bedell (PIJL 2.170): Hāitte imāsu! ‘[Someone is inside =] (This toilet is) occupied!’
can for the sake of others'; Okôreba okôtta hoo no make de âru 'He who loses his temper is the real loser'; Ie o tatêru ni wa daiku ni tanomânakereba narânai 'To build a house you must call in a carpenter'; Kokuban ni "Asú wa yasumi" to kâite âta 'On the blackboard it was written 'No school tomorrow' '; Ano ningen ni wa nân o itte mo minha dâ 'It's no use whatever one says to that individual'. Similar are expressions with ... tõ oomimâsu (= omowaremasu) 'it is thought that ...' and Kono yô no mîte kimâsu/mairimâsu to ... 'When one comes to look at it like this ...'. Perhaps many cases of suru could be put here: [soo] suru to [nê] ... 'when that happens ...'; sono imi kara surêba ... 'taken in that sense ...'; moo tyôt-to suru to ... 'a little more and ...'; etc. Also the "institutional" subjects marked by dê [wa] as in Kore ni tûite kisyöo-tyoo zisin-ka de wa '... to hanâsite imâsu 'With respect to this the weather bureau earthquake section is saying "..."'.

We might wish to set up a fifth type to cover many of the expressions with postadnominals (§13.2), especially those making a sentence with ... ga âru/nâi (such as nozomi(''), mikomi, obôë, tamesi, kotô, tuide, kikâi(''), kanoo-sei, wâke, hazu, etc.) and ... ga suru (such as ki[moï], kanzi) where we might expect at least an indirect subject (N ni/gâ), as well as the "clause auxiliaries" (nô da, yö da, söô da, rasii, etc.—see p. 661).

The frequency with which a subject is NOT explicitly stated—even as a subdued theme—may be as high as 74 percent of the sentences in a discourse (KKK 8), though it is lower in expository material such as news programs (37 percent according to KKK 8). On the problem of assuming an unexpressed subject, see Chew 1968. On multiple subjects and objects, see §3.11.

In addition to the gâ-marked subject, some verbs take adjuncts with other markers. The direct-object marker ô is of particular importance in classifying verbs as to transitivity, but the classification is not easy, as the discussion below will show. Aside from transitivity, some verbs will take adjuncts with a particular case marker such as dative nî, reciprocal tô, ablative karâ, allative ê (or synonyms); such verbs are said to have one or more CASE VALENCEs.6 In general only one instance of a given "case" is permitted for a given predicate, though you can always conjoin nouns BEFORE adding the appropriate case marker. Exceptionally, it seems to be possible to get multiple locatives of both time and place, but they must be arranged in a scope-narrowing sequence such as to suggest that they are probably the result of some secondary process—like the genitive ellipsis that leads to multiple subjects, etc. (§3.11). It is also possible to have multiple instrumentals, provided the "instruments" are different in type and semantically compatible with the process.

Although the AGENT (or "actor") is typically marked as subject with gâ, other markings are possible under certain circumstances, as shown in the listings under §2.2 for nî 1d and 1e; dê 3d, 4, and 9; nô 2; karâ 4 (and with verbs of informing under 1). It should be borne in mind that valences are sometimes left stranded by ellipsis, as in this example: Kyuuukoo de Sinzyuku e [ ] san-ûakan "hân de aru 'By express train it is three and a half hours to Shinjuku' (from Shibata 1961)—what is omitted is something like ikéba, iku to, or ittâra 'to go'. Under propredication (§3.10) the case markers may disappear as well, though they are usually present in the adnominalized form (Sinzyuku e no kyuuukoo).

6. These valences hold between the semantic entities which the "nouns" and "verbs" represent, so that it may be misleading to think of the valence as being specific to a given lexical item. Many verbs have multiple meanings; in some instances the valence will hold only if the verb is accompanied by specific other adjuncts.
3.2. DIRECT OBJECTS: TRANSITIVITY, ACTION, EMOTION, MOTION

Some verbs never occur with a noun adjunct that is marked by the accusative particle o; such verbs are INTRANSITIVE ("V1"): sinu 'dies', ikiru 'lives', sūmu 'lives', iru/óru 'stays', áru, 'exists'; uguóku 'moves', noru 'mounts, rides', noboru, 'climbs on'; áu 'meets', niru 'resembles', tigau 'differs', komaru 'is embarrassed', kurusimu 'suffers', nayámú 'is afflicted', makeru 'is defeated', katu 'stands up', hirú 'precipitates', hataraku 'works'; áru2 'is possessed', ir-u 'is needed', dekírú 'is created, is possible', wakáru 'is understood' (but see §3.5), potentials (§4.4), derived passive potentials (such as miérú and kikoerú, §4.7); ...

A few intransitive verbs turn up in idiomatic phrases that are transitive. Though kubi ni naru 'takes it in the neck = gets fired (discharged from employment)' is normally intransitive, it has come to be used with a direct object: kaisya o kubi ni natta seinen 'a young man fired from the office' (= kaisya ga seinen o kubi ni sita 'the office fired him'); NHK no zyoodán óngaku(1) o kubi ni natta Míki Toríroo 'T.M. who had been fired from NHK Jokes and Music [Department]' (SA 2641.51a). Similar is kí ni ir-u 'enters one's spirit = pleases one; one likes' (examples in §3.5a). Notice that focus can be inserted: kubi ni wa/mo náru, kí ni wa/mo ir-u, so that such expressions are better written with spaces instead of hyphens.

Verbs which sometimes occur with a noun adjunct that is marked by the accusative particle o fall into three classes (cf. Isami 11.55), depending on whether they are open to either of these two conversions: the intransitivizing resultative X o V-ru → X ga V-te áru (§9.2.4(3)) and the pure (or "translational") passive A ga X o V-ru → X ga A ni V-ru. EMOTION verbs will permit the pure passive (which reverses the subject-marking from the source of the emotion to the object toward which it is directed) but not the resultative conversion. MOTION verbs require a PLACE NOUN for the ó-marked object and they will take neither the resultative conversion nor the pure passive, although—like intransitive verbs—they are subject to the adversative passive and the passive-potential and they behave like action and emotion verbs with respect to the marking of adjuncts in desiderative sentences (§7.1). This means that Hito ga miti o aruku 'People walk the road' cannot be converted to "Mití ga hito ni arukarérú 'The road gets walked by people', but you can say Watásii-táíi ga hito ni miti o arukarérú 'We suffer from having the road walked by people'. Hito ga miti o aruk(ar)érú 'People can walk the road', and Watasi ga miti o ga arukátáí 'I want to walk the road' (but miti o is more common than miti ga in such a sentence). In written Japanese you will sometimes find odd cases where the grammatical "sufferer" of an adversative-passerence sentence would seem to be the place word rather than "people": Zyoókúu ga zyetto-ki ni tobare te yakamasii 'The sky above is troubled with the flying of jet planes so that it is noisy'.

We will refer to these ó-susceptible motion verbs as QUASI-INTRANSITIVE verbs ("VQI") since there are also transitive ACTION verbs that designate movement or removal—see §3.3.1(1), as well as intransitive verbs of motion that never take an ó-marked object: (... ni) noboru1 'climbs on'—cf. noboru2 'climbs', noru 'mounts', etc. ... Notice that iku 'goes' and kérú 'comes' sometimes take a traversal object: Éki e wa dónó miti o ittára

7. For example, asobu 'plays, amuses oneself' in the context Kodomo o asonde 'kureru? 'How about amusing [or amusing yourself with] the children?' (Endő 195, wife to husband).
§3.2. Direct objects: transitivity, action, emotion, motion

Which street should I take to get to the station?’, Sono tori o kuru to uití(−) e demášu ‘If you come down that avenue you will emerge at our house’, Tooi miti o á ni kíta otokó o ... ‘... a man who had come a long road to see her’ (Ōno 1966.168). Annái suru ‘leads the way’ is similar: ... Hámakó wa saki ni tátte, tobisí o annái sita ‘Hamako went ahead and led the way across the stepping stones’ (Fn 439a). But another possibility is okyakusan o heyá e annái suru ‘leads the guest to the room’; annái has two grammars, one equivalent to tureru ‘brings along (a person)’.

These critical examples (adapted from Isami) show the differences between the three kinds of verbs:

**ACTION TRANSITIVE VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hón o yómú.</td>
<td>’[ ] reads the book = The book is read [often]’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mado o akeru.</td>
<td>’[ ] opens the window = The window is opened [often]’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodomo o ai-súru.</td>
<td>’[ ] loves the child = The child is loved’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EMOTION TRANSITIVE VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hárú o mátu.</td>
<td>’[ ] expects spring = Spring is expected [by someone = hito ni]’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodomo o ai-súru.</td>
<td>’[ ] loves the child = The child is loved [by someone = hito ni]’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(MOTION TRANSITIVE =) QUASI-INTRANSITIVE VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kado o magaru.</td>
<td>’[ ] turns the corner = The corner is turned’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sóra o tobu.</td>
<td>’[ ] flies the sky = The sky is flown’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some speakers have told me they feel it is possible to say such things as (?)Dóno miti ga arúíté áru ‘Which roads have been walked (on)?’, as well as the generally acceptable Dóno miti o arúite áru and (?)Anna tokóro ga ryokoo site áru ‘Such places have been traveled’, but other speakers reject such forms; nor will most speakers accept (*)Dóno miti ga arukáretá ka ‘Which roads got walked (on)?’ or (*)Anna tokóro ga ryokoo sareta.
§3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

'Such places got traveled', We will follow Isami in rejecting PLACE ga VOI-te áru and PLACE ga VOI-raru (passive).

A list of sample verbs of each kind (with a few semantic surprises for the English speaker): ACTION: akeru 'opens', atumérú 'gathers', kaku 'writes', kakúsú 'hides', kiku 'listens to', kowásu 'breaks', mirú 'looks at', simáu 'shuts up', simérú 'closes', tukúru 'makes', yobu 'calls', yómú 'reads', ... EMOTION: ai-súru 'loves', iwáu 'celebrates', homérú 'praises', kirau 'dislikes', konómú 'likes', kóu 'loves', koi-súru 'loves', mátú 'expects, awaits', nagékú 'laments', (hukóo o) naku 'laments (one's misfortune)', donárú 'yells at' (kodomo o donátte mo, Tk 2.240a), okóru 'gets angry at' (nan de mo nái kotó o kyuú ni okóru 'gets mad at the least little thing', Tk. 2.239a; ókusá o okótte 'angry at one's wife', Tk. 2.240a—cf. nyóobó NI okótte in the same discourse), nagúru 'hits', osímu 'regrets', urámú 'resents', (boosi/kodomo o) waráu 'laughs at (a hat/child)'; arásó 'strives for' (syóobó o ~ 'contends for victory'; sóki("o) o ~ 'scrambles for a seat'; saki o ~ 'strives for first place'); ... MOTION: hasír-u 'runs', kake-meguru 'runs around', kooru 'passes over', kudaru 'descends', magaru 'turns (a corner)', matágu 'bestrides', noboru2 'climbs', subér-u 'slides/skates/skis (on)', oríru 'descends', tóoru 'passes by/through', tobu 'flies'; (ga kkkoo o) yassumú2 'absents oneself from (= skips) school' (cf. yassúmu1 'rests' vi.), ... .

The verbal noun ryyogaku has the grammar of a motion verb and should be translated 'GOING abroad to study', not just 'studying abroad': Amerika e ryyogaku sitári ... 'sometimes going to America to study' (SA 2686.26b). 'Amerika dë ryogaku suru would be ungrammatical. Other verbal nouns that are quasi-intransitive (i.e. take traversal objects only): zyóokú o patoróóru suru 'patrols the sky', kóoon o sanpo suru 'walks in the park', ...

The "place" words that represent the traversal object are sometimes abstract (representing a situation or the like): ... atú SAKARI O wázawaza Tokúsima made kíki ni ikimásita yó 'I went through the height of the hot weather all the way to Tokushima especially to hear it' (Tk 4.95a).

3.3. DIRECT OBJECTS OF ACTION VERBS: KINDS OF AFFECT

The direct object of transitive motion (as expressed by quasi-intransitive verbs) is the place across or along which motion takes place—either totally or partially (TRAVERSAL OBJECT). The direct object of transitive emotion is that toward which the emotion is projected (CATHECTIC OBJECT). The direct object of transitive action is that which is affected by the action (AFFECTIVE OBJECT), and "affect" covers a wide variety of semantic relationships that can be attributed to the meanings of particular verbs, e.g.: (1a) that which is moved or removed: okuru 'sends (off)', hazusu 'removes', hanásu 'lets go, releases', dásu 'puts out, pays (etc.)', ..., hakóbu 'conveys', utúsú 'removes', ..., tútáérú(') 'relays', ..., núgu 'doffs', ..., tóoru 'takes (away)', ..., modósu 'sends back', káésu 'returns', ..., ukérú 'receives', moráu 'gets', ..., kakérú 'hangs', irérú 'inserts', ..., oku 'puts (away)', ...

8. We must also take account of ABLATIVE OBJECTS, since some intransitive verbs of movement will permit the ablative to be marked by ò as an optional substitute for kará (§ 3.7; § 2.2, ó 3): déru 'leaves', tátu 'departs', oríru 'descends from', etc. The verb yógóku 'moves' also belongs here: li to ossyáru made watakusi kokó o, ugo kimasén 'Until you agree I will not budge from this spot' (Fn 409a—kará could have been used).
(1b) that which is exchanged: (tori-)kaeru ‘exchanges’, ...

(2a) that which is created: tukurú ‘makes’, káku ‘writes’, tatérú ‘builds’, kosirae ‘concocts’; ? iu ‘says’, hanásu ‘speaks’, yobu ‘calls out’, sakébu ‘cries out’, ...

(2b) that which is converted: naósu ‘corrects, repairs’, (A o B ni) suru ‘makes (A into B), ...

(3) that which is extinguished, consumed, destroyed or gotten rid of: tabéru ‘eats’, nómú ‘drinks’, kesu ‘extinguishes, erases’; kowásu ‘breaks’, korosu ‘kills’, naku-su ‘loses, gets rid of’, usináu ‘loses’, wasurerú ‘forgets’;

(4) that which is put on to be worn or which is worn: kirú ‘wears (in general or on the torso)’, hakú ‘wears (on the feet or legs)’, kabúru ‘wears (on the head)’, ...

(5) that which is perceived: míru ‘sees’, kikú ‘hears’, kan-zirú ‘feels’, omóu ‘thinks of, feels’,...

(6) that to which attention is paid for the purpose of direct or indirect perception: míru ‘looks at’, kikú ‘listens to’, kagú ‘smells, sniffs’; sawará ‘touches’;

It is far from clear how we arrive at such semantic categories, to say nothing of whether they are valid. What semantic relationship is there between verb and object in hito o yobu ‘calls/invites people’ or in senséi o otozurerú ‘visits the teacher’, or in kamidana o ogámú ‘prays to the household altar’? In Ei-káiwa no aité o tutóméte ‘serving as a partner for English conversation’ (CK 985.372)? In kami o tokásu ‘combs one’s hair’? In pán o kirú ‘slices the bread’ or itíman-en-satú o kúzusú ‘breaks (= changes) a ¥ 10 000 bill’? In monó o sagasu ‘hunts things’ or zí o hiku ‘looks up a character (in the dictionary)’? In koné o tukátté ‘using one’s “connections”’? Cf. the categories given for ó in § 2.2. Does yasúmu2, as in gakkoo o yasúmu ‘skips school’ and ... kotíi ga unten o yásunde iru zíkan(−) ni wa ‘during the hours when I’m not driving’ (SA 2640.19c), form a separate category, or is it a metaphorical extension of Meaning 3 (place departed from), making yasúmu a quasi-intransitive verb, as I have assumed it to be in § 3.2? There are, in addition, semantically cognate objects such as sutó o tatakatta ‘fought (= maintained) a strike’—a strike being a kind of fight in itself, as in an election: sénkyo o tatakau ‘fights (= contends in) an election’. (On the various meanings of N o V, see also Okuda 1970-1.)

Moreover, we must take account of verbs with multiple grammars, i.e. those that allow more than one kind of semantic relationship with their affected objects, as shown by these examples (from KKK 23.74):

**osieru**

(1) kodomo o osieru ‘teaches children’

(2) kodomo ni Eígo o osieru ‘teaches children English’—is kodomo ni mití o osieru ‘shows a child the way’ a third type?

**nuru**

(1) kabe ni penki o nuru ‘applies paint to a wall = paints a wall’

(2) penki de kabe o nuru ‘paints a wall with paint = paints a wall’

kabe o síruko nuru ‘paints a wall white’ (§9.1.11)

9. Tutómerú has at least two grammars: intransitive (or pseudo-passive) in ginkoo ni tutómerú ‘works for (is employed by) the bank’ and transitive (of some sort) in ginkóo-in o tutómerú ‘works/serves (is employed) as a bank clerk’. Here are more examples of the latter: ... dekírú(−) kágiri káno-zyo no aité o tutómerú ‘does one’s best to be a partner for her’ (SA 2639.34b); ... Síkágo no Maasyaru-Hwiirudo sinbun-tyéén no kómón o tutómeta ‘was employed as an adviser to the Marshall Field newspaper chain in Chicago’ (CK 985.51); ... geizyutu-búin’yá no hensyuu-sekininsya o tutómeta ga ‘worked as managing editor in the art field’ (CK 985.51).
§ 3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

**tukuru**
1. tuído de óóbaa o tukúru 'makes an overcoat out of tweed'
2. tuído o óóbaa ni tukúru 'makes the tweed into an overcoat' (§9.1.11)

These examples fall within the single class of ACTIVE TRANSITIVES. There are also verbs which may appear as either transitive or intransitive with a difference of meaning, for example:

**mátu**
1. hito o mátu 'waits for people'; (= kitai suru) 'expects, anticipates people; accords treatment to (receives) people'; (= yoo-suru) 'requires people'—Kenkyusha mis-assigns the last meaning.
2. hito ni mátu (= ni tayóru) 'relies/depends on people': Kokkai no ryooosiki ni mátu, genrón-kai no ryooosiki ni mátu 'We rely on the conscience of the Diet, we rely on the conscience of the press' (SA 2663.18d).

See §4.6 for a discussion of "ambivalent" verbs, which appear as transitive or intransitive with little or no difference of meaning. Notice also the verbal nouns made with the suffix -ka '-ize' (§3.13) which can be used both as transitives and (the equivalent of -ka sareru, the passivization of the transitive) as intransitives.

The verbs kami-tuku 'bites' (given as transitive by MKZ) and hoérü 'barks at' (given as intransitive) seem to be in flux: Inu ga kodomo ni/o hoérü (kami-tuku) 'The dog barks at (bites) the child'. Ni is preferred usage but some speakers also use ó and it is that usage which must underlie the passive Kodomo ga inú ni kami-tukareru 'The child gets bitten by the dog'. (For those speakers who never use ó, kami-tukareru is a new intransitive verb derived from the passive and belongs with those listed in §4.5.)

Morishige 191 suggests that what looks like an intransitive use of transitive verbs in the following sentence can best be handled by assuming an ellipsis of 'self' for the direct object, as I indicate in brackets: Nami ga [onore/zisin o] yosete wa káesu 'The waves drag [themselves] in and out'.

Certain other oddities can be treated as SYNTACTIC BLENDS, acceptable in varying degrees. Thus the sentence Okáyama no éki o órite súgu desu 'It's right after you get off (at) the Okayama station' (SA 2640.44c) will be acceptable to more speakers if it is edited so as to read Okáyama no éki DE KISYA o órite súgu desu 'It's right after you get off the train at the Okayama Station'. But perhaps the intention was 'when you go DOWN FROM the station'; cf. saká o óriru 'goes down the slope/hill'.

Sometimes an ó-marked object is left stranded by the ellipsis of the verb responsible for it, with or without propredication. One common type is the ellipsis of surú nó after a verbal noun, as in these examples: Watasi wa kono sánagato umaku ikéba dezain-gakkoo o sotugyoo [surú no] desu 'I will graduate from the design school this March if all goes well'; ... watasi mo sore o syooti [surú no] de, ... 'I went along with that, and ...' (SA 2684.138c). A more straightforward ellipsis of the predicate (here an unspecified transitive verb) is seen in: Koko de gímon o hitótu 'At this point, a doubt' (SA 2679.30a).

Some verbs will permit both a traversal object marked by ó and an allative marked by é or ní: Áme no náka o Kokuritu Syoo-gékizyoo e iku 'I go through the rain to the National Little Theater' (SA 2681.113e); ... rooka o kotira e kúru gakusei-táti ... 'the students who come this way down the corridor' (Shibata 1961.62). The verb hár-ú 'enters' must be similar, to judge from this example: Génkan o háitta 'We entered through the vestibule' (SA 2672.22b)—the house entered would be ié [no náka] e. In fact, nothing prevents you from adding an ablative, as this sentence shows: Nágoya kara Kóbe e arasásii háiuei("') o doráibú sitá 'I drove the new highway from Nagoya to Kóbe' or 'I drove from Nagoya to Kóbe on the new highway'.
The transitive verb tazunérú 'visits' permits both a direct object—the person visited—and an allative, the destination of the visit: ... Kárayan o hóteru ni [= e] tazunérú to, ... 'upon visiting Karayan in his hotel' (SA 2688.106a).

The intransitive verb muku means 'faces, fronts on' or 'is suitable for, suits' with N ni; but with N o it is a quasi-intransitive verb of motion meaning 'turns (one's face) toward': "Yoko o muite", "Màe o muite", 'Turn to the side', 'Turn to the front', 'Turn to the side', 'Turn to the front', '... (SA 2684.116a).

Some verbs are not normally used without an expressed object. And there are verbs of this sort which are virtually limited to a specific noun as the object, e.g. kao o sikamérú(−) 'frowns' (= sikame-ttura o suru), where the noun kao 'face' is quite free to occur in other contexts, but sikamérú(−) is not. The opposite situation limits a noun to the role of object of a specific verb, though the verb freely occurs elsewhere: mōo o hirákū 'dispels the darkness (= ignorance), enlightens'. Such expressions are often carried by dictionaries as separate idioms.

3.4. INDIRECT OBJECTS: BENEFICIARIES; DATIVE VALENCE

Verbs that express giving, sending, imparting of information, showing, etc., imply the designation of a RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY, usually marked by ni. A beneficiary may be designated even for a predicate which does not carry with it a latent recipient of this sort, but such generalized beneficiaries are usually marked by ... nō tamē ni 'for the sake of' (an adverbialized nominalization) or some other expression involving nominalization along the way; in any event, the particular predicates involved are not characterized by a dative valence.

Among the verbs that enjoy a dative valence are those that involve the giving of objects or favors (yaru/ageru, kureru/kudasaru—see §10) and the transmittal of objects or messages: okuru 'sends', kasu 'lends', uru 'sells', dásu 'pays', misérú 'shows', simésu(−) 'reveals', osieru 'instructs', iu 'says, tells', tutaéru(−) 'transmits, passes on', hanásu 'speaks to, addresses' (also with reciprocal valence, §3.2.1); tyúumón(−) suru 'orders' as in Hirumesi o susíya NÍ tyúumón(−) suru 'I will order lunch FROM a sushi restaurant'. With CAUSATIVES (saseru etc. §4.1) and PASSIVES (sareru etc. §4.2) the dative marking at the surface represents an underlying agent; we might say the same thing about FAVOR RECEIPT (site morau §10), but we are treating that as an ablative valence (§3.6) even though the more common marking is with ni rather than kara—in contrast with GIFT RECEIPT (morau) where the kara marking is more common. The verbs sirérú 'becomes known', tutawāru(−) 'gets reported', omoēru 'seems', miérú 'appears', and kikoeru 'sounds' are best treated as pseudo-passives to account for the ni that marks the semantic agent of the underlying active verb in each case; hanmei suru 'becomes clear (to someone)' perhaps belongs with wakāru 'understands' under the quasi-possessive verbs of §3.5.

When a favor conversion (V-te yaru etc. 'does it for someone', and—with the dative surface marking for the underlying ablative—V-te morau 'has it done for one' etc.) is applied to a verb that has a characteristic dative valence, two beneficiaries may appear, since the favor conversion—built as it is on verbs of 'giving'—carries one such valence itself. In these cases, the dative that refers to the favor normally precedes that which is called for by the underlying predicate, which usually keeps its grammatically tied elements close to it: mekurá ni -fwat tomodati ni tegami o kāite ageru 'writes a letter for a blind man to his
friend'. If there is only one dative expressed, the grammar is ambiguous: tomodati ni tegami o káite ageru can mean either 'writes a letter FOR a friend' or 'writes a letter TO a friend', though the latter would be the interpretation to be assumed in the absence of contrary clues from the situation or the context.

We may need to include among the dative-valence verbs certain predicates where the ni marks a hurdle: seikoo suru 'succeeds in/at', mayōu 'is confused (over/by)', kane ni komárú 'is embarrassed for [= lacks] money' (cf. kane de komárú 'is embarrassed because of [having] the money'). Compare the CAUSE group of valences that can optionally be marked by the instrumental de (but perhaps with some slight difference of nuance): nayámú 'suffers (from)', odoróku 'is surprised (at)', bikkúri suru 'is startled (at)', ...

Some of the other uses of ni listed in §2.2 will also represent dative valences, e.g. 1c with yoru 'depends/reli es (on)', sitagáu ('') 'conforms (with)', is consequent (upon)', oo-zirú ('') 'complies (with)', motozúku 'is based (on)'; 1f with mitásu 'fills it (with)', mitirú 'gets filled (with)'; ahurérú 'overflows (with)'; perhaps 4, the LOCATIVE with static verbs (see §3.8); and 5a, change of position (MUTATIVE-LOCATIVE), with oku 'puts', hitári 'is absorbed (in)'; kakárú 'hangs it', kakárú 'it hangs', (bédđo ni) yokó ni nárú 'lies (on the bed)'; ireru 'inserts', kákú 'writes (on/in)', ? norú 'mounts', ? noború 'climbs on'—cf. (... o) noború 'climbs', ? tuku 'attaches (to)'—cf. P ni/e tuku 'arrives at P' with allative valence, §3.7). Also: sigoto ni sánka (') suru 'participates in a job'; gin kok ni tutómérú 'works for a bank' (cf. p. 189); gyónyóo (') ni zúyúzi suru 'engages in commercial fishing'; ... tainhá (') no gakusei wa gesyuku-sága si ni ke nmei da 'the majority of the students are assiduously searching lodgings' (SA 2676.118a); bareebóoru ni kyóo-zirú ('') 'amuse themselves with volleyball' (SA 2688.38ab); supóto ni nekkýoo suru 'is excited about sports'; ...

With the following verbs the dative valence calls for a CONFRONTED: idómu 'challenges', amaérú ('') 'coaxes', horeru 'falls in love (with)', mutyyuu ni/tó nárú 'gets infatuated (with); becomes absorbed (in)', hankoo suru 'resists', hantai suru 'resists', kánsyá (') suru 'thanks', káto (') 'vanquishes' (as in aité ni kátú 'beats one's partner', cf. siai ni kátó 'wins the match', sumóo ni kátó 'wins at sumó wrestling'), makeru 'is vanquished (by)', loses (to)', koosan suru 'surrenders (to)', akogareru 'adores'; akíru 'wears (of), is fed up (with)', hitó no húkoó ni dooyóo suru 'sympathizes with a person (with a person's misfortune)'. But it is unclear to me why hitó NI monó o kakúsu 'hides things from people' belongs here; cf. hitó KARA monó o núsúmbu/ubáubu 'steals things from people'. The confronted need not always be a person, of course: mibun NI kanáú 'it suits one's social status'; sizen NI motóru 'goes against nature'; ima-mádé NI ku rúberu to 'when you compare it with (the time) up to now' (SA 2642.40e)—that the ni is called for by the verb can be seen from yó-zi made ni NI ku rúberu to 'when you compare it with a time up to four o'clock'.

Other dative valences are found with A ga X ni sansei/hu-sánsei da 'A agrees to (disapproves of) X'; (koodoo ni) húziyyuu da 'is hampered (in movement)'; N ga N ni tokuyuu da 'N is peculiar to N'; N ga N ni motte-kói (or uttetuke) da 'N is just the thing for N'; X ga Y ni nítukawáši 'X is in keeping with (is appropriate for/to) Y' (cf. A/X ga B ni níáu 'A/X suits B'); and perhaps A ga B ni nítsetsu da 'A is kind to B', unless this is a generalized beneficiary. Certain other cases of ni are best treated as the MUTATIVE (change-of-state) use of the essive, or copula infinitive; thus N ni kaqí- u 'limits it to N' means 'limits it so
that it is N’—Use 6 in the list of §2.2. This will cover such verbs as kimaru ‘is decided’, kimeru ‘decides’, kettei suru ‘is decided’, kakutei suru ‘is firmly decided’, ninmei suru ‘apoints (to be)’, and possibly tyuumonok ni atai-suru ‘is worthy of attention’.

The following verbs not only can take N ni but also permit N yori ‘than N’, as if they were adjectives: masaru(‘) ‘surpasses’, sugururu ‘surpasses’, hidéru ‘surpasses’, okureru ‘lags behind’, otóru(′) ‘is inferior’, ... (Apparently N dé is not acceptable with these verbs.)

There are a few adjectives and adjectival nouns that use N ni as an equivalent of N ni tai-site ‘with respect to N’; this is a type of DATIVE OF CONFRONTATION: momen ga mizu ni tuyoi ‘cotton can stand water (= washing)’, o-sake ni tuyoi ‘can take a lot of liquor’; sán ni yowai ‘is easily affected by acid’, keizai-môndai ni kuwasii/akaru ‘knows a lot about economic problems’; kotonbô no takai-kata ni binkan da ‘is sensitive to wording’, tiri ni hu-annai na gaiokuku-zin de mo ‘even a foreigner unfamiliar with the geography’ (SA 2663.34b). Also gënki/yûuki/keikô/enkou(‘) ni tobosii(‘) ‘is wanting (lacking in) vitality/courage/experience/provisions’—cf. N ni tomo ‘is rich in N, abounds in N’ (= N ga yûtaka de ‘N is abundant’). But words for ‘full of’ (ippai etc.) usually take the instrumental de: Më wa nâmida DE ippai ni natta ‘Her eyes became full of tears’, Munë wa kanšya(‘) no nén DE ahurêru ‘My breast brims with gratitude’; ... wakamonn(‘) ya hisyô-kyaku DE ahûrete iru ‘is flooded with young people ... and summer vacationers’ (SA 2642.42); yet cf. §2.2, Use 1f, where ahurêru, together with mitasu and mitîru, is given a dative valence, and the example ... zisin ni miti-ahureta Isidâ-si wa ‘Mr Ishida, brimming with confidence, ...’ (SA 2677.30c). The thing overflowing itself is often the subject: më ni nâmida ga ahûreru ‘tears well up in one’s eyes’, tegami ni nêtûi ga ahûreru ‘the letter brims with passion’, kawa [no mizu] ga ahûre ru ‘the (water of the) river overflows’, etc.

Still other predicates take N ni in the sense of N ni tòtte ‘for N’: Kenkoo ni taisetu/daizî da ‘It is important for one’s health’; ... àga(‘) ni hû-muki na ‘unsuitable for a film’ (SA 2684.120a); ... bôku(‘) ni wa monosugokû syaku ni sawatte ‘for me it was very irritating’ (R); ... bôku(‘) ni wa subarasii kotô na n desu. (Okâasan ni site mireba, mûîi ka suru to, monosugokû sabisii ka mo sirenai kedo ...) ‘for me it was splendid. (But perhaps for my mother, however, it may have been very lonely ... ’) (R).

All the uses of N ni ultimately come from the essive ‘being’; it may be possible to explain at least some of these uses by assuming ellipsis:

1. dative of benefit = [no tame] ni ‘being for the sake/cause of’
2. dative of direction = [‘ate] ni ‘being aimed at’
3. dative of confrontation = nî [tai-site] ‘being opposed to’
4. dative of reference = nî [tòtté] ‘taking it as being (a case involving ...)”

Propredication will yield examples of N ni da; under adnominalization, the expected N ni no ... is usually replaced by N è no .... See §3.7 for a discussion of è no.

3.5. EXISTENCE, LOCATION, AND POSSESSION; QUASI-POSSESSIVES

In Japanese, as in many languages, there is considerable overlap in the devices used to express existence, location, and possession. That is because, in a three-dimensional world, if something exists it must have a location; and in a personalized world OWNERSHIP can
be imputed (to supernatural beings if to no one else) for whatever exists. And so the same verbal elements are often used to carry all three meanings, but with subtle differences in the grammar depending on which of the meanings is intended. In many languages, including Japanese, some of these wide-ranging verbal elements are used also as semantically empty auxiliaries in order to predicate adjectival and nominal elements, though their identity is often masked by various surface assimilations and abbreviations when they are joined to the grammatical elements that mark the quality or thing as an adjective, an adjectival or precopular noun, or any of the several classes of ordinary nouns. In Japanese the verb ある is used for all the above functions in one way or another; in some of the uses, however, other verbs are either required or available to specifically mark as ANIMATE or HUMAN the direct subject (which expresses that which exists, that which is located, or that which is possessed). The use of the other verbs, as obligatory or optional alternants to ある, varies somewhat from dialect to dialect and from period to period in the development of the modern language; what is described here is the pattern for the standard language of today. In Wakayama prefecture the verb ある is used for living beings instead of the standard いる or おる (Zhs 4.23, H 1968.108), and the usage is common in older literature. The literary cliché そな·ひと [が] あり ‘there exists that person = is well known’ persists in the colloquial: ... やよい ぶるーれつ に そな·ひと あ り と し れ た ひ と (‘(is) said’ to be a person well known in women’s wrestling’ (SA 2678.141c)). The existential-possessive verbs (as we can call them) are also used as verbal auxiliaries with infinitives and gerunds (§6.1.10 and §6.2.4 respectively), both those which are marked for animateness of direct subject (such as いる or おる) and those which are not (such as ある and its synonyms). In the following chart the synonyms for each verb are usually not exact synonyms but include some feature of exaltation explained elsewhere; A and B mark people (but also often animals), X a thing, and P a place.

THE GRAMMAR OF EXISTENCE, LOCATION, AND POSSESSION

| (1) Existence | X/(A) ga ある gozaimasu | A ga いる/おる irassyaru o-ide ni な る |
| (2) Location | X ga P ni ある | A ga P ni いる/おる irassyaru o-ide ni な る |
| (3) Possession | A ni/ga X/B ga ある gozaimasu o-あ り に な る | A ni/ga B ga いる/おる irassyaru o-ide ni な る |

a. But when speaking of people being in abstract static situations, only ある is used: Watakusi wa kootyoo to site sono enzetu o sinakereba narainai tatibä ni あ る (* いる) ‘As the principal, I am in a position where I have to make the talk’. In addition to tatibä, the words たり ‘position’, kankyo ‘environment, atmosphere’, and zyootai ‘situation’ (and possibly a few others) will be used in this way. (But not baai or tokorō or other nouns referring to dynamic or physical situations.)

The possessive ある permits the subject-exalting conversion of §6.1; what is exalted is the POSSESSOR, who appears on the surface as the indirect subject, since the direct subject...
§ 3.5. Existence, location, and possession; quasi-possessives

has been usurped by the POSSESSED: Dōnata ni/ga nání ga o-ari désu ka (= o-ari ni narimášu ka) ‘What esteemed person has what?’ In the unmarked situation the possessed is typically an inanimate object, but it may be animate if the possession reflects membership in a group (‘belonging’) as in ‘I have a brother’ (kin group) or ‘we have a friend/leader’ (social group). For other cases of an animate “possessed”, āru is usually replaced by the marked verb iru or one of its synonyms; the marked form is obligatory to express an animate “located” and preferred to express an animate “existent”. Since the unmarked version is only optional to express possession that reflects membership in a group, some common situations can be expressed in both ways:

All of these mean ‘Who has a child (or: children)’ with deference shown toward the possessor (Dōnata ni/ga ...) or the listener (... gozaimášu ka) though the chart is misleading to this extent: it fails to show that the exalting forms (dōnata, okosan, irassyáru etc.) are but optionally correlated and other combinations can be selected.

The possessor, marked optionally by ni or ga, is usually animate, but occasionally not; when not, the particle used is ní rather than gá (X ní Y ga āru ‘X has Y’): Kuruma ni hândoru (‘car has a steering wheel’; Kuruma ni taiya ga nái ‘The wheel (or: the car) lacks a tire’; Sin’yoo dekíru igákú-sya ga, marihwana ní wa huku-sáyoo ga nái to tyán-to haugen site ‘rú sí, ...’ ‘Reliable medical men clearly state that marijuana has no side effects (that there are no side effects to marijuana)’ (SA 2680.119c). Free word order obtains regardless of the choice of ní or ga to mark the possessor: ... zibun ní wa kodomo ga huta’i iru ‘I have two children myself’ (SA 2793.46b); Kotti ni kane wa nái ga ... ‘I haven’t any money but ...’ (Tk 3.290b). But there are problems: Morishige 241 gives the example Kodomo wa watasi ga āru ‘I have children’. My informants reject that in favor of Kodomo wa watasi Ní āru; yet they will accept Kodomo wa watasi MO (or: watasi NÎ MO) āru, and that would seem to imply an underlying watasi GA—unless we assume that watasi mo is an ellipsis for watasi ōnî mo.

It will perhaps be questioned whether we need to distinguish EXISTENCE from LOCATION; the two would seem to be in contrast in the sentence Koko ni iru gakusei mo irú sí koko ni inai gakusei mo iru ‘There are students who are here and students who are not here’. For the locational iru the best translation is sometimes ‘stays’ (i.e. ‘continues to be at’): Uti(‘) ní ite benkyoo si-nasai ‘Stay at home and study’. Notice that nokóru ‘remains’ means ‘stays behind (when others have gone)’ or ‘lingers (beyond the expected time)’ or ‘is yet to be dealt with’; it also means ‘survives’. It may be helpful to recall that there are three different Chinese loanmorphs corresponding to āru: SON refers to existence, ZA1 location, and YUU possession. From these come the verbs son-suru = sonzai suru ‘exists’, taizai suru ‘stays’ (there is no *zai-suru), and yuu-suru = syoyuu suru ‘possesses’.

9a, As in ... watakusi ní wa nyóoboo mo āru, kodomo mo iru ‘I’ve got a wife, I have children’ (Agawa 1.252b).
A few other verbs are similar in grammar to the possessive use of the verb aru; we can call them QUASI-POSSESSIVE verbs. They include wakaru 'understands', ir-u 'needs',\(^{10}\) dekîru 'can do', miêru 'can see',\(^{11}\) kikoru 'can hear', and the regularly formed potentials\(^{11a}\) such as yom[ar]îju 'can read'. You will notice that I have translated the Japanese verbs with English transitives. It has been suggested that we regard their grammatical peculiarities as the result of an obligatory transformation within Japanese from some regular transitive grammar, so that A ni/ga X ga wakaru 'A understands X' is regarded as just a surface-warped expression of something that is thought up as 'A ga X o wakaru. Evidence favoring this interpretation can be found in the fact that, despite my asterisk, people sometimes say A ga X o wakaru; cf. Mikami 1963b.236, which also gives an example of A ga B o ki ni ir-u where we would expect A ni/ga B ga ki ni ir-u 'A likes B' since the idiom ki ni ir-u 'enters one's spirit' = 'catches one's fancy' functions as a unit with the grammar of a quasi-possessive verb. (SA 2655.134a reports with disapproval the discovery in a new novelist's work of this sentence: Watasi ga îma no sigoto o ki ni itte iru kotô wa tâsika da 'It is definite [= I am sure] that I like my present job.') I have myself heard Kore o irimâsu ka 'Do you need this?' (as have others), and I have elicited acceptance of Kore o o-wakari ni narimasu ka 'Do you understand this?' as well as [see below] Kore o hosii ka 'Do you want this?'. Yet no amount of encouragement will elicit *N o aru—perhaps because of the ready availability of the transitive synonym môto 'holds, possesses'. (It is perhaps worth mentioning that the Chinese verbal nouns which are synonymous with some of these verbs are, indeed, transitive: syoyuu suru 'possesses', rikai(-) suru 'understands', yoo-suru 'needs'.) Authentic examples of o wakaru: Uke-te ga bôku(-) no omôtte iru kotô o wâkatte kureréba uresii ga, ... 'If the persons receiving them [= the images I draw] kindly understand what I intend I am pleased but ...' (SA 2640.12): Bôku(-) ga hanâsita kotô o wâkatte kureta tô wa kooei desu ga ... 'I am honored that you have kindly understood what I have said, but ...' (CK 985.390—a similar example appears a few lines later). In these two examples it might be thought that the o is due to a syntactic blend of monô o kureru 'gives a thing' with V-te kureru 'gives the favor of doing V' but then we find: Sosite bôku(-) wa, kâ-re na soo i yari-kata no îmi mitai na monô o wâkatte ... 'Then I understood something of the meaning of their doing it like that and ...' (CK 985.393). And in order to account for the pure passive in ... ima de mo sonna ni wakara'rete wa inai 'I'm still none too well understood' (Tanigawa 38) we will have to assume an underlying [watakushi] o wakaru.

An example of o dekîru: Îma ya seiî to ga Toodai to iu namae da'ke ni hikarérü no de wa nâku, zibun ga yari-tai gakûmon o dekîru daigaku o erâbu yôb desu 'Nowadays it seems that the student is not lured just by the name Tôkyô University but chooses the university where he can pursue the studies he wants to do' (SA 2663.28a). On the retention of underlying o with the potential conversion in general, see §4.4—where, however, I suggest explaining N o VN dekîru as an ellipsis: N o VN [suru kotô ga] dekîru. That will take care

10. Kunô (1973.89) suggests that ir-u is different from the other quasi-possessives in that only Dâre ga (and not *Dâre ni o-kane ga iru no desu ka? 'Who needs money?' is acceptable; but other speakers feel that Dâre ni ... is acceptable, if perhaps old-fashioned.

11. But NOT in the meaning 'seems'. In ... ip-piki no doobutu ga, watasi ni wa inû ni mie, anata ni wa tora ni miêru ... 'an animal appears to me as a dog and to you as a tiger' (Kabashima 1965.95) the first ni in each clause is the dative of reference ni [tôtte] and the latter ni in each clause is the copula infinitive under the putative conversion of §9.1.11.

11a. But the subjects of potentials formed from intransitive verbs are usually marked with ga, not ni: (*)[kodomo ni arukû] → kodomo ga arukû 'the child can walk', despite the acceptability of kodomo ni/ga aruku kotô ga dekîru. Cf. Harada, Kokugogaku 92.47 (1973).
of this example: Matomo na koto o yatte ita n de wa, zin’in o kakuho dekinai dankai ni kite ’ru n desu ’We have reached the stage where, if we are honest, we cannot guarantee our personnel [their jobs]’ (SA 2674.26c). But gakumon is not exactly a verbal noun, unlike seikatu in the following sentence, cited with disapproval by SA 2658.39a: Wareware ga seikatu o dekiru yoo ni si ro ‘Make it so we can live’. The conservative nature of written Japanese may account for the fact that KKK 25 finds that the object of a potentialized verb is marked with ga over twice as often as with ó. (KKK 25 found no instance of N o wakaru.)

Certain adjectives have a grammar that is similar to that of the possessive áru, notably its negative counterpart nái ‘is nonexistent, lacks’ and the quantitative óoi ‘is/has much’ (= óoku áru = takusán áru)—as in Zensoku wa tinoo(‘) no takai zidoo ni óoi ‘Asthma is common to children of high intelligence’—and sukunai ‘is/has little’ (= ?sukunáku áru = sukosi áru); these two adjectives are also peculiar in shunning non-defining adnominalization to their immediate subjects (sukuná ku kane → sukosi no kane ‘a little money’, óoi kodomo → óoku/takusán no kodomo ‘lots of children’—see §13.10), a peculiarity perhaps not unrelated to those constraints on adnominalizing a possessive sentence that lead to the generation of possessive nominals (§13.4) and to one source of sentences with multiple subjects (§3.11). At least one adjectival noun seems to have the grammar of a quasi-possessive: A ni/ga X/B ga hituyoo da ‘A needs X/B’. The adjectival noun hu-mánzóku and its shortened version human ‘dissatisfied; dissatisfying’ would appear sometimes to be used with possessive grammar—S nó ga watasi ni wa human dáťa ‘I was dissatisfied that S’ (SA 2680.118b); yet Dâre ga N ni human désu ka ‘Who is dissatisfied with N?’ is more usual than Dâre ni/ga N ga human désu ka. These words, both of which are also abstract nouns, may be involved in a blend of DESIDERATIVE grammar (Dâre ga N ga human désu ka) and two types of ordinary grammar, one with a dative of reference, the other with a dative of cause:12

Dâre ni [tótte] N ga human désu ka ‘For whom is N dissatisfying?’
Dâre ga N [no tame] ni human désu ka ‘Who is dissatisfied on account of N?’
The separable idiom ki ga suru ‘has the feeling/inclination’ also appears to have a possessive grammar: ... to iu ki ga, watasi ni wa suru ‘I DO have the feeling that ...’ (SA 2654.46d).

Sometimes the verb of possession is obvious enough to be optionally omitted: Kokuseki ni túi-te wa hurete inai no de, Nihon-zín de mo kanoo-sei ga áru ka? ‘Since it says nothing about nationality, perhaps even a Japanese might have the possibility [of becoming the “playmate of the month” in Playboy Magazine]’ (SA 2681.103d).

Since both áru and iru are used as verbs of possession, it is possible to get both in a conjoined sentence, as in the following example (where they are negativized): Oýá mo nuku, kyóodaï mo inai ‘He has no parents and lacks brothers or sisters, too’ (SA 2674.89b). In such conjoinings the verbs can also be used for existence, rather than possession, even though áru—in the standard language—is not otherwise used for animate existence: Daigaku-sei mo ireba rooin “tyuu mo áru ‘There are [among those answering the ad] both

12. A double grammar is also shown by Kâre ga zyoosiki ni kakete iru ‘He is lacking in common sense’ (dative of cause?) and Kâre ni zyoosiki ga kakete iru ‘He lacks common sense’ (= Kâre ga zyoosiki o kaite iru); since (?)Kâre ga zyoosiki ga kakete iru is apparently not used, I am uncertain whether Kâre ni is possessive grammar or dative of reference.
university students and unsuccessful applicants waiting for the next chance to take the entrance exams’ (SA 2674.123b).

Examples such as ... S nō o syooti da ‘understands that S’ (Fn 319a) seem to show a nominal taking a direct object, but a better explanation is propredication since syooti is a transitive verbal noun: S nō o syooti [surū no] da.

According to Kuno 1971 the normal unmarked order of adjuncts in the locational sentence puts the location before the located, and that would account for this example: Sikāsi, omowanū tokorō ni otoši-ana ga āru monō de āru ‘But hitches turn up where you least expect them’ (Shibata 1961.170). (This is simply a particular instance of the general unmarked order described in §2.1.) When the located precedes the location, it has presumably been thematized; as a consequence it is often subdued.

Kuno says the locative-located order occurs three and a half times as often as the opposite order. Does this mean that the located is thematized (in our sense of thematization) in every fourth sentence expressing location?

3.5a. DESIDERATIVE AND QUASI-DESIDERATIVE PREDICATES; CATHEXIS

Those adjectival sentences that result from applying the desiderative conversion of §7 to transitive and quasi-intransitive verbs will permit more than one subject to come to the surface (cf. §3.11): N1 ga N2 ga V-i-tai ‘N1 wants to V the N2’. The second ga-marked phrase represents an underlying semantic object which can optionally be marked by ō as it is in the underlying verbal sentence (N2 o V): N1 ga N2 o V-i-tai ‘N1 wants to V the N2’. Sentences that exemplify this: Watasi ga mizu ga/o nomi-tai (kotō ...) ‘(The fact that) I want to drink water’; Watasi ga miti ga/o aruki-tai (kotō ...) ‘(The fact that) I want to walk the road’; Watasi ga sensēi ga/o home-tai (kotō ...) ‘(The fact that) I want to praise the teacher’. When the desiderative sentence is from an intransitive, the adjunct marking is the same as in the underlying sentence: Watasi ga umā ni noru ‘I will ride the horse’ → Watasi ga umā ni nori-tai ‘I want to ride the horse’.

A similar grammar characterizes a few other predicates, which we will call QUASI-DESIDERATIVE. Perhaps the best known of these are the adjectival nouns suki ‘like(d)’13 and kirai ‘dislike(d)’ and their derivatives dāi-suki ‘much like(d)’ and dāi-kirai ‘much dislike(d)’—deriving from the infinitives of the verbs suku ‘likes’ and kirau ‘dislikes’, together with the adjectival noun iya ‘dislike(d)’, which presumably derives from an interjection that is a synonym of iie ‘no’. The traditional adjunct marking for sentences with these adjectival nouns is N1 ga N2 ga suki da (etc.) ‘N1 likes (etc.) N2’.

13. Also hīki ‘being popular’: A ga/wa B ga hīki da ‘B is popular with A’. Hīki is a precopular noun and also an intransitive verbal noun ‘patronizing, favoring’. Notice that kōobutu(=) ‘favorite (food/drink)’ and dai-kōobutu ‘special favorite’ are nouns; in Neko wa gōrūi ga dai-kōobutu da ‘Cats are especially fond of fish’ (Kotoba no yurai 137), the underlying relationship between nēko and dai-kōobutu is a kind of genitive: Gōrūi ga nēko no dai-kōobutu da is a paraphrase.

14. To be sure, N1 is commonly thematized and subdue (N1 wa N2 ga AN da); we are speaking of the basic grammar, as found with localized interrogation (Dāre ga dāre ga suki ‘Who likes whom?’ and—usually—under adnominalization: N1 ga/no N2 ga/no suki na koto. Čf.: Atasya [= Watasi wa] suki datta n da. Anō-hito ga suki datta n da ‘I was pleased. I liked him’, or: ‘[He] appealed to me. [1] found him appealing’ (Kb 100b).
difficulty in eliciting good examples of No kirai/iyá da despite the widespread use of No sukí da,\(^{15}\) and elsewhere I offer the notion that we might derive the latter structure by associating the ó-marked object directly with the verb infinitive suki 'like'. But that suggestion is to be rejected in view of the following example of N o sukí ni náru, where suki can surely be taken only as an adjectival noun (under the mutative conversion of §9.1.11):

\[\text{Itu-no-má-ni-ka Másasya o kore-hodo sukí ni náte ita kotó ... 'that before she knew it she had become this fond of Masasya ...'} (Fn 409b). \]

And there are, after all, text examples of both N o kirai dá and N o iyá da: Anáta ga sai-gúnbi ni sanseí sareté mo, watasi wa Tokúgawa san o kirai zya nái n desu 'I do not hate you, Mr Tokugawa, even though you support rearmament' (Tk 2.248b); Seizi to iu monó o watasi ga itiban kirai ná no wa, ... 'The thing I hate the most about politics ...' (Tanigawá 25); ... Kikunaka senseí ga Seitároo o kirai da ... ‘Maestro Kikunaka dislikes Seitaró’ (Fn 316b); Onna-gata o iyá da? ‘Dislikes female impersonators?’ (Kb 134b—written in 1928).

The idioms [N ga] ki ni ir-u 'likes [N]', [N ga] kimo ti ga yóí/varúi ‘[N] feels good/bad’ and [N ga] ki ga susumanai ‘is reluctant [toward N]’\(^{16}\) have a grammar that is somewhat similar, though the source of the feeling—usually unexpressed, since it is oneself—stands in a genitive relationship to kimo ti/kí ‘feeling’.

The adjective hosii ‘wants (to have)’ is the surface realization, in colloquial speech, of an underlying (*a)ri-táí, and so it is usually given the possessive grammar of áru: N \(_{1}\) ni/ga N \(_{2}\) ga áru ‘N \(_{1}\) has (got) N \(_{2}\)’ \(\rightarrow\) N \(_{1}\) ni/ga N \(_{2}\) ga hosii ‘N \(_{1}\) wants (to have) N \(_{2}\)’. But some speakers will perhaps feel uneasy with N \(_{1}\) ni N \(_{2}\) ga hosii. And others will accept N \(_{1}\) ga N \(_{2}\) o hosii (though I believe no one would countenance *N \(_{1}\) ni N \(_{2}\) o hosii): Sore kara, utukúšii onna-gata o dásu yóó no monó o hosii desu né ‘And then, [on the program] I’d like to have something that would present a beautiful female impersonator, you see’ (Tk 4.307a).\(^{17}\) In producing such a sentence the speaker reaches beneath the surface grammar of áru to a deeper structure which converges with that of mótu ‘possesses’ and treats the expression as an alternate realization of the same content as N o moti-táí ‘wants to possess N’.\(^{18}\) At some intermediate depth of structure we may find it necessary to assume an underlying “N o áru = N o mótu which obligatorily surfaces as N ga áru. (Examples of N o hosii from the Edo period are cited in K 1966.123.)

The following example is doubly interesting in that it makes a desiderative out of a quasi-possessive verb (N \(_{1}\) ni/ga N \(_{2}\) o/ga wakáru ‘N \(_{1}\) understands N \(_{2}\)’) and chooses to retain the less-common marking of the possessed object, N \(_{2}\) o wakáru instead of N \(_{2}\) ga wakáru:

15. An adnominalized example: ... úmi o sukí na hitó ... ‘a person who likes the sea’ (SA 2650.58c). Kazama 158 has an example of N o suki da that dates from Meiji days, and (159) he says you sometimes hear such things as Anó ii-kata GA sukan (= Anó ii-kata O sukánhai) ‘I don’t like that way of talking’. But in musi ga sukán[ai] ‘dislikes’, musi is the subject ‘[my] inmost feelings’: Kenkyusha gives the example Anó otokó wa musi ga sukánhai ‘I dislike him’.

16. Kyóó wa kaisya ni ikú kotó [or: ikú no] ga ki ga susumanai ‘Today I don’t feel like going to the office’.

17. Three examples of N o hosii from modern fiction will be found in Gekkan-Bumpō 2/9.71, 73 (1970).

18. But such a sentence as Kodomo o hosii to omóú kotó ga áru ‘I sometimes think I’d like to have children’ is not necessarily to be explained in this way, since Kodomo ó can be taken as the direct object of omóú with the interpretation ‘I think children desirable’ (a kind of putative, cf. p. 997, as well as with the other interpretation. Notice, however, the hint such sentences give toward understanding the grammar of cathetic sentences in general (see below, pp. 200-1).
Sore o wakari-tai tte iu kimoti ga átta n da kedo, ... ‘I had the feeling I wanted to understand it, but ...’ (Tk 2.190a).

According to Shibatani 1972 the structure OBJECT ga VT-tai gets less and less grammatical as you put more material between ga and the desiderativized verb: “In the desiderative form of sentence with the object-ga phrase, the degree of grammaticality is in inverse proportion to the amount of the element intervening [in] the object-verb sequence.” This strongly suggests that the ga-marking is secondary.

In a statistical study of modern written Japanese, KKK 25 found 73 examples of V o V-i-tai but not a single example of N ga/no V-i-tai used to represent the underlying object of a transitive verb. By way of contrast, the same study turned up only one example of N o suki/dái-suki but 17 of N ga suki/dái-suki and 2 of N nō suki; although there was not a single example of N ó + adjective (or adjectival noun), there were 28 examples of N gá as cathecic object with adjectives and adjectival nouns.

There are a number of other adjectives and adjectival nouns used with quasi-desiderative grammar, the best known being kowái ‘afraid, fear’. The sentence Kodomo ga inú ga kowái can mean either ‘The child fears the dog’ (= Kodomo ga inú o osorérú) or ‘The dog fears the child’ (= Inú ga kodomo o osorérú), though the first ga-marked phrase will normally be taken as the source of the emotion unless the context makes that implausible. (And most commonly in an independent sentence the source will be thematized and sub-dued: N1 wa N2 ga kowái.) According to Inoue 42 the following adjectives behave in the same way: kowái ‘is lovable, finds it lovable’, kemuí or kemutai ‘is smothering/awkward, finds it awkward’, turai ‘is trying, finds it trying’, muzukashi(‘) ‘is difficult, finds it difficult’, yasasii ‘is easy, finds it easy’ (cf. the grammar of facilitatives, §9.1.8). The adjectival nouns zyoozu ‘skillful’, with its synonym tákumi(‘), and heta ‘clumsy’ also belong here, as do the synonymous adjectives, umái and mazúi: Dàre ga nání ga zyoozu desu ka ‘Who is good at what?’ (but never * ... ni for either adjunct). The adjectival noun tánnoo ‘proficient’ enjoys competing grammars: Hitó ga gogaku ga tánnoo da ‘people are proficient at language learning’ exemplifies the quasi-desiderative grammar, and hitó ga gogaku ni tánnoo da (with the same translation) presents a dative of confrontation, equivalent to gogaku ni {tái-site} tánnoo da ‘is proficient when confronted with language learning’. Under adnominalization either of the N-gá phrases can be epithematized and the remaining N gá will allow the replacement of gá by nó (under the conditions of §13.1.6): Gogaku ga/no/ni tánnoo na hitó ga ókatta ‘There were many people proficient at language learning’; Káre ga/no tánnoo na gogaku wa ... ‘Language learning, at which he is proficient, ...’.

Certain of the emotion adjectives will mark the source of the emotion (the person with the feeling) optionally with the particle ní; this is a dative of reference ní {tótte} ‘with respect to’: Dái-iti Teruo no hóó kara îtu mo yasasii kotóba o kákete kurerú no ga Mituko

19. KKK 25.123 lists (together with hosii, kowái, iyá, kirai, dáikirai, ki-ni-iru) the following as taking an ‘objective gá’: koisii, omosóró, nikú, nozomasii, hazukashi, osorósi; kawaiisó, kinodókú, human, ziman. (But ziman ‘one’s pride’ would appear to be out of place, since it is not an adjectival noun; N1 ga ziman ga ... is from a genitive, §3.11.2.) The list in Kuno 1970 includes words with possessive and facilitative grammar as well as desideratives, etc. Terase 21 says the object is marked with gá for predicates expressing desire, skill or clumsiness, ease or difficulty or a process, potentiality or lack thereof, like or dislike, etc. The notion of “ga-marking of object” covers a variety of disparate phenomena; cf. §2.2.
§3.6. Reciprocal valences

Most importantly it delighted Mitsuko that Teruo always addressed her with gentle words' (SA 2640.107c). The underlying grammar is Mitsuko ni/ga ... kureru no ga Uresi, but "ni/ga" here is not possessive grammar; it represents ni {tōte} / ga.

In parts of Shikoku the grammar of suki, kirai, zyyo, kowai (etc.?) is N₁ ga N₂ ni ... (Dare ga nani ni kowai 'Who fears what?'), apparently using a dative of confrontation, N ni {tā-site}, for the underlying object. Cf. Doi 268, confirmed for me by an informant from Köchi who is familiar with this usage.

Desiderative adjectives and many of the quasi-desiderative adjectives (though not all), together with a number of other adjectives and adjectival nouns that express emotions, can be converted into transitive verbs with the suffix -garu (see §7.2). Kowa-garu, for example, is a synonym of osorēru 'fears'; iya-garu is a synonym of kirau 'dislikes'; and hosii will verbalize to hosii-garu 'desires'. But there is no *kira-garu or *suki-garu, perhaps because we already have the verbs kirau 'dislikes' and suku = kōi-guru 'loves'. Bear in mind that -garu-is also used to derive intransitive verbs, with the meaning 'displays an emotion or attitude', so that not every A-garu or AN-garu can be assumed to behave like kowa-garu and iya-garu.

3.6. Reciprocal valences

Certain verbs and a few adjectives and nouns permit the designation of a RECIPROCAL subject or object. The reciprocal is marked with to, but in some instances this may be replaced optionally by the dative ni, with or without a difference in nuance. We must accordingly set up two classes of reciprocal-valence predicates:

(1) to

V/ kawaru 'differs (from)' (≠ 'changes into' ≠ 'substitutes for' both of which take N ni); tatakau 'fights (with)'; arasō 'struggles (with)'; kisō 'competes (with)'; V-i-au 'does reciprocally (with)' (§9.1.10) as in home-au 'praise each other (one another)'; ... ; āi irena 'is incompatible (with)'.

V/ kekkon suru 'marries, gets married (to)'; rikōn(?) suru 'divorces, gets divorced (from)'; sīai suru 'has a match/game (with)'; kakutoō suru 'scuffles with', kōgō suru 'quarrels (with)'; kyōōo suru 'races; competes (with)'; ryōoritu suru 'coexists, is compatible (with)'; heikō suru 'runs parallel (with)', muzyō suru 'is inconsistent (with), contradictory (to)'; doosei suru 'cohabits, lives (with)'; doosū suru 'rooms (with)'; sessyō suru 'negotiates (with)', ... .

Also: (sore) to zengo site 'at about the same time as (that)'; Umá to hasirī-kko sitāri site 'ta On occasion he even raced with horses' (Tk 3.79b) .... .

V/ ? .... ; V/ i-au 'does reciprocally (with)' (§9.1.10) — but only certain ones, e.g. hanasi-au 'speak it back and forth'.

V/ taisiyyu suru 'contrasts it (with)'; kanren suru 'associates it (in one's mind with)', gīrō suru 'debates it (with)', ron-ziru/-zuru(?) 'debates it (with)', kāiri(?) suru 'dissociates it (from)', ... .

A / sitāisi 'is intimate (with)', ... .

A / gyaku dā 'is the reverse (of)', sīnitu dā 'is intimate (with)', isitu-teki dā 'is extraneous (foreign) to', ... .

PcN sasimukai dā 'is vis-a-vis, is face to face (with)', betu dā 'is separate (from), dooyoo dā 'is the same (as)', dōō-iken dā 'is of the same opinion (as)', dōōzi(?) dā 'is the same time
as', doositu da 'is the same quality (as)', is homogeneous (with)', onáidosi da 'is the same age (as)'; kyootuu da 'is in common (with)'; byoodoo da 'is equal (to)'—as in Íma wa, tuma mo otto to byoonoo no tatibí ni nátte irú no desu kara 'Now that wives have achieved an equal standing with their husbands ...' (SA 2659.117d); ....

Also: heikoo ni '(in) parallel (with)'; gúru ni nárú 'gets in cahoots (with)', conspires (with)'; tyáonpí ni 'mixing/alternating/together with'—as in yoosyu to tyáonpí ni Nihon-syu o nóndari sita toki wa 'when sometimes I would drink rice wine at the same time with foreign liquors'; issyo/tómo(" ni 'together (with)'

Source of the generalized comitative, as shown below.

N tomodati da 'is friends (with)'; kói-náká(−) da 'is amorously involved (with)'; húuhú da 'is man-and-wife (with) = is a spouse of, is married to'; (N to) táisa ga áru/náí 'differs much/little (from N)'; (N to) úri hutatu(−) da 'is exactly alike (with N)'; hito to KANKEI ga áru 'has connections/relations with people'; hito to AISÓ[O] ga i 'is congenial with people'; hito no NÁKA ga i, hito to i NÁKA da 'is on good terms with a person' (hito to HÚ-NÁKA da 'is on bad terms'); .... 30

VI áú 'meets, sees'; nirú 'resembles' (cf. ni áú 'befits' with N ni only); tukiáuí 'associates (with)'; hure-áú 'comes in contact (with)'; ? V-i-tigaeteru 'does mistakenly (mistaking it for)' (§9.1.10); ....

VNI menkai suru 'has an interview (with)'; sooguu suru 'encounters'; sessyoiku suru 'comes in contact (with)'; syoototu suru 'collides/clashes (with)'; itti suru 'is in agreement (with)'; ....

VT kurabueru 'compares it (with)', niseru 'likens it (to), imitates', tatoérú 'illustrates it (with)'; hikiwaséérú 'brings it together (with)'; ? matigáéru 'mistakes it (with)'; musubu 'ties it (with/to)'; ....

VNT hitakk suru 'compares it (with)'; syookai suru 'introduces one (to)'; ....

A hitosíi 'is equal (to/with), is equivalent (to)'; ....

AN ? ....

PcN sokkuri da 'is identical (with)', suresure da 'is very close (to)', dookaa da 'is in agreement (with)', hantái da 'is opposite (to/from)', ....

N?

The predicate onazi da 'is the same (as) is spoken with the grammar of Type 1, N to

The transitive verbs tigau and koto-naru 'is different (from)' are like onazi in grammar: Type 1 in speech, Type 2 in writing.

In addition to the above types, there are also some ablatives that can optionally replace kará by to and/or ni; see §3.6.

There is no reciprocal in ... to(−) oboshi/obosíi N 'N that appears to be ...'—as in Sinátorá to oboshi eiga-háiyuu ga ... 'a movie actor that would appear to be [a fictionalized] Sinatra' (SA 2679.118d), since to is the subjective essive (or quotative); see §21.1.

20. Also, perhaps zyosei to EN no hukái kotobá 'a word that has close associations with women'; or does én belong with to/ní, as perhaps indicated by the example Yappári sumoo ni én ga ātta ná, kékoo tte no wa 'After all it had a connection with wrestling, didn’t it, the practice' (Tk 3.15a).
Normally the reciprocal will refer to a subject unless the verb is transitive, and then the reference ought to be to the direct object, but there appear to be exceptions when the reciprocity is due to an auxiliary as in V-i-au, where other valences may obtain for the underlying V.

Intransitive verbs that refer to meeting or coming in contact (such as āu) seem to have two grammars, one involving a dative of confrontation and the other a subject-reciprocal. Only the dative will be used when the contact is with an inanimate or something abstract, as in hidoi mē nī atta ‘encountered a rough experience’, but animate nouns may be marked either as dative or as reciprocal. And many speakers feel that the dative option carries a somewhat different meaning, at least for certain of the predicates, in that it emphasizes the subject (N ga) as the point of departure. We can compare hito Nī hanāsū ‘speaks TO a person’ and hito TO hanāsū ‘speaks WITH a person’, taking the latter as a pure reciprocal and not as a special case of hito to [issyō/tōmo(−) nī] hanāsū ‘speaks [jointly] with a person (to/with some third party)’, where we find a generalized COMITATIVE, in which the reciprocal valence is not with the verb but with the underlying ‘togetherness’ represented by issyō or tōmo(−) in the version that is unreduced (or, depending on your viewpoint, expanded). Kuno 1970 (§ 9) says you are more likely to choose the dative option with such verbs as āu ‘meets’ and soodan suru ‘consults’ when the other party is of higher social standing21 and thus it behooves the subject to initiate the action. Also according to Kuno, if you say A no atamā ga B no atamā to butukatta ‘A’s head collided with B’s head’, both heads were moving; but if you say A no atamā ga B no atamā nī butukatta ‘A’s head collided with B’s head’, only A’s head was in motion. And that is why A no atamā ga kabe nī butukatta ‘A’s head collided with the wall’ is grammatical but neither *A no atamā ga kabe to butukatta ‘A’s head and the wall collided’ nor *Kabe ga A no atamā to nī butukatta ‘The wall collided with A’s head’ will be said. Saikon suru ‘remarries’ is peculiar in that the ‘re-’ refers to the subject only; although the reciprocal adjunct also ‘marries’, for her/him it may be a first marriage: Aa, yōku zō kono onnā to saikon sita ‘Ah, how nice I chose this woman for my second wife’ (Tk 2.–). Perhaps we can treat this as a case valence with a relexicized nucleus (§ 3.8a), the morpheme -kon representing the verbal noun kekkon; cf. Kāno-zyō to kekkon site yōkatta ... ‘I thought it good that I had married that woman [and that she had married me]’ (ibid.).

The marker tō under discussion can represent at least three different underlying structures: (1) the RECIPROCAL, as in Tāroo ga Hānako to kekkon sita ‘Taro married Hānako’; (2) the COMITATIVE, as in Tāroo to [issyō nī] Hānako ga kita ‘With Taro came Hānako’; (3) CONJOINED NOUNS, as in Tāroo to Hānako ga [betubetu nī] kita ‘Taro and Hānako came (separately)’. Cf. Inoue’s remarks (Kgg 81.63b) on Okutsu, from whom the examples are drawn: he treats the last example as two conjoined sentences (Tāroo ga kita + Hānako ga kita) for reasons appropriate at a deeper level. Expressions such as N to hutari/san-nīn de ‘together with N making two/three persons, as a party of two/three with N’ are probably to be treated as containing the comitative.

One difference between issyō nī and tōmo(−) nī is that the latter is normally limited to animates (typically humans), but issyō nī can also be used of inanimate objects: Hōn to zassi o issyō nī (tōmo nī) tutunde kudasai ‘Please wrap the book and the magazine.

21. Or in temporary authority: ... terebi-ya san ni soodan nasatte kudasai ‘consult your television repair man’ (R).
together’. But this example perhaps is to be explained as containing a mutative ní ‘(wrap them so that they are together’), possible for issyo but not for tómö(‘), which is always adverbalized.

Although the reference of the ‘together’ is usually to the subject (or, as in the mutative above, perhaps an underlying subject), you may occasionally find reference to an object: Iro-énpiitu to issyo ni iró-gami o tótta ‘I took colored paper together with crayons’. In such sentences, issyo ni is functioning as a synonym of dóózi(‘) ní ‘at the same time (as)’ and the underlying structure can be thought of as something like this: Iro-énpiitu [o tóru no] to dóózi(‘) ni iró-gami o tótta ‘I took colored paper at the same time with [taking] crayons’.

The word tomodomo(‘) {nì} is a synonym of tómö(‘) ní ‘together’ with the meaning ‘(all) together’ and it too has a reciprocal valence, but the marker tó is optionally omitted when this comitative expression follows a noun: ... kázoku [to] tomódomo(‘) [nì] Sóren ni syootai sareta ‘was invited to the Soviet Union together with all his family’ (SA 2679.37b). The reciprocal marker can also be omitted in phrases with the structure N {to} dóoyooodóozen ‘like N’ as in these examples: Káre-ra [to] dóoyo [nì], ... ‘Like them, ...’ (SA 2657.120a); Kodomo námé monó wa, ángai(‘), otona [to] dóoyo no kokoro-zükai o suru món da kara ‘Children are apt to be surprisingly like adults in consideration’ (Tk 3.37a): Íssái no ningenkánkei o tátu zyoohatu-níngé [to] dóoyo no káre da ga, ... ‘He is like an evaporated man suppressing everything human, and ...’ (SA 2685.112b—epithematic identification, §3.10a); ... wakamonó(‘) [to] dóozén no kenkou de ... ‘with health like that of a young man’ (Ariyoshi 299). On the optional omission of the marker in N [to/nì] sokkúri, see §25.

When the verb is tigau ‘differs (from)’ it is possible to apply the reciprocal marker tó to an adjunct already marked for some other function, as in the following example of the locative dé: Zissai no rézyaa no náká de wa, syokuba DÉ TO wa tigatta katati ní mo sé yo, onazi taboo-so, kakuitu-so, sosite zyoodoo-sei ga ári wa sináí ka ‘In the midst of actual leisure, even though it be of a form different FROM ON the job, don’t you have the same busyness, uniformity, and passivity?’ (SA 2673.40b). Similar examples can be concocted to juxtapose with tó the dative ní and even a prior reciprocal tó, since what is involved is the ellipsis of the predicate that initiates the first case-marking: Káre NI TO wa tigatta katati ní mo sé yó, káno-zyo ni ííí wa sináí ka ‘Even though it be in a different form from [telling it] to him won’t you tell it to her?’; Káre TO TO wa tigatta katati ní mo sé yó, káno-zyo to soodan si wa sináí ka ‘Even though it be in a different form from [consulting] with him, won’t you consult with her?’ It is also possible to get tó after an o-marked direct object in such a sentence: Sore Ó TO wa tigatta katati ní mo sé yo, kore o naóíí wa sináí ka ‘Even though it be in a different form from [what is done to] that, won’t you repair this?’ But similar attempts to elicit gá + tó are rejected: ‘Atámá GA TO wa tigatta katati ní mo se yo, kubi ga ítákú wa náií ka ‘Even though it be in a different form from your head [doing it], doesn’t your neck hurt?’

A reciprocal-marked adjunct can be immediately followed by the copula by way of propredication (§3.10), dá standing in place of the verb that calls for the valence—or marking an ellipsis tó [V-rú no] da ‘it’s [a matter of V-ing] with’. The copula is free to appear in any form, including the negative: Minná, ánáta to de nákya [= de/zya nákereba], móo kekkón sináí tte itte ‘másu ‘(My ex-husbands) they all say ‘If it’s not with you I won’t get married again’’ (SA 2678.43c).
The copula can be adnominalized to yield N to no\(^{1}\) N; usually either the epitheme (the second N) is a noun derived from a verb infinitive, as in inhure to no araso(-) ‘the struggle with inflation’ (SA 2681.38b), or it is a verbal noun: ensyutu-ka to no kyooryoku ‘co-operation with the [drama] producer’; kokugai to no renraku ‘contact with the world beyond the border’ (SA 2677.153ab); hito to no taiou desu ga ne ‘it’s a matter of coping with people’ (SA 2672.64a); zyosei to no sessyoo ‘negotiating with a woman’ (Tk 2.103b); kenyuyoku to no taizi made ‘to the point of a conflict with authority’ (SA 2677.152e—cf. kenyuyoku to taizi suru ‘confronts authority’ in the same text); … But sometimes, as explained in §3.8a, the verbal element that is responsible for the reciprocal has been obscured by relexicalization or other masking, such as ellipsis; the reciprocal in Rokugat ni Amerika to no kokkoo ga kaihuku sita ato, … ‘After diplomatic relations with America were resumed in June,’ (SA 2680.20a) is to be explained by some such underlying sentence as Amerika to kokkoo [o musundai] no da ‘it is a matter of having entered into diplomatic relations with America’.

3.7. ABLATIVE, ALLATIVE, AND INSTRUMENTAL VALENces

Just as we cannot say that every instance of N ni represents a dative valence, not every N to can be taken as a reciprocal valence; almost all predicates are capable of “togetherness” on the part of more than one subject, and many instances of to = to\(^{1}\) [tomo(-)/issyo ni] ‘(together) with’ represent nothing more than that—the generalized “comitative”. In much the same manner the marker karä ‘(starting) from’ can be used with a great many predicates as peripheral information—a generalized ablative, as in booi-hurendo kara denwa ga kakaru (= kakatte kuru) ‘gets a phone call from her boy friend’. But some verbs call for karä in a special way, notably those expressing SEPARATION or DEPRIVATION: (senro kara) hazureru ‘slips off (the rail)’—cf. kisoku ni hazureru ‘deviates from the rule’; (mado kara garasu o) hazusu ‘removes (glass from the window)’; musuko o koibito kara toozakuru ‘keeps one’s son away from his sweetheart’; nusumu ‘steals’, ubau ‘seizes’, dasu ‘takes out (from)’, deru ‘emerges’; kieru ‘disappears (from)’, hyoo kara namea o kusu ‘removes a name from a list’, kyuu ni kaisya kara sugu o kusu ‘suddenly disappears from the office’ (KKK 25.75a); kau ‘buys (from)’, eru ‘gets’, toru ‘takes’, …. Perhaps kuru ‘comes’ and arawareru ‘appears’ belong here (cf. KKK 23.126). (For some other uses of karä see §2.2.)

In addition to the verbs of separation or deprivation, there are also a number of verbs and adjectives with a kind of ablative valence that can be marked either by karä or by some other particle; the following types of option have been found:

(1) karä/nii\(^{21a}\)


\(\mathrm{VNT}\) haisyaku suru ‘borrows’, koonyuu suru ‘purchases’, …

\(\mathrm{VI} \ (< \ \mathrm{VP})\) homegareru ‘is praised (by)’, okorareru ‘is subject to anger (from), incurs the wrath (of)’, iwareru ‘gets told (by)’, kawai-garareru ‘gets loved (by)’, etc.—but most passives will take only N nii to mark the source of the action (see §4.2).

\(\mathrm{VNI}\) tyuuui sureru ‘is noticed (by)’, rikon(-) sureru ‘gets divorced (from)’, …

A ?

\(^{21a}\). The nii option is usually limited to animates: ‘borrows it from the bank/company’ is ginkoo/kaisya kara kariru; ‘borrows it from the library’ is tosyoo-kan de kariru.
§ 3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

(2) kará/dé

| VT  | tukúru ‘makes it out of’, ... |
| VNT | hensei suru ‘organizes’, koosei suru ‘organizes’, ... |
| VI  | dékite iru ‘is made out of’, nátte iru ‘is composed of’, ...; also the semi-literary nárú ‘consists of/in’ with the literary synonym yórí for kará, as in Kekkyokú [1] hukóó wa human yórí nárú ‘After all unhappiness consists in discontent’. |
| VNI | seiritu suru ‘is formed’, ... |

(3) kará/ó

| VQI | déru ‘leaves’, tátu ‘departs’ or ‘stands up from’; oríru ‘descends from, gets off’: ugóku ‘moves (udges) from’; géngí kará/o hanáréte ‘departing from the original meaning’; ... |
| VNT | syuppatsu suru ‘departs’, ... |
| VI  | wakarérú ‘parts’, hagurérú ‘strays apart (from)’, ... |
| VNI | sayonára suru ‘says good-bye’, sibetu suru ‘is separated by death’, ... |

A ?

(4) kará/ní/tó

| VI  | wakarérú ‘parts’, hagurérú ‘strays apart (from)’, ... |
| VNI | sayonára suru ‘says good-bye’, sibetu suru ‘is separated by death’, ... |
| VT  | wakeru ‘separates’, hanásu ‘separates’, hiki-hanásu ‘pulls apart’, ... |
| VNT | búnri(−) suru ‘separates’, yúuri(−) suru ‘separates’, ... |

Perhaps all verbs of movement can be said to enjoy both ablative (N kará) and allative (N é/ní/máde) valences; included are not only the quasi-intransitives, i.e. verbs taking traversal objects (including iku ‘goes’ and kúru ‘comes’), but also such intransitive verbs as túku ‘arrives’ and such transitive verbs as okúru ‘sends’ and dásu ‘mails’. Sometimes an unexpected allative turns up that can perhaps be explained either by metaphor, the verb enjoying temporary status as a motion verb, or by propredication and/or ellipsis of a motion verb: utí(−) e isóida ‘hurried home’ = utí(−) e isóide itta/kítá ‘went/came home in a hurry’. (The pair iku and kúru are, in a sense, but a single verb—the generalized verb of motion, which gets dichotomized by obligatory deictic marking, as if in English we were to say ‘to thither’ and ‘to hither’.) To say ‘leave Kamakura for Itó’ you have a choice of adjunct order if you use kará to mark the ablative: Kamakurá(−) kará Ito o é/máde tátu or

22. Since nárú can be treated aspectually as either durative or durative-stative (like tigau § 3.12), often nárú, nátte iru, and náta have the same meaning, especially when adnominalized: go-kákóku kará nárú in-kái ‘a committee made up of five nations’ can be said with nátte iru or with náta.

But dekíru is punctual so that ki kara dekíru mónó must be taken as future or as iterative ‘things to be made (or usually made) out of wood’; ‘things (that have been) made out of wood’ is ki kara dekítu (or dékite iru) mónó.

23. Déru ‘appears’ has a different grammar (génkán ni/e déta ‘appeared at the entryway’); notice that you cannot omit the gerund when the two different kinds of déru are conjoined: hikaé-sitó o déta butá ni déta ‘left the green room and appeared on the stage’.

24. In standard Japanese sotugyou suru ‘graduates (from)’ always takes a direct object marked by ó. In Hawaii you will also hear daigaku kará sotugyou suru; perhaps this is influenced by the English dialect variation, with and without ‘from’.
§3.7. Ablative, allative, and instrumental valences

Itoo e/máde Kamakurá(”) kara tātu. But if you use ó to mark the ablative, it will sound awkward unless that adjunct follows the allative: Itoo e/máde Kamakurá(”) o tātu.

The adjectives tooi ‘is far’ and tikái ‘is near’ take a valence that is best treated as ablative though it permits marking by either kara or ní (but not, in the standard language, by é so that the valence is not allative); for tooi the use of kara is more common, and ní is more common for tikái, just as the corresponding English habits might lead us to expect: ‘far FROM, near TO’. (But KKK 44.14 has kará/ní/to for both adjectives.)

In place of the allative marker é the particle máde can be used to add a sememe of endpoint or arrival (‘all the way to’ versus ‘to, toward’), which may be pleonastic in the case of those verbs that already contain the sememe (túku ‘arrives’, ...). Máde will be considered more extensively below.

A generalized INSTRUMENTAL phrase with the marker dé (= o tukatte ‘using’) can be supplied as peripheral information for many verbs: kyakkan-teki na mé DE mireba né, ... ‘if you look at it with an objective eye [= objectively], now, ...’ (SA 2671.19c). There are a few predicates that seem to involve a special instrumental valence, e.g. íppai dá ‘is full (of)’; ahurete iru ‘is overflowing (with)’, mitasárete iru ‘is filled (with)’ (the latter also with ní), ... . And we might prefer to put the second type of ablative option (kará/dé) with the instrumental since the dé marker is more common in speech; it is doubtful whether there are any cases where only kará (and not dé) can be used. When the “instrument” involved is a vehicle, the instrumental can be regarded as a paraphrase—or even an abbreviation—of N ni notte ‘riding on N’; in some of the dialects this VEHICULAR instrumental is marked differently, e.g. by kará—showing the intimate relationship between the ablative and the instrumental. Other instrumental (and causal) uses of dé have a literary paraphrase N o mótte ‘holding/having N’, and N o tukatte ‘using N’ is sometimes used as a colloquial paraphrase for the instrumental. (On dé/mótte, see pp. 488-9.)

Some verbs have a CAUSAL instrumental valence that is optionally marked by ní instead of dé: nayamú ‘is afflicted (with)’, kūrro suru ‘suffers (from)’, méiwaku suru ‘is troubled (by)’, nángi suru ‘is in difficulties (over)’, odoróku ‘is startled (at/by)’, bikkúri suru ‘is surprised (at/by)’, ... . But sometimes (or always?) there are slight differences of meaning: kan de komaru means ‘is embarrassed BY (having) the money’, kan ni komaru ‘is embarrassed FOR (the lack of) money’. Cf. § 3.4. Perhaps the ní is to be regarded as a dative of confrontation.

The instrumental and causal uses of dé are extensions from the copula gerund (the esse nte ní + -tè = níte > n[i]tè > [n]dé); for examples of instrumental and causal uses of verb gerunds, see §9.2.

On é for ní, and ní for é, see the remarks in §2.2. Isami (speaking, of course, only of the standard language) says the difference between é and ní is that ní requires “contact” where é merely expresses “direction”, so that if you want to say Proceed ahead you will phrase it Māe e susume and not Māe ni susume. (Isami is perhaps considering only the ní that I am elsewhere treating as mutative-locative ‘so as to be at’.)

Adnominalization of N ní is avoided, in any of the meanings of ní; that may be because N ní da, the propredication, is a bit clumsy to begin with. When é can replace ní, N é no N may be used; otherwise the situation that seems to call for adnominalization will be handled by rephrasing, so that instead of “gō-zi ní no kiyoo ‘the rising at five o’clock’ you will say gō-zi ni kiyoo sitó ‘the matter of rising at five o’clock’ or the like. In dative
and allative uses, n' can be replaced by é; but in locative uses (of time and place alike) é will not be found.  

The nó of N é no N is the adnominalized form of the copula dá, here serving as propredic- 

25. Though the static locative does not adnominalize, the dynamic (dé-marked) locatives will do so: 

Sukii-zyoo dó no ziko ... 'accidents (happening) at ski resorts' (SA 2673.111c).
nominalized: Tate-sōsiki kara yoko-sōsiki e no ugoki ... ‘The move from vertical to horizontal organization’ is derived from N kara N e ugooku ‘moves from N to N’. A somewhat more complicated history must be found to explain this example: Dōoozii(‘) ni, kono suto wa TAI-hōndo E no genso o tate-kittta ‘At the same time this strike [in Okinawa] cut down the illusions directed toward [help from] the home islands’ (SA 2664.17c)—somehow to be derived from hondo e tai-sūru gensoo ‘illusions directed toward the home islands’.

There are also examples of adnominalized ABLATIVES with similar problems:
...
Toodai kara no zyuken-sya mo ... ‘examinees from Tōkyō University’ (SA 2688.18c)—is no substituting for detora kita?; ...
Nihon kākuti [or: Nihon-kākuti] kara no atumāri de ōru ‘It is a gathering from all parts of Japan’ (SA 2678.139c)—by lexical nominalization from N kara atumāru ‘they gather from N’. In oya kara no kō-zukai ‘spending money from one’s father’ and sóto kara no ōnzyo ‘aid from outside’ the missing verbal element would appear to be moratā ’received’. An example of an adnominalized INSTRUMENTAL in valence with a verbal noun bābāi ‘transaction’: Tōku ni, syooko ga nokorānu denwa DES no bābāi wa kinmotu [de ōru] ‘Especially taboo is the transaction by a telephone call that leaves no evidence’ (SA 2670.29).

The particles kara and made differ from the other case markers in that they can be followed by the subject marker ga and the object marker ō:26 Kore kara ga pāikū ni ii zikan da ‘From now on is a good time of day for [catching] pike’ (SA 2672.97a); Kore kara ga hōnron de aru ‘This is where the (main) argument starts’; Sore kara ga taisetsu da ‘The important part is from there on’; Setumei to sitē nara kore de zyuubūn de aru ga, zitū wa sore kara ga omosirōi ‘As an example this must will suffice but actually it is from there on that it is interesting’; ...kore kara ga sian no si-dōkoro [da] ‘what happens next is the thing to be thought about’ (SA 2663.117a); Kore kara o yōkō kiite kudasai ‘Listen carefully from this point on’; Zyuunī-zi made ga gendo desu ‘The limit is up to 12 o’clock’; Zyuunī-zi made o gendo ni site imasu ‘They’ve set the limit at up to 12 o’clock’.

In such examples there is no valence-linked predicate. When kara and made are used to mark one and the same adjunct, made is the focus particle ‘even’ (= made mo): Anō-hito made kara (or: kara made) o-rei o itadaku tō wa omowānakatta ‘I didn’t think I’d receive a present from him, too’. The same would appear to be true when made and the reciprocal tō are used together: Kimi no hatu-koi no aite to made (or: made to ?!) tukiatte iru n zya nai daroo nā ‘He’s not going so far as to associate with the object of your first love, surely?’ And, for that matter, when ō made occurs, too: Tānin o made (or: made o ?!—cf. earlier remarks) hazukasimēru kotō wa nai desyoo ‘There’s no need to shame others as well’.

An ablative phrase can be directly conjoined with a similar allative phrase (in that order) to delimit a span of time or space; the resulting structure can then be marked for case, just like an ordinary time or place noun: Rokugatā kara kugatā made ga natū na n desu keredo

26. Yet (as a result of ellipsis) the allative ō will also permit subject-object markings, as shown by these examples of é ga/o: Hwinrando e wa ikerū ga Mōsukuwā(‘) é ga mondai da ‘I can get to Finland, but the problem is (getting on) to Moscow’; Hwinrando e wa ikerū ga Mōsukuwā(‘) é o kentoo site miyō ‘I can get to Finland, and I’ll investigate (the possibilities to go on) to Moscow’. Rejected are *gái/ó e. On the occasional ellipsis of the ablative marker under subdued thematicization N [é] wa, see § 2.2a.
§3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

mo ... 'It is summer (=Summer lasts) from June to September, but ...' (SA 2689.126c); Kita-Bétonamu kara zyuusango-dóoro made o yoko ni musubu nanagoo-dóoro ... 'Route 7 that links across [the territory] all the way from North Vietnam to Route 13 ...' (SA 2673.22e); Yón-sai kara rokú-sai ni kákete ga, mottó-mo izimereru zíki de aru 'The time they get teased most is from four to (through?) six years of age' (SA 2655.44c); Íma no San'ai nê, are kara Matuzaka-ya no hóo e kákete ga Owari-tyoo 'You know where San’ai [Building] is now, from there extending toward Matsuzakaya [Department Store] is Owari-chô' (SA 2821.56b).

In such span-delimiting phrases, the allative is usually marked by máde, but occasionally é will be found: natuí kara áki e wa ‘from summer to autumn’ (Fn 436a)—particularly surprising for a time span. I have found one example of N kara N or, probably to be treated as ellipsis N kara N [máde] o, unless it is a syntactic blend: ... ootóbai o hasíri-mawasite sutázio(‘) kara sutázio(‘) o hasíri-mawatta ‘drove the motorcycle around, driving from studio to studio’ (SA 2642.55c). Other examples where máde appears to have dropped: Óobei(‘) dé wa huyú o hasánde áki kara hárú [made] ga páat’ii no sîzûn de, ... 'In Europe and America the party season is from autumn through winter into spring, ...' (Tsuêgoshi 174); ... gó-hun kara sánzí-pun [made] no okure ga dête òri, ... 'a delay of from five to thirty minutes occurs, and ...' (R); ... kookoo kara daigaku [máde [no]] ‘zídai, yóku míta n desu yó 'I used to see them a lot during the period from high school through college' (SA 2793.43b).

The phrase delimiting the span of time or space can be placed in apposition to a phrase that quantifies the span: Meizi-tyúuki ‘igo Taisyoo ‘zídai made [no] yáku sanzyuu-nénkan ‘about thirty years from the middle of the Meiji period up to the Taishô era’ (Makimura).

A consideration of antonyms and synonyms will lead us to the conclusion that there are at least three rather different sorts of ablatives and allatives: (1) the predicate-initiated ablative (kara) and allative (é, ní, or máde); (2) the temporal ablative (kara or ‘irái or ‘ígo) and allative (máde or ní/e kákete or ni itárú(‘) máde); (3) the set-delimiter ablative (kara) and allative (máde).

In addition there are various other uses of each of these markers: kará, among other duties, is an optional substitute for gá or ní in some kinds of subject marking; máde is used for focus ‘even’; ní marks the dative and the static locative and plays many other roles (such as the mutative); é optionally substitutes for ní as dative or allative and perhaps also enjoys unique functions of its own (N é no N, above). See §2.2 for a summary of these various uses.

We have discussed the predicate-initiated ablatives and allatives above; the set-delimiters are described in the next section. The TEMPORAL ablative (kara = ‘irái §2.4) is distinctive in that it can be applied to time adverbials—as in sendatté kara or sendatté ‘irái ‘since the other day’ and kánete kara ‘for some time past’—and to certain adverbializations (sité kara or site ‘irái ‘after/since doing’), as well as to time nouns (kinóo kara or kinóo ‘irái ‘since yesterday’). If the sentence contains a particular verb that can entertain an ablative valence, a kará-marked time noun may be ambiguous: Moku-yóobi kara iti-zíkan o tótte soodan ni ateru will probably be interpreted as ‘We will take an hour from Thursday and assign it to counseling’ but it could be taken as ‘From Thursday on we will take [out of every day] an hour ...’ (and that would be the only way to take Moku-yóobi ‘irái ...), whereas Sendatté kara iti-zíkan o tótte ... would have to be taken as ‘Starting from a few
days ago we take an hour ...’. The temporal allative, like the temporal ablative, can be applied to time adverbs: sendatté made ‘until the other day’, zyúurai made (SA 2794.100a) ‘hitherto’ (meaning much the same as the adverb zyúurai by itself), ...

The temporal allative is sometimes used in Japanese sentences that are best translated with an English locative or the like: makú ga aku máe kara ‘before the curtain opens’; hatú-zi kara hazimaru ‘it starts at eight o’clock’; yuu-gata kara ‘toward evening’ (cf. BJ 2.45) as in Koko de atamá o arattári, sinbun o nagáméteri, bùra-bura site yuu-gata kara misé ni déru ‘Here [at the sauna] I loaf around washing my hair, looking over the newspapers, and so on, and then show up at the shop toward evening’ (SA 2662.97a).

Temporal ablatives and locatives can be adnominalized—presumably by way of propredication, with nó representing some predicate or other, though the derivation may be obscured by lexicalization and other factors: ... sakunen máe no nyyúu zo-sya wa ... ‘attendance up to last year’ (SA 2681.105b); kúgatu kara no syuun yu ‘income since September’.

It is possible to conjoin a temporal ablative with a temporal allative (in that order, T kara T made ‘the period from T to T’) and then mark it for various cases, including the time locative with ni: ... Syóowa(‘) 39nen kara Syóowa(‘) 44nen made NI kakáretá tanpen ‘short stories written in the period from 1964 to 1969’ (SA 2687.108c). The meaning ‘by four o’clock’ for yó-yí made ni is extended from ‘at some time during the period up to four o’clock’. Kore máe ni usually translates as ‘up to the present’ or ‘up to this time’. On máe ni ≠ máe de ≠ máe, see pp. 489-90. N máe ni can also represent the mutative ni ‘so that it is’ (§ 9.1.11) applied to N máe, as in the following example with the mutative verb herasú ‘reduces it (to being)’: Syóraí 1850zi wa naru-béiku(‘) 881zi made NI herasoo to iu kanga-káta ga áttá wåke de arimasu ‘It’s because there was the view that in the future we wanted to cut the 1850 characters all the way down to the 881 characters if possible’ (Ono 1967.166).

The conjoined time phrases can be adnominalized (T kara T máe no N) and that is also true when ni/e kákete substitutes for ... máe: 1962nen kara 66nen ni kákete no gónén-kan ni, ... ‘During the period from 1962 through ‘66 ...’ (SA 2680.44b); ... kodai-go kara kindai-go e kákete no hensen o ... ‘the changes during the period from the ancient to the modern language’ (Kgg 81.51a). As the last example illustrates, a word that is not inherently a time noun can be pressed into service to imply a time; another example: Yooiti-en kara syooogákkoó ni kákete ... ‘From kindergarten through primary school ...’ (SA 2672.149c).

Ellipsis of máe is possible in expressions such as Kinóo kara asítá [made] no aida ‘the interval between yesterday and tomorrow’. This is also true when N kara N máe would seem to be the set-opener ablative and the set-closer allative conjoined, as in yottú[‘mé] kara yattú ‘tôtú [made] no aida ‘between the fourth and the eighth of them’ (on the optional ellipsis of the first ordinalizer, see p. 830) and in the following example: Sore wa, zyutai ‘gól(‘) yon-syúukan kara zis-syúukan ‘mé ‘gúrai no aida désu ‘That is between the fourth and the tenth week after conception’ (SA 2689.122a), in which it is unclear whether ‘gúrai is to be taken with the conjoined phrase ... zis-syúukan ‘mé [made] ‘gúrai or only with the terminus zis-syúukan ‘mé ‘gúrai [made], but the ellipsis of the ordinalizer in yon-syúukan[‘mé] kara favors the former interpretation.

There are also phrases of the type N kara N [made] N no N in which the last N is not aida: ... siti-nin kara zyúu-nin no kookóo-sei ni nagúraéta ‘got beaten up by (from) seven to ten
high school students’ (SA 2681.122a). (See also the example of kookoo kara daigaku "zidai ‘during the period from high school through college’ in § 2.4.)

The following sentence includes three kinds of kara; the first kara is abstract (‘from the standpoint of’ = kara mite), the second substitutes for the passive agent marker ni, and the third (despite the translation) marks the start of a series: “Nenrei KARA wa soozoo dekinai kansei sareta tekkusu, onga ku ni tu"urreba ‘If we turn to Saikaku, who is next after Chikamatsu, ...’ (or, perhaps, ‘If we turn from Chikamatsu to Saikaku, who is next, ...’); Ano kawa kara higashi ga tonari-mura desu ‘From that river east is the next village’ (Terase 33).

3.1a. THE SET-OPENER ABLATIVE AND THE SET-CLOSER ALLATIVE

In the preceding section we have considered the direct conjoining of ablative and allative phrases to yield PLACE kara PLACE made and TIME kara TIME made; these can be used as adverbial phrases directly or they can be treated as nouns and marked for case. A semantic extension will allow nouns that do not refer to time and place to appear in such phrases: Iti kara zyu o kazoe yo ‘Count from one to ten’ (Okutsu); ... sensya kara herikoputaa made tukatte, ... ‘using everything from tanks to helicopters’ (SA 2648.134); ... terebi-hwirumu kara posutaa, ko-doo gu made o issai-gassai tori-yosete ... ‘procuring everything from television films all the way down to posters and stage props’ (SA 2640.131). In these sentences, the ablative and allative are used to delimit a set; kara marks the START of the set, made marks its END. The items that delimit the set may or may not be included within the set; only context can tell you whether iti kara roku made ‘from one to six’ actually takes in ‘one’ and/or ‘six’, though more often than not it will be intended to include both. When made or (especially?) ni kake te refers to a time or a place, the meaning is often taken as ‘extending into’: natu kara aki ni kake te will usually mean ‘from (the beginning of) summer until sometime after the beginning of autumn’ but it can also be taken as ‘from sometime after the beginning of summer until sometime after the beginning of autumn’ or ‘from (the beginning or after the beginning of) summer through (to the end of) autumn’; and Kokura kara Ooita(-) ni kake te no tiiki ‘the territory from Kokura into Oita’ probably includes a bit of both Kokura and Oita, though perhaps not all the territory of either. (In place of ni kake te you will also find ni watatte or made ni watatte ‘extending to’; but none of these expressions will in itself answer the question whether the first and last items are to be included, wholly or partially, in the range covered.)

Once delimited, the set as a whole can function as a noun; when case is to be marked, it is added after the phrase. The focus particle made, ‘even’, on the other hand, will
§3.7a. The set-opener ablative and set-closer allative

normally follow all case markers but gā; cf. Okutsu’s examples Hanoi made₂ o bakugeki sita ‘bombed every place including Hanoi’ and Hanoi o made₃ bakugeki sita ‘bombed even Hanoi’ or, loosely, ‘(went so far that they) even bombed Hanoi’. Other examples of ó made will be found in §2.3.3. (In that section we treat ni made and māde ni as optional variants both meaning ‘even to’; perhaps we should reconsider whether the latter is not, in fact, māde₂—closing a set.)

In several other places (pp. 210, 211) we have found māde optionally omitted in delimiting a set, N kara N [māde] …; here is another example: Iti-niti ni ni-kyoku kara sān-kyoku [made o], sakkkyoku sinākute wa nemuttē wa ikenai to, zibun zisin de kessin si, zikkoo site mīta ‘I myself decided that I must not sleep unless I composed from two to three songs each day and I tried to carry that out’ (SA 2641.48a).

In a perceptive article from which many of the examples here are drawn, Okutsu (1966) distinguishes three kinds of māde: our allative of time and (= é) of place—māde₁; our set-closer allative—māde₂; and our focus marker—māde₃. He argues (22) that there exist all logical combinations of these three kinds of māde, even though we never find such realizations as "N māde māde māde, nor even "N māde māde; where such expressions are expected, they would be reduced to a single māde, and that is one factor that makes it difficult on occasion to decide just which kind of māde is intended in a given context. Many sentences are ambiguous—or, perhaps, vague—with respect to which of the three, or which combination of them, is intended. Okutsu gives an example of the set-closer māde + the focus māde that, I believe, will be acceptable if we collapse the two māde’s into one: Ākatyan kara 80’sai no roozin(“) māde {māde} ga demō ni sānka(“) sita ‘Even from babies to 80-year-olds took part in the demonstration’—the ‘even’ in the English leaves me a bit uneasy, however.

Okutsu points out that for the start and the end of a set you can use not only simple nouns but also case-marked nouns, and then both kara₂ and māde₂ will FOLLOW the case marker:²⁷ Hokkaidoo e kara Okinawa é made (hōboo e) ryokoo sita ‘I made all sorts of trips—from [going] to Hokkaidō to [going] to Okinawa’; Káno-zyo wa A-si to kara É-si to made (i roiro na otokó to) kekkon sita kanoo-sei de wa nakarōo ka ‘Surely it would not be possible for her to have wedded with all those men, from [wedding] with Mr A all the way to [wedding] with Mr E?’

On the other hand, a case marker may be added to a set whose start and end are somewhat loosely joined, as in the following example from Okutsu, where kitā(“) ‘north’ and minami ‘south’ are subdued genitives of scope: Kitā(“) wa Hokkaidoo kara minami wa Okinawa māde e ryokoo sita ‘I took trips to (places) all the way from Hokkaidō in the north to Okinawa in the south’.

It is not necessary to mention both the start and the end of the set; N kara₂ or N māde₂ can be used alone, to delimit one of the terminal points of the set, the other remaining unexpressed or vague: Kākari wa (zyukēn-sei no uti) 51 ‘ban kara o konō heyā ni ireta ‘The proctor put (the examinees) from No. 51 on into this room’ (Okutsu); Kono pēzi made ga omosirōkatta kedo ‘(Everything) up to this page was interesting, all right’.

These open-ended sets can lead to some rather unusual sentences, in which the set

²⁷. Can we ‘then go one step further and put a case marker on the delimited set with case markers within P é kara Q é made ga/o …?’ Okutsu does not raise the question, and I have no example.
delimiter implies a PLURAL adjunct of the same high semantic category; kará2 means ‘(to include others) starting from ...’ and máde2 means ‘(having included others) extending to ...’. The subject and object markers need not be present, so that we find sentences like these: Kodomo kara tabesayóó ‘Let’s feed the children first’ (i.e. ‘Let’s let people eat, starting with the children’); Dé wa l Nomura san kara [l] o-negai simášu ‘We will first hear from Mr Nomura (= we will first call on Mr N. to speak)’ (R); Asú no l bangumí kara l go-syookai itasimásita ‘This concludes the announcements of tomorrow morning’s programs’ (R); Ákanyan made ikimásita ‘We all went, including the baby’; Nikú kara tabéru ‘We’ll start with the meat’ (i.e. ‘We will eat, starting with the meat’); Nikú made tabéru ‘We’ll end up with the meat’ (i.e. ‘We will eat, ending with the meat’)—it is unclear whether the terminal point is after the meat is consumed or before it is begun). The sentence Itiban warúi yáru kara korosítá can be taken either as ‘We killed them, starting with the worst offenders’ or ‘The worst ones started killing [people] first’.28

When a time or place expression appears as the terminal point of a set, there may be ambiguity with the temporal ablative and allative: Dóko kara hassya suru can mean ‘Where does the train depart from?’ as a place ablative, but it can also mean ‘Where does the train depart [for/from] first?’—implying several departure points and either dóko [de/kara1] kara2 or dóko [e] kara2, since a verb of departure entertains valences both ablative (the origin) and allative (the destination). The sentence Yó-zi kara siyoo can mean either ‘Let’s start at four o’clock’ = ‘Let’s do it from four o’clock on’ or ‘(Having decided to do it for a couple of minutes every hour on the hour) let’s first do it at four o’clock’.

In the following examples mutative conversions (§9.1.11) are applied to set-opener ablatives: Nihón no biíru minná[1] nónde mimasyóó—Kirin kara ni simasyóó ka ‘Let’s try all the Japanese beers—shall we make it (= order) Kirin to start with?’; Yó-zi kara ni nátte orimásu no de ... ‘It’s supposed to begin at four o’clock’; Koko kara ni sitára dóó desyoo ‘How about deciding to start here?’.

Examples with the dative: Senséi ni kara iimasyóó ka ‘Shall I begin [telling it] with [telling it] to the teacher?’; Miná-san ni okurímono o agétaí n desu ga, dónata ni kara agemasyóó ka ‘I want to give each of you a present; whom shall I begin with?’

Okutsu cites an example (taken from Matsushita) that would appear to be a double ablative with the second allative marker absorbed into the set-closing máde: Watasi wa sakunen Kyúusyuu e Hukuóoka made itta ‘Last year I went to Kyūshū ending up in Fukuoka [after going other places on the way]’. As Okutsu points out, the simple double- ablative sentence Kyúusyuu e Hukuóoka e itta ‘I went to Kyūshū—to Fukuoka (to be specific)’ is avoided; but Kyūusyu wa Hukuóoka e itta is possible, and might be taken as a subdued (and thematized) condition ‘as for Kyūshū I went to Fukuoka’, though I would prefer to derive this directly from a subdued genitivization ‘Of (places in) Kyūshū I went to Fukuoka’. It is not possible to make a double-ablative sentence in quite the same way as the Matsushita example cited by Okutsu, but you can genitivize and subdue the locational reference of greater scope: Hokkáido wa Sapporo kara (Kyúusyuu e Hukuóoka made) itta ‘I went from Sapporo in Hokkaidó (to Kyūshū and ended up in Fukuoka)’. Logically it ought to be possible to say Sapporo [kara] máde Kyúusyuu e Hukuóoka made itta ‘I went
finally from Sapporo (after going from other places) to Kyūshū and ended up in Fukuoka’, but few speakers are logicians, and none will probably feel very happy with this attempt to pack so many implications into a single sentence.

One way to explain the set delimiters in these sentences would be to assume ellipsis of some verb gerund: ... kara [hazimetep ‘starting from’], ... màde [oyonde] ‘extending to’. Under this explanation the ablative or allative is introduced as a valence by the verb, which then modestly disappears. Perhaps a similar explanation would account for the use of the set-opener ablative to mark a subject as the initiator of an act: ... yoozi ga ättara zibun no hōo kara iku ... ‘when there was some business to attend to THEY would decide when to do it’ (SA 2642.44d); Watası no hōo kara kiboo site ita yó ‘I was the one who had his hopes up’.

We have mentioned that the nouns in N kara N màde can be place nouns, time nouns, or (as the two limits of a set) other kinds of pure nouns. When the reference is to time, you will also find the expressions V-te kara ($\S$9.2.3) ‘after V-ing’ and V-ru màde ‘until V’ or ‘to the point where/when V’: Ása ōkite kara yōru neru màde yasumi nāku hataraku ‘I will work steadily from the time I get up in the morning till I go to bed at night’ (Okutsu); Ása hatī-zi kara yōru neru màde ... ‘From eight in the morning until I go to bed at night ...’; Ása ōkite kara yōru hatī-zi màde ... ‘From the time I get up in the morning until eight at night ...’; Kisyoo kara yōru hatī-zi màde ... ‘From my arising until eight at night ...’; Kisyoo kara neru màde ... ‘From my arising until I go to bed ...’; Nete kara kisyoo màde ... ‘From when I go to bed until my arising ...’.

And, as we will see in $\S$9.2.3, expressions with V-te kara as well as those with V-ru màde can serve as subjects and objects, just as can N kara and N màde. Any combination of these is possible: Kodomō-tāti ga netē kara ga watasi no ziyūu na zikan de āru ‘My free time is after the children have gone to bed’ (Okutsu); Watasi no ziyūu na zikan de āru kodomō-tāti ga netē kara o dokusyo de sugosu ‘The time after the children have gone to bed, which is my free time, I spend reading’ (Okutsu); Yasumi nāku hataraku ša ōkite kara yōru neru màde o yoku mite kudasai ‘Consider carefully the time from when you get up in the morning until you go to bed at night, the time that you work steadily’ (Okutsu).

The last two examples show that these phrases with kara and màde can be modified by adnominalized sentences, i.e. serve as extruded epithemes of TIME DURATION. Like other expressions of duration, such as iti-zikan (‘gurai one hour’ or aida ‘interval’, they function as time nouns and can have all the behavior appropriate to a pure noun, even though we run across them most often when they have been directly adverbiaized. If, as suggested above, we assume that all ablatives and allatives imply an underlying verb—kara [hazimetep ‘beginning from’] and màde [oyonde] ‘extending up to’—the appropriate form here would be a nominalization rather than the gerund (= adverbiaization) given earlier: V-te kara [hazimeru koto/toki], V-ru màde [ooyobu kotō/toki].

As Okutsu points out, the appropriate way to state the duration of an event is by direct adverbiaization: Natu-yāsumi no aida ronbun o kāta ‘I wrote my thesis through the summer’, Zyyuiī-zi made asonde ite kudasai ‘Enjoy yourself (= Stay) until eleven o’clock’. And if you want to mark a point in the duration, you use the expected temporal locative ni: Natu-yāsumi no aida NI ronbun o kāta ‘I wrote my thesis (at a time) during the summer’, Zyyuiī-zi ni kete kudasai ‘Come (at some time) by eleven o’clock (= at some time before eleven)’. 
You will sometimes find the set-delimited duration in apposition to a more general statement of duration, usually quantified, as the use of N kara N máde iti-zíkan 'the hour from N to N' in this example from Okutsu: Koosyuu-káido o doráibu sita gó-zi kara rokú-zi máde iti-zíkan wa tote-mo tanosikatta 'The hour from five to six that I drove (along) the Koshû highway was extremely pleasant'. The expression yó-zi kara ni-zíkan 'for two hours (starting) from four o'clock' is perhaps better treated as an adverbial modifying an adverbial.

In place of N máde writers sometimes use N ni itáru(-) máde 'to the point of reaching to': ... zínzi kara keiei no bánpan(-) ni itáru(-) máde o kanzen ni kontoróoru site ita 'They had complete control over everything from personnel matters all the way to overall business operations' (SA 2689.17a); ... go-syúzin kara kozóo san ni itáru(-) máde 'from the master right down to the errand boy' (Tk 4.36a); Kóodo no bunmég-ziin kara Hottentotto no hitó ni itáru(-) máde, sake o nómu desyou 'From the man of highest culture right down to the Hottentot (all people) drink wine, you see' (Tk 4.38b); Watakusí no, kodomo no zibun(-) kara kónniti ni itáru(-) máde, e,29 uti ni inú no inákatta kikán to iú no wa honto ni sukunái n desu 'From the time I was a child right up to the present day, uh, there were really very few periods when we didn't have a dog in the house' (R).

Additional examples (from Okutsu) of modified ablative and allative nominalizations: Taihen na kore ká o dòo kiri-nukéyóö ka 'How will we make it through the dreadful period from now on?'; Kákári ga kono heýa ni ireta 51-kan kara wa móó(-) tooan o dáshita 'Those from No. 51 on that the proctor put in this room have already handed in their papers'; Tote-mo nágakatta síkén ga owaru máde o hurikáéru... 'When I think back on the period until the exam was over, a period that was terribly long...'.

As a postadnominal the word máde has an additional use to express DEGREE, somewhat like hódo. The following examples (from Okutsu) show that the phrase has the grammar of an adjectival noun, but it can be directly adverbialized as well as adverbialized with ni: Zanyakú na máde na syazitu-syúgi no seisim 'A spirit of such realism that it is actually brutal'; Zanyaku na máde [ni] syazitu-teki na e 'A picture that is so realistic as to be brutal'; Sín-taku nárú máde ni kurusii syuuyýoo ‘Ascetic practices so excruciating that you get so you want to die’. A somewhat similar use of máde for degree will be found in kóo máde ‘this much’ (= kore-hódo) as in ... kóo máde iú no ni wa ... ‘in his saying this much’ (Kb 35a).30

3.8. LOCATIVE CONSTRAINTS; STASIS

There are two ways to mark spatial location: with the particle dé and with the particle ní. The particle dé is the appropriate marker for any sentence, provided ní is not called for as a specifically static location by the other words present. A sememe of stasis is at least optionally31 present with such verbs as súmu ‘lives’, tomaru ‘stops, parks’, todomáru

29. As the ‘uh’ translation suggests, this is an empty pause-filler used in moments of non-fluency: the preceding vowel is either elongated (held onto) or, as here, repeated in a kind of echo.

30. It is obvious that I have relied heavily on Okutsu for much of the information in this section; I have also benefited from discussions with Yutaka Kusanagi and Shōzō Kurokawa, and from unpublished studies by Kusanagi.

31. For most speakers, it is surely obligatory. Here are other instances where stasis is inherent to the
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'stops', taizai suru 'stays', nokóru 'remains', etc., and also is obligatorily present with such adjectivals as óóí 'much/many', sukunai 'little/few', mezurasí 'rare' and such adjectival nouns as maré ('dá 'is/are infrequent' and such precopular nouns as tama dá 'is occasional,' etc. But the sememe is not present for such verbs as sinu 'dies', hataraku 'works', ..., nor for most adjectives and adjectival nouns; the particle dé is left as the only possible marker for location.

The sememe of stasis is, however, also present with the RESULTATIVE conversion No VT-ru → N o/ga VT-te áru 'is [in the state resulting from its having been] done'

§9.2.4.(2), and in two of the three meanings of V-te áru, §9.2.4.(1): (1) the RESULTATIVE, which expresses a resultant state as in kumotte áru 'is cloudy', suwatte áru 'is seated', tátte áru 'is standing, is upright', áru áru 'is dead', áru áru 'is (come) here', ... nátte áru 'is become', tukáreté áru 'is tired', ... etc. (2) the REPETITIVE, which expresses regular activity as in utte áru 'they sell it' (misé ni utte áru 'they sell it at the shop' or, if ni is taken as dative, 'they sell it to the shop'); arúité áru 'they walk regularly', hataráte áru 'they work', tukututte áru 'they make them', ... . For the resultative and the repetitive, N ni is at least sometimes32 appropriate as the realization of the locative. But it is never appropriate for: (3) the CONTINUATIVE, which expresses stretched-out action as in arúité áru 'they are walking', utte áru 'they are selling', hataráte áru 'they are working', ... etc. (But verbs like *sinde áru 'they are in the midst of dying', etc. are aspectually incongruent with this conversion—at least when the subject is singular.)

It is very difficult to find verbs that are limited to only one of these meanings. The best examples seem to be wakátte áru and sitte áru 'knows' for the RESULTATIVE; hiráméite áru 'is flashing' would be usual only as REPETITIVE, yet hiráméite áru aida 'while flashing' could be interpreted as CONTINUATIVE (the problem is aida). Tuzuíte áru seems limited to the resultative (is continued) and the repetitive (repeatedly continues), as is true for owaru 'ends' and hazimaru 'begins'. With the continuative, the locative is realizable only by N dé, i.e. by the residual realization. (But dé CAN be used with the other meanings of V-te áru.)

We can say that the stasis sememe is present in all occurrences of the verb áru 'stays, is' in simplex sentences, but we will have to exclude it from V-te áru sentences of Type 3 (Continuative). The stasis sememe would seem to be present in all cases of áru (including V-te áru, which appears only under Type 1, Resultative) except when the noun is an EVENT—often a verbal noun—as in dóko de koogí(‘)/síkén ga áru 'Where is the lecture/exam?' here the stasis sememe would have to be declared absent unless we attribute the locative marking directly to the verbal noun (dóko de suru koogí(‘)/síkén ... → dóko no koogí(‘)/síkén, etc.) or, better, say that the ACTIVE sememe that is present in the verbal noun overrides (or cancels) the stasis sememe that is present in the verb áru. Another explanation would say that áru is here substituting for okóru 'happens' and the locative is marked as if the underlying verb were present: Góku saikín Hokkáido de áttá (= okóta)

verb: kono yó(‘) ni ikiru 'lives in this world'; mizuumi ni ukabu 'floats in a lake'; ... Taihei-yoo no seitán ni iti suru 'is located at the western end of the Pacific Ocean' (SA 2685.16); ... sekáí ni suizyun ni gósite ikí ... 'ranking at world levels' (SA 2651.28c); atíkóti ni tamuro-suru 'encamps here and there, rendezvous at various places'; ... .

32. Here is a repetitive V-te áru that will not permit ni: Mánitii(‘) senzyoo DE (*senzyoo NI) takusán no heitai ga sinde áru 'Every day many soldiers die on the battlefield.' Here is a resultative V-te áru that will not permit ni: Waikiki DE hárete áru 'Skies are clear in Waikiki.'
kotó desu ‘It is something that happened quite recently in Hokkaido’ (SA 2659.50a). The question arises as to the appropriate marking for a repetitive V-te iru that is made on a passive. Apparently either de or ni is acceptable if the agent is unexpressed, but if the agent is mentioned he will be marked by ni and the locative must be de. N ga dóko de/ni urarete iru ‘Where is N sold?’ (from N o dóko ni utte iru ‘Where do they sell N?’) but N ga dóko de A ni urarete iru ‘Where is N sold by A?’.

In a sense, then, it might be said that the particles ni and de are in complementary distribution, provided we allow the stasis sememe to be part of the environment; but the choice of ni or de is often the only indication that stasis is present. Thus in the sentence (from MJW) Róndon ni wa īma de mo yamataka o kabúta otoko no hitó ga arúte iru sóo desu ‘I hear there are still men walking around with bowlers on in London’ the use of ni to mark the locative tells us that arúte iru must be either resultative (and in this sentence that would not make sense) or repetitive, since the continuative is excluded. In ... tāda bēddo de nete iru dakē de aru ‘(I) do nothing but just lie in bed’ (SA 2645.47b)—the de evokes the activities one might be indulging in.

Moreover, there are situations in which the preceding statements are seemingly contradicted, sentences in which the V-te iru is apparently continuative but the location is marked by ni; these may be syntactic blends, in which you are really saying two things—where somebody is and what they are doing, with your focus of attention on the former. Thus, to borrow examples from Leatrice Mirikitani, in answer to a question like Dōnata ga o-taku no zyōtay desu ka ‘Which child is your daughter?’ the reply may be Asoko ni asonde iru no ga uti no Hānako desu ‘The one who is over there playing is my daughter Hanako’ but in answer to a question like Hānako-tyan wa īma nāni o site iru ‘What is Hanako doing now?’ what you will hear is Sōto de asonde iru no ‘She’s playing outside’. And if someone wonders Gakusei wa dóko ni iru n desyoo nē; mōto takusan dēru hazu desita no ni ... ‘I wonder where the students are; more were supposed to show up ...’ the information may be offered Tosyō-kan no māe ni oozē atumātte itā wa ‘There were a lot of them gathered in front of the library’ (this can be treated as resultative—and the ni could be taken as mutative-locative) and Sunakkū-baa ni mo gakusei ga takusan nōnde itā wa ‘There were many students in the snack bar, too—drinking’ in which the emphasis is on the whereabouts rather than the activity. Some pairs from Mirikitani: Ike no omote ni bōto ga hasitte iru ‘There is a boat racing along on the surface of the lake’—Ma de wa zidōsyaya(‘) ga sīrō kemuri o dāsite hasitte iru ‘The cars are racing along in town emitting white smoke’; Asoko no sēru ni mo takusan no hito ga katte ita ‘There were many people shopping at the sale there, too’—Sāto san desitara, asoko de tabako o katte imāsu yō ‘If it’s Mr. Sato you want, he is buying cigarettes over there’; Rozyoo ni itagakoi no aida kara san-nin ga nozoite ita ‘There were three men on the street peering through the cracks in the wooden enclosure’—Gakkoo de kodomō-tāti ga kyoositou no nāka o nozoite ita ‘At school the children were peering into the classroom’.

In these cases of unusual ni-marking with the continuative it seems to be obligatory to set the locative off with at least minor juncture. Although you can say Asoko ni (1) anā o l hōtte iru no ga Tāroo desu without the first juncture, it then cannot mean ‘The one who is over there digging a hole is Taro’ but only ‘The one digging a hole into that place over there is Taro’, and Asoko ni (1) sinbun o yōnde iru no ga l Tāroo desu ‘The one over there, reading the newspaper, is Taro’ will be quite ungrammatical without the juncture since to say ‘The one reading the newspaper over there’ you will have to say Asoko de (1) sinbun
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... Apparent ly these locatives can never appear after the subject (*Taro ga asoko ni sinbun o yonde iru). Because of that I would hesitate to attribute the marking to ellipsis (something like Asoko ni [ite/iru] Taro ‘Taro, being there, ...’) instead I would prefer to assume a blend of two disparate sentences, something like Taro ga asoko ni iru and Taro ga [asoko de] sinbun o yonde iru. Cf. the discussion in Alfonso 211–3.

Both particles, of course, have other uses, and these can provide further contrasts: Amerika ni wa dame da ‘It is no good for America’ has an indirect object, a dative of reference (= ni [totte]), but Amerika de wa damé da has a locative in the meaning ‘It is no good in America’ and the copula gerund in the meaning ‘America is no good’ (= Amerika nara/ wa damé da). Yamá ni i naru means ‘It becomes a mountain’ with the essive infinitive but Yamá ni i naru means ‘It [stands there and] bears fruit on the mountain’ = ‘It’s on the mountain, bearing fruit’ with the locative; cf. (?) Yamá de [i] narú ‘It does its fruitbearing on the mountain’. With the verbs saku ‘blooms’ and náru ‘(fruit) is borne’ the marker is usually ni regardless of whether the locative is intimate (the tree or plant or branch) or not (the area): niwa ni bara ga saite iru ‘in the garden roses are blooming’, kí ni ringo ga náru ‘the tree bears apples’. Perhaps this should be considered the mutative-locative ‘to a position at, onto’.

In the literary language ni will often substitute for ni-te = dé, and a similar substitution will sometimes turn up in colloquial contexts, especially with somewhat bookish verbs: Tokyoo no sitamati NI sodatta tyōsha wa ... ‘The author, who was reared in downtown Tokyo, ...’ (SA 2659.113e—dé would be more colloquial); ... . Certain anomalous sentences that contain ni with adjectives can be regarded as elliptical. In the sentence Asoko wa nánboku ni/e [...] hoso-nagai ti kei da ‘That region has a long and narrow shape from north to south’ some verbal gerund is probably omitted (watatte? yokotawatte?); the substitutability of é shows that ni is probably not to be regarded as a locative in any event. Cf. táte ni nagái ‘is long vertically’, yoko ni semái ‘is narrow sidewise’ ... . (Is this the ni of manner?).

Unexplained is the following anomoly: mae ni ‘before’ refers to order (= saki ni), time, or static space, and mae de ‘(happening) in front’ refers only to space; áto ni ‘after’ refers only to order and áto de ‘after’ only to time (with usiro ni/de ‘behind’ designating space). Some sort of semantic cancellation may be present; or perhaps the overlap with the copula infinitive and gerund has confused the picture. The expression (sigoto o sité kara) súgu áto ni simasyóo can be taken as a mutative conversion of ... áto da ‘Let’s decide on its being right after (finishing the job)’ or it can be taken as the static locative of áto ni as an adverbial modification of the verb ‘Let’s do it right after ...’. The mutative conversion can be applied to the latter, by way of propredication, yielding ... súgu áto ni ni simasyóo ‘Let’s decide on [doing it] right after ...’; áto de ni simasyóo will mean ‘Let’s decide on [doing it] later’.

Since we consider N ni to be the MARKED locative category (called for by the presence of stasis in the sentence), the temporal N ni ‘at (a time)’ can be included as a special instance—called for by the stasis that is probably present in ALL time words; such a treatment would deal with the space-time continuum as a single entity. Cf. the use of kara and máde with both space and time; and contrast the use of é with space only.

From what we have said about the marking of locatives, it is possible to discern two
kinds of locatives: a specifically static locative, marked by と, which is called for by some particular predicate; and a general or residual locative, marked by で, which marks the scope of a sentence regardless of the predicate and therefore is common in adjectival sentences as well as in those verbal sentences lacking stasis. But it is possible to have both locatives in a single sentence: Amerika で  לפני doko ni sünde だ ‘Where were you living in America?’ It ought to be possible to obtain by ellipsis something like Amerika で  [ ] sünde だ ‘Were you living [somewhere] in America?’

In addition, there is the mutative-locative which contracts the combination of static-locative と + the mutative use of the copula-infinitive (or essive) と into a single と: teeburu no u e とoku ‘puts it [so that it is] on the table’, tehuki-kake ni te-huki o kake ‘hanging the towel on the towel rack’ (Fn 386a); とんすや ni noru ‘boards the train’; etc. (Cf. とkaku とoku ‘puts it near’, とkaku とげ ‘lifts it high’, etc.) On this, see §9.1.11.

Certain verbs, such as タす ‘stands’ (not ‘departs’) and すわる ‘sits’, can be described as each having two grammars: one with the static-locative ‘is upright/seated in a place’, the other with the mutative-locative ‘(changes position so that one) stands/sits to occupy a place’. That is why it is possible to say どこ とたて/すわって iru no wa hōzen desyou–atto とたて/すわって kudasai ‘It must be uncomfortable for you to be standing/sitting there—move over there and stand/sit’. I have found a similar example with おる ‘lies down, sleeps’: はこちら wa, とこ とね ‘Hamako, tonight sleep over here (beside me)’ (Fn 268b). It may be possible to find examples with でむ (perhaps でむ ‘moves to the country to live?’) and even with と ‘stays’. One way we might account for such sentences would be to assume the ellipsis of a verb of movement, something like どこ と (kite [koko と]) とね ‘come here and sleep [here]’, ととい (itte [atii と]) とたて ‘go over there and stand [there]’. Some sort of syntactic blend may be responsible for Betonamu と kaku-hēiki o tukau nado to i ku to ... ‘The using of nuclear weapons in Vietnam, say, ...’ (Tanigawa 27).

An occasional substitution of と for と might make you think you have an allative rather than a static-locative, but such a substitution often turns out to be due to confusion between と and と and may well be rejected as substandard: itiban と とへ tomatte, ... ‘I stayed at the best hotel’ (SA 2689.124d) would be better reworded as とへ と tomatte—nor is this example to be treated as ellipsis (... と itte と と tomatte or the like). A similar example: それ と moto と tomatte ‘I stayed there that night, too’ (Tk 121a).

The verbs と‘buys’ and と‘borrows’ are peculiar in that the object is located with と provided it is immovable (Yokohama と toti o katta/とる ‘I bought/leased land in Yokohama’) but with で if it is movable (Yokohama と kuruma o katta/とる ‘I bought/rented a car in Yokohama’). The sentence どこ と moto de とkei o kao ‘Let’s buy a clock at that store for this place’ can be regarded as containing an ellipsis どこ と (oku) tokei ‘a clock to put here’ or an expression of purpose or dative of benefit どこ と (no tamē) と for the sake of this place’. The expression どこ moto とkei ‘possesses’ locates its object (the possessed) with と (Yokohama と iie o motte iru ‘I have a house in Yokohama’) as, of course, is true of と: どこ ni/が Yokohama と iie ga と to ‘Who has a house in Yokohama?’

With verbs of seeing, locating, finding, etc., the place where the object is discovered to be situated is marked with と, as if preserving the underlying marking of ‘it is in that place’. 32a You will say Poketto と naka と monō o mita ‘I saw something in the pocket’ because you the observer are hardly likely to be in the pocket yourself. It is unclear whether or not the speaker who says Enpitu o teeburu no sünde ni mituketa ‘I found the pencil under

32a. Also, forgetting to move an object from its location: と to tebukuro o wasurete kita daroo ‘Where have I left my gloves?’ (Kenkyusha).
the table’ got under the table to look for it; if you say Yokohama ni iê o mituketa ‘I found (located) a house in Yokohama’, it is possible that you were actually in Yokohama when you discovered the house (rather than consulting with a faraway real-estate agent, perhaps) but the sentence is noncommittal on that point. If you say Asoko de yamâ ga miêru you mean ‘From there (= if you are in that place) you can see the mountains’ but if your meaning is ‘The mountains can be seen over there [where they are located]’ you must say Asoko ni yamâ ga miêru. In Anâta o yumé ni mîta ‘I saw you in a dream’ nothing is said about whether the dreamer visualized himself in the dream or not. These situations might be thought to involve a semantic extension of the mutative-locative; in any event, a very similar mechanism is at work, whereby the stasis of the object (after movement, discovery, or change-of-possession) is marked.

In the following example, the first é is probably anticipating the movement verb responsible for the second é: ... óyazî) ga Tibâ-ken e toti o katte, soko e yat-î sokai sitâ n desu keredo mo, ... ‘my father bought land in Chiba prefecture and we finally were evacuated there’ (SA 2821.59b). But a conceivable interpretation would be ‘went to Chiba to buy land’ or ‘bought land out in Chiba’ with ellipsis of itte ‘going’. The expected marking here is nî (toti o ka), not dé, for reasons explained above.

Throughout Tottori and in northern Tajima (according to Tôjô 1954.64) the ablative marker kara is used to mark the dynamic locative in place of the standard dé: hârâ kara [= de] asobu ‘plays in a field’, gakkoo kara [= de] undôô-kai ga âru ‘there is a sports meet happening at school’. This is reminiscent of the Korean use of êyê se for both ablative ‘from’ and residual locative ‘at’.

3.8a. CASE VALENCES WITH REL EXICALIZED NUCLEI

In some sentences a case marker is present by virtue of a valence with a predicate that appears in the sentence itself only in a relexicalized form or in a hidden guise, if at all.

Among the various kinds of genitives (§3.11.2), there are those that can be accounted for, in certain examples, by underlying verbs or verbal nouns. Nengâ-zyoo() no okuri-nusi wa ... ‘The sender of New Year’s cards’ (SA 2685.112b) contains an objectival genitive that derives from an underlying sentence Nengâ-zyoo() o okuru ‘(He) sends New Year’s cards’; its converse nengâ-zyoo() no uketorî-nin(‘) ‘the recipient of New Year’s cards’ contains an objectival genitive that derives from Nengâ-zyoo() o uke-toru ‘(He) receives New Year’s cards’. There are similar examples of the objectival genitive in which the object is the ‘possessed’: zidóô-sya(‘) no hoyuû-sya ‘a car owner’ derives from Zidóô-sya(‘) o hoyuu suru ‘(He) owns a car’ and ... surudöô ryôosîn no motî-nusi datta ‘was the possessor of a sharp conscience’ (SA 2684.120d) derives from Surudöô ryôosîn o motu ‘(He) possesses a sharp conscience’.

But sometimes the object is incorporated into the epitheme: Kânô-zyo wa san-nîn no ko-moti dâ ga, ... ‘She is the mother of three ...’ (SA 2684.116c) derives from Kânô-zyo ga san-nîn no ko o motu ‘She has three children’, and Tóôzi no siti-hatizyûuen no gekkyûuto-tori ga sumâû yûô no utî(‘) desu ‘It was the sort of house that would be lived in by a salary earner of about 70 or 80 yen in the money of that time’ (Tk 4.322a) derives from [Kâre ga] siti-hatizyûuen no gekkyûu o tòru ‘(He) takes a monthly salary of 70 or 80 yen’. In other instances the object may be genitivized, but the nucleus is converted to the
infinitive (or, more accurately put, is not finitivized—and the verbal noun simply omits the auxiliary suru altogether) and is then incorporated into a compound noun: ... kanzyoo no motteyuki-basyo ga nai ‘has no place to take his feelings’ (KKK 3.170) (Basyo e) kanzyoo o motte yuku ‘(He) will take his feelings (to a place)’; ... sekaï-heiwa no izi-kikan ‘an organ to maintain world peace’ (KKK 3.170). Sekai-Heiwa o izi suru ‘(It) will maintain world peace’ or ‘(By it they) will maintain world peace’; ... gakkoo no kyuusai-saku ‘a plan to save the schools’ (KKK 3.170) ↔ Gakkoo o kyuusai suru ‘(With it they) will save the schools’.

It is not always immediately obvious that the underlying predicate has disappeared. When a case-marked noun is linked to another noun by no, functioning as the adnominalized copula, it is helpful to think of the copula form as standing for a specific predicate; this is a kind of propredication, as set forth on p. 654. For example, hâha kara no teyami ‘a letter from my mother’ can be explained as standing for the more explicit expression hâha kara moratta teyami ‘a letter received from my mother’. But there are situations in which a case-marked noun cannot be so readily explained. The reciprocal valence of the noun en ‘relationship, tie’—as in ... kore de hito wa kami to en o kitta wâke de aru ‘... for with this [=with Jesus] man cut his ties with God’ (SA 2672.128a)—can be explained in terms of the predicate en o musubu ‘forms a connection (with)’, perhaps by ellipsis: kami to [musunda] en ‘the tie [joined] with God’. The particular verb that might predicate certain nouns is obscure: in the phrase Tâi to no kokkyoo ni tikaku, ... ‘Near the border with Thailand ...’ (SA 2680.19d) the word kokkyoo, like its translation ‘border’, implies a SHARING that is not readily verbalized, so that we will perhaps want to say that the valence is with a verbal sememe of “sharing” that is inherent to the noun itself.

But the underlying verb is often present. The common expression N to wa kurabemono ni narânai ‘does not stand comparison with N’, for example, is clearly derived from N to kuraberu ‘compares it with N’: ... éiga(−) to wa kurabemono ni narânai kûrai hînsoo desita ‘it was too meager to stand comparison with the film’ (SA 2664.37); ... hoko no gakkoo to wa kurabemono ni narânai hodo ... ‘to an extent that does not bear comparison with other musical instruments’ (SA 2673.115c); ... gênzai to wa kurabemono ni narânai no monô datta yôô da ga ... ‘it seems to have been something that would not stand comparison with the present’ (SA 2677.45e). And the common expression N wa X ni tuki- mono da ‘N always goes with X, N is an inevitable accompaniment of X’ clearly derives from N ga X ni tuku ‘N is attached to X’. It is easy to see the origin of a case valence with a noun derived from a verb infinitive (§ 14.5), as when Kâre to nendai ga tigau ‘differs with/from him in generation’ underlies the subject in the sentence ... kâre to nendai no tigai ga arimâsu kara ‘For there is a difference of generation with him ...’ (SA 2671.48a).

Often the valence is present as the result of a verbal noun that fails to function as a verb in the sentence: Watasi wa siro to iu monô ni teikoo o kan-ziru ‘I feel a resistance toward things called “castles”’ (SA 2673.156) has a dative of confrontation that derives from monô ni teikoo suru ‘resists things’. And sometimes the verbal noun is incorporated in a larger lexical compound: Musuko to soodan-zukû(−) de ... byooin ni haitta ‘entered the hospital by mutual agreement with his son’ (SA 2670.32c) gets its dative valence from musuko tô soodan suru ‘consults with the son’ and tooyoo-sisô e no annai-yôô(−) ‘a guidebook to oriental thought’ perhaps derives its allative valence from N ô annai suru ‘guides one to N’ (but see the remarks on N e no N in § 3.7).
Sometimes an adverb will be left dangling when a verbal noun fails to appear as a predicate: "Syokugyoo ‘gara kaigai-ryokoo no do-i Maeda-si mo ... ‘Mr Maeda who has lots of trips abroad [that he makes] by the nature of his business’ would seem to contain an underlying syokugyoo ‘gara ryokoo suru ‘travels by the nature of one’s business’. In the phrase yori seikoo-hoo(‘) ‘a more frontal attack’, the bound adverb yori ‘more’ would seem to refer to the incorporated Chinese-loan morpheme SEI ‘front’ rather than the noun seikoo-hoo(‘) as a whole.

The reciprocal valence of renraku ‘contact’ (kyookai-kanbu to renraku nasi de ‘without contact with the Association staff’) can be attributed to the fact that it is a verbal noun: kyoookai-kanbu to renraku suru ‘makes contact with the Association staff’. And the reciprocal or dative valences of kankei can be derived from its use as a verbal noun in the predicates N to kankei suru ‘forms a connection/ liaison with N’ and N ni kankei suru ‘relates to N; participates in N; has an influence on N’. Káre wa kono kotó ni kankei ga áru to omóu ‘I think he has something to do with the matter’.

In the following two examples, kankei is responsible for the reciprocal valence but it has been incorporated into a precopular noun mu-kankei ‘unconnected, unrelated’; moreover, the subded focus is in anticipation of the negative element, which has been incorporated as the prefix mu-: ... iryouo(‘) to wa mu-kankei no siróoto ga ooku ... ‘there are many ... amateurs lacking any connection with medical treatment’ (SA 2670.34c): Dái yōn-syoo de wa, sore māde no tyoozyoo-zinbutu to wa matakun to mu-kankei no hūhu ga toozyoo suru ‘In the fourth chapter, a married couple appear who are totally unconnected with the characters in the story up to that point’ (SA 2688.89a). See also § 2.3.1 on lexicalized negation with wá; notice that, unlike wá, sika requires that the negation be predicated (§ 2.3.3).

The reciprocal valence of the following example is due to kanren ‘being connected (with)’ though the verbal noun itself is incorporated in a compound with do ‘degree’:

Gúntai to no kanren-do no tuyóoi sihon-ka ga ... ‘The capitalists, whose degree of relationship with the military is strong ...’.

The é in the following two examples of é ni ask is substituting for ní, in valence with lexicalized nuclei: ... seikai é no ‘aki’ ‘a ‘weariness’ with political circles’ (SA 2663.116a); Seizi é no mukansin-soo ga húe te iru ‘The class of those unconcerned with politics is growing’ (ibid.). The noun aki in the first example is derived from the infinitive áki ‘wearying (of)’; in the second example, the noun kānsin ‘concern’ is incorporated into the precopular noun mu-kan-sin ‘unconcerned’, which in turn is incorporated into a compound noun with the suffix -soo ‘stratum’. A similar example: séizi é no kānsin-do ‘the degree of interest in politics’.

In the phrase Hakuzin to no konketu-séinen ... ‘a mixed-blood youth who is partly white (= a haapa-haole lad)’ (SA 2666.100e), the reciprocal valence is with the noun konketu ‘mixed blood’ as seen in Kokuzin to no konketu no oototo o sodátete iru ‘is raising a younger brother who is half black’ (SA 2668.104b), and that valence in turn is to be explained in terms of the Chinese-loan bound morpheme KON ‘mix’, here forming a noun with the Chinese-loan bound morpheme KETU ‘blood’. Such an explanation is, of course, historical; yet there are those speakers who feel an association of the morphemes with sentences like N to ketueki o kongoo suru (or its de-Sinicized equivalent N to ti o mazeru) ‘mingles blood with N’, and such associations must be accounted for, too. In the expression [káno-zyo] to no enbun ‘(story/rumor) of a love affair with [her]’ (Tk 2.268),
the reciprocal valence is with the morpheme EN ‘relationship’ (a valence in turn due to the sentence ō no musubu as explained above). In the phrase dai-tōsi e no zinkoo-syúuyuu ‘the concentration of the population into large cities’ (SA 2684.138c) the subject and the verbal noun have been joined as a compound noun after extrusion from dai-tōsi ni zinkoo ga syúuyuu suru ‘into large cities the population concentrates’ with a mutative-locative ni that is replaced by é under adnominalization.

In the sentence Kore tō wa taisyoo-teki nā no ga Nissan-zidōoosya(−) da ‘In marked contrast with this is Nissan Motor[car]’ (SA 2664.122e), the reciprocal valence is due to the verbal noun taisyoo, here incorporated into an adjectival noun (‘contrastive’) created by the suffix −teki. But in the phrase Amerikā ni hīhan-teki na ēgā(−) wa ... ‘Films critical of America ...’ (SA 2668.104a) we must assume an independent dative, since the verbal noun hīhan(−) is transitive; we cannot derive the structure directly from Ėgā(−) ga Amerika o hīhan(−) suru ‘The film criticizes America’.

An unusual syntactic carryover under lexicalization will be seen in the sentence zensoku-i ni wa nari-te ga sukunāi ‘those becoming asthma specialists are few in number’ (SA 2649.41). The derivation is [té = hito] ga zensoku-i ni nárü ‘[people] become asthma specialists’ but the verb that serves as the nucleus of the intransitive mutative conversion (§ 9.1.11) is incorporated, in its infinitive form nāri, into a compound noun with té ‘hand = person’. Subdued focus is then applied to the dangling essive (or copula infinitive) in order to emphasize the semantically negative predicate sukunāi ‘are (not many =) few’. An even more complicated situation is found in the expression V-te kure-te ‘one who will V for me’ (Y 577): ... aite ni site kure-te ga nākatta ‘there was no one who would be my partner’; Moratte kure-te ga arimasēn wa, ... ‘There’s none who will marry me’. The genitive in Tōōzī wa Yōoroppa wa Nihōn no sensin-koku de, ... ‘At that time Europe was a group of nations in advance of Japan’ (Ōno 1967.158) would appear to derive from [SYŌ-]KOKU (= kuni [guni]) ga Nihōn yori sensin suru ‘the nations get ahead of Japan’; it is possible to modify sensin-koku ‘advanced nation’ with an adverb of degree, as if it were a relational noun; Nihōn no zut-to (or: hāruka ni) sensin-koku ‘a nation far in advance of Japan’.

In the sentence Imā no Nihōn de nara zitugen kanō da ‘It could be put into effect in the Japan of today’ (SA 2648.106a) the phrase marked by nāra ‘if it be’ is quasi-thematized by setting up a condition with the provisionalization of the copula which is marking a predication of the locative Nihōn de da ‘it’s in Japan (that ...);’ we could take the locative as going with kanō dā ‘it is possible’ or with zitugen [suru koto ga] ‘putting it into effect’, a nominalization by reduction to the verbal noun itself.

Some valences are called for by verbs that underlie derived nouns in the surface sentence: ikkōo sore NI o-kamai nāku, ... ‘quite irrespective of that ...’ (K 1966.111) is clearly to be traced to Sore ni kamāu ‘It bears on that’. The derived noun may be tucked into a larger compound: ... otto wa F-mati to hookoo-ūgai no réśsyā(−) ni notta ‘the husband took a train in the opposite direction from F-town’ (SA 2793.99b) is to be explained as F-mati to [réśsyā(−) no] hookoo ga tīgau ‘The direction (of the train) differs from F-town’.

3.9. THEMATIZATION

It is generally recognized that some, but not all, Japanese sentences contain a “topic” or THEME. The usual assumption has been that the theme comes at, or near, the beginning
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of the sentence and is marked by wá. I wish to revise the prevalent view that wá is a topic marker, since I would like to account for ALL cases of wá in terms of its polarity with mó in a system of emphasis focus as shown in § 2.3. By what, then, is the theme marked?

Primarily, by POSITION. The theme, if there is a theme, comes first in the sentence—except that it may be preceded by sentence-linking conjunctions (sikási ‘but’, keredo mo ‘however’, sitagätte(‘) ‘accordingly’, etc.), and these can be regarded as a special kind of theme, the CONJUNCTUAL THEME.33 Interjections are best treated as minor sentence types interpolated within the sentence (Kore mo maa ...) or within the discourse at the beginning of a sentence (Maa kore mo ...); cf. the "sentence extensions" né, sá, etc., which are also often interpolated within the sentence as well as at the end. Interjections and sentence-extensions are thus something like mirror-images within the syntax; and the mirror-image of the theme, as a syntactic concept, is the EPITHEME—the target of an adnominalization as explained in § 13.1.

But surely we do not want to say that whatever comes first in the sentence is a theme. In view of the free order that the basic ingredients enjoy as they enter the sentence (§ 2.1—but note that there is a statistically favored and, we presume, semantically “neutral” order), we can expect to see virtually ANY predicate adjunct appear in that position. Does this automatically make the adjunct a theme? No, not unless we insist on finding a theme for EVERY sentence that contains more than the predicate alone. I feel no need to assume that the direct object is thematic in the sentence Kore o riikai suru koto ga I dekina i 'I can’t understand this'. On the other hand, in the following sentence the same object has been thematized: Kore o I káre-ra wa I tootei riikai suru koto ga I dekina i ‘This they simply can’t understand’. In this sentence, the major juncture marks the initial adjunct as theme. And it is by setting off an initial element with some such break that the speaker signals to tell us he intends a theme.34 (But we must not forget that surface-level adjustments will sometimes reduce or suppress an underlying major juncture, so that an "intended" theme may not be overtly marked and would have to be inferred.)35

The remainder of the sentence—called the RHEME—can be either a simplex or a compound consisting of more than one simplex; and, of course, it can contain within it various embeddings and the results of other conversions. Within the simplex we presume that

33. But there are two types of these sentence-connecting conjunctions, corresponding to the resultative and the transitional epithemes (see p. 621); accordingly we can speak of RESULTATIVE THEMES (hatásite ‘sure enough’, sore-yuè ni ‘therefore’, koo site ‘thus’, sitagätte(‘) ‘consequently’) and of TRANSITIONAL THEMES (sikási ‘but’, siká-mo ‘moreover’, sosite ‘then’, áto wa ‘later on’, yokuzitu mo ‘the next day too’). Occasionally strings of two or more transitional themes will begin a sentence: Sára ni mata ... ‘And furthermore ...’; Sositése náo, ... ‘Then further ...’; Sitagätte(‘) mátal(‘), ... ‘Consequently, again ...’. There may be interpolated interjections: Kéo mo, maa, döö-mo, ... ‘But, well, somehow ...’; Maa, zítú ni, döö-mo, ... ‘Well, indeed, somehow ...’. Or, a resultative or transitional theme may be followed by an extruded theme: Yokuzitu, âme wa máda hútte ita ‘The next morning it was still raining’ (V 1972.162).

34. Does the major juncture usually required before an interrogative serve to signal that the preceding phrase is thematized, e.g. the object in Huróito o I döö omoimásu [ka)? ‘What do you think of Freud?’ (SA 2688.121e).

35. On the other hand I suspect that the suppression of juncture after an atomic adverb at the beginning of a sentence may be a signal that the adverb is NOT to be taken as thematic, but rather as an anticipation of some later element, such as the negatives in these examples: Zenzen kotobá ga I tuuzinai to iu kotó wa I arimasén ‘It isn’t true that the language is totally not understood’; Kessite waruí I kotobá de wa I arimasén ‘It is not a bad word at all’.
the maximum normal phrasing (at least with neutral order) will place an underlying minor juncture after each adjunct; but we must bear in mind that under many circumstances a surface-level rule automatically suppresses a minor juncture that separates an atomic phrase from a tonic phrase.

It is possible to subdue a theme, and it is possible to highlight it: Kore wa || káre-ra wa || tootei ...; Kore mo || káre-ra wa || tootei .... And, in fact, it is extremely common to put a theme into the background by subduing it with wá, so that if an initial adjunct is followed by wá we are tempted to call it theme whether or not it is followed by major juncture—and we are often right. There is nothing wrong with this as a rule of thumb, but we may be missing the value of the concept of "theme" if we fail to distinguish certain subtleties that I am here attempting to shed light on. The subduced theme is a very popular way to open a sentence; as Ōide (1965.140) says, it is like a pincushion—once you have it in hand you can stick the rest of your hanashi in where convenient. When the subject or object is identical in adjacent sentences, it is often subduced and thematized: Pisutoru O mukete?—Pisutoru WA muketá ga, utánakatta 'Aiming a pistol at you?—He AIMED the pistol all right, but he didn't fire [it]' (Tk 2.35b).

It has been widely noted that an adnominalized sentence cannot contain a theme; this seems to be true when the epitheme is an extruded adjunct taken from the simplex, but not when the epitheme is summational (or, probably, other intruded epithemes). It has also sometimes been assumed that focus (at least with wá) is not permitted so freely in the adnominalized sentence as in the unadnominalized, and this is at least misleading, if not false. Examples will be found in § 13.1. Here is an example of a subduced thematization of the dative (in valence with a noun "interest IN") that is part of a sentence adnominalized to the summational epitheme wáke 'explanation, reason, matter': Tyúugoku ni wa, máe kara kyóómi o o-moti dátta wáke desu ka 'Is it that China has been of interest to you for some time?' (SA 2679.46b). The observation by Mikami (1963a.105) that it is unusual to drop case-markers in an adnominalized sentence, unlike an independent sentence, does not seem to be confirmed by my informants; but perhaps what he has in mind is the common dropping of markers with a THEMATIZATION, leaving the theme marked only by juncture, and that is another matter.

When the object comes before the subject, it usually (always?) seems to be thematized as in the example Kore o || káre-ra wa ... above. (According to Kuno 1971, the order subject-object-verb is 17 times more frequent than the order object-subject-verb.) And when focus is applied to adverbial elements that come later than the subject, the subject is often thematized (without necessarily acquiring focus): Sikasi-náyára, koré-ra GA konpon-tekí ní WA hitó-tuzuki de áru 'However, THESE are fundamentally a SINGLE continuum'; Kore GA wá-ga kuni NI WA ní-sya sika nái 'There are only two of these firms in Japan' (SA 2665.32a)—at least two other interpretations are possible (transitional theme 'Now, ...', thematization of the possessed 'Of these, Japan has only ...'); syúmi mátá-wa asobi de turi o suru syuuukan GA kono kuni NI WA náí yóó de áru 'the custom of fishing for a hobby or for fun seems to be lacking in this country' (SA 2681.94b). In the following sentence, the allative adjunct has been thematized and highlighted ("to Tókyó too"); the subduced adjunct ("some of it") is probably not also thematized, though it represents the missing subject ("it"): Tookyoo é mo sukússi wa kíte imásu ga, daitai Kyúusyuu de sabakimássu 'Some of it comes to Tókyó too, but most of it we sell in Kyúshú' (Tk 4.190b). For examples of delayed subject with possible thematization of various kinds of adjuncts, see § 3.9a.
Adjuncts of time and place freely drop the locative marker when they are thematized: Hokkaido wa mó mí yuki ga hátta ‘Hokkaido must have had snow by now’; Kón'ya, aite ‘nái ka ‘Tonight are you free [I hope]?’ (SA 2674.108d—the comma in the original text presumably indicates a major juncture, hence we conclude that the time phrase has been thematized, even though we would normally expect it in the first position, anyway; presumably the subject, had it been mentioned, would have followed); Tookyoo mo  áme ga l háttte iru ka sira ‘I wonder if Tókyó is having rain, too’ (cf. Tookyoo dé mo  áme ga l háttte iru ka sira ‘I wonder if in Tókyó it’s raining, too’, Tookyoo dé mo  áme ga háttte iru ka sira ‘I wonder if it’s raining in Tókyó, too’) ; Kaízýoo wa  tasyoo námí ga l áru desyoo ‘(At sea there will be some waves =) The marine forecast calls for somewhat heavy seas’ (R). The allative marker also sometimes drops, as in Kyoókaí [é] wa yóku ittá wa ‘I went to church a lot’ (Tk 2.192b); other examples will be found in §2.2a.

The following examples of (focused) thematization with ellipsis of ni in various uses are taken from KKK 23.223: Kono ohusarumogúruhu [ni] wa  sóo de  moo iti-dó kúwásiku l huremasú ‘This ophthalmograph we will take up in detail again later’; Dé  mó mázu l sóo kirسامإأب místón [ni] wa  sóo o- só o l itasimasú ‘Now first, that which has been chopped up, we salt it’; Éé  l tákappoo [ni] wa  sóo ná o-(ool)36–  l tása no l watá o l iremasíta l yó ‘Mmh, on one side we stuffed it with regular cotton’; Kao no siwa o kí ní suru to dooyoo, l sóo ni siwa [ni] mo l zyúubúl l go-tyúüi kudasaimasé ‘Just as you worry about the wrinkles on your face, the wrinkles on your legs too—please pay careful attention to them’.

We are suggesting that any adjunct—except, perhaps, certain adverbs37—can be EXTRACTED from the simplex, placed at the beginning of the sentence, and set off by major juncture to form a theme. Can more than one theme be created for a single sentence? There would seem to be nothing to prevent multiple themes—up to the limit of adjuncts—and in fact sentences with two or three are not uncommon. The following example has an instrumental theme (‘by this car’); within its rhyme there is at least one thematization of time (‘in the mornings’), and probably two (‘in the evenings’): Kono kuruma de ásá, kodomo o gakkoo e okuri, ýóru, manékátě pát’ii ni mo dekakero ‘This car is used, in the mornings, to send the children to school, and in the evenings to go to parties, too, when invited’ (SA 2688.38ab)—mó is in loose reference. But see p. 622 for doubts on this.

But not every case of ... wa ... wa is to be taken as two themes. In Watási wa l sibáraku wá akké ni l toràreté itá ‘I was taken aback for a moment’ (Ig 1962.70) probably only the first of the two subdued phrases is a theme. (The original punctuation put a comma after the first wa, perhaps to indicate major juncture, though comma-insertion is highly idiosyncratic and often unconnected with either grammar or prosody.)

On the other hand, an adverb (especially a short one, such as mó ‘already’, ýmá ‘now’, Kyoó ‘today’, máta (‘) again’, ...) is often attached to an opening noun phrase, with minor juncture before and the major juncture after; unless this is purely a surface adjustment, we should treat the adverb as a second theme following the noun-phrase theme: Kòtosì wa máta, ‘This year again ...’ (SA 2680.114e); Níhón wa l génzái, l giita-búumú to l iwarete iru ‘Japan at present is said to be having a guitar boom’ (SA 2679.119c); Yo-nín no l syoónén-táti wa l ýmá, l Kanawá-sí no l syoóen-kanbetuzýo de l kasáí no sinpan ga

36. Prolongated echo of the preceding vowel used as a pause-filler in a moment of non-fluency.
37. Here is an adverbial of degree (hizyoo ni) in a position to indicate thematization: Dé kara, hizyoo ni are wa husigú na món desita ná ‘So indeed that was a strange thing, I see’ (Tk 3.23b).
kudaru hi o sizuka ni mätte iru 'The four youths at present are in the Kanazawa city Juvenile Classification Office quietly awaiting the day when the Family Court decision will be handed down' (SA 2647.119d). In the following example, a ga-marked subject is clearly thematized (without focus), as indicated by the initial anaphoric reference as well as the position of the sentence-connecting adverb: Sono goozyoo ga sikási konó-goro(‘) dandahn yowatte kita sóo da ‘That obstinacy, however, has gradually mellowed of late, they say’ (Kb 30b—the obstinacy in question was introduced in the preceding sentence).

This example would appear to have three themes: Erintó-ki wa kyóó mo kaku'zitu ni, Nihon-kákuti no kíti kara tobi-tátte iru hazu de áru ‘Without a doubt even today Elint [= electronic intelligence] planes must be taking off from bases all over Japan’ (SA 2685.27c).

Sometimes a theme serves to extrude the object of a sentence that happens to be identical with the subject of an embedded or conjoined sentence: Boku, náhni mo sinaí no ni án-tyan ga nagúotta ‘Brother hit me when I didn’t do ANYTHING!’ (I assume that the comma calls for a major juncture. If, instead, it is a visual signal to mark ellipsis of {ga}, the sentence contains no theme and nagúotta lacks an expressed object.) And here is a subdued theme that represents a convergence of several different cases: Inósi wa káwa o háide, kí o tuki-tóósi, takábi no úé de gúrú-guru mawási te yaito no de áru ‘The boar was stripped of its hide, pronged on a stick, and broiled by rotating it over a fire’ (SA 2685.101a).

The cases represented are genitive (inósi no káwa ‘the boar’s hide’), allative (inósi ni/e kí o tuki-tóósi ‘pokes a stick through the boar’), and two cases of direct object (inósi o mawási ‘rotates the boar’, and inósi o yaku ‘broils the boar’).

In addition to the extruded theme, is it possible to have an INTRUDED theme? This would be some word taken from another sentence, say, that clearly could not serve as an adjunct of the simplex to which it is attached. The obvious examples that we notice—of the type Watsu wa unagi dá ‘I’m the [one who ordered the] eel’—are to be explained in other ways, probably as ellipsis of embedded material Watsu wa unagi [o tyuumon sitá no] da; this is what is elsewhere called propredication (§3.10). I lack a clearcut example that would require the assumption of an intruded theme of this kind; the sort of example needed would be one where the initial element was very loosely connected with the attached simplex and propredication could not be imputed.38

Such loose connections can be achieved by using some of the devices that we might call "quasi-thematization", i.e. by using the various CONDITIONALIZATIONS (or HYPOThESIZATIONS)—such as -reba, -ru to, -tara, etc. (§9.3)—of the copula and certain other forms:

de(‘) áru: nára, dá to, dáttara; de( wa/mo); ná no nara/dáttara
dé(‘) ni/to nárú: náreba, nárú to, náttara; nátte (wa/mo); nárú no nara/dáttara

38. But perhaps this traffic sign is an example: ihoo-tyúusya wa rékkaa de idoo simášu ‘In the event of illegal parking we will move [the offending vehicle] by tow truck = Illegally parked vehicles will be towed’. (The subdued theme means ‘parking’ not ‘parked vehicle’.) Other likely examples: Wareware wa Nagásaaki ga házimete na no desu ga, ... ‘It was the first time for us to be in Nagasaki ...’ (Endó 271): Tatami no heya wa || kímoti ga ii desu || née ‘Aren’t tatami rooms pleasant!’ (BJ 1.316). Actually, such intruded (“loose”) themes are not at all uncommon and numerous examples will be found in Mikán, in Kuno, and elsewhere. Often a predicate is understood but not expressed: Kaizyoo wa || ura || no tízú o go-ran kudasái ‘For the meeting place, see the map on the other side’ (Kokugo-bumpó no mondai-ten 99) implies an omission of something like [dóko ka to ii to] ‘[if you ask where it is (I will ask you to do me the favor of looking on the other side)]’.
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ni /to suru:

ni /kuru:

ni /itaru(·): itarubé, itarul(·) to, itattara; itatté (wa/mo); itarú no nara/dattara

ni /kagiru(·): kagirubé, kagirul(·) to, kagittara; kagitte (wa/mo);

ni /tuite:

iu: iéba, iu to, ittára; iú no nara/dattara; itté (wa/mo)—as in N to itté mo

and other quotations: S tte = S to iú no wa, S te [e] to = S to iu to, etc. (Note also: N no bai o iéba, N no kotó wa, ...).

On the use of these as substitute theme-markers, see Mikami 1963.119; similar are N ni tötte [wa], N ni túsite [wa], N ni táiki-site [wa], and other phrasal postpositions (§9.7).

An example of N ni táiki-site thematicized: Konnbakuyoosim-toriatukai no iken ni táiki-site, yonén-sei no yosobi-gakusei ga hitotu-hítotu hanron sita ‘Against such a view of the acting president [of the university], senior coeds presented one counterargument after another’ (SA 2678.35d). In the following example the embedded quotation contains a quasi-theme that functions to extrude the direct object (Katákánna o ... omóu); the subdued theme at the beginning extrudes the subject of omóu (wareware ga ... omóu ‘we think’) but possibly also, by sentence sharing, the subject of iéba (wareware ga ... iéba ‘if we say’): Wareware wa katákana to iéba mottó mo yasasii módó to omóu ga ... ‘We think of katakan as the easiest script but ...’ (Óno 1966.205). And the following is a coordinate sentence with a single subdued theme at the beginning (converging extrusions from the possessor of the first conjoined sentence and from the subject of the second); the first of the conjoined sentences begins with a quasi-theme (... to iéba ‘when it comes to ...’) and the second with a subdued and thematicized dative of reference (... ní wa ‘on’): Íma no katyoo-kúrasu WA keizá-i-gaku TO IÉBA Marukusu-keizáigaku de, Keinzú ‘ryuu no kindai-keizáigaku ni wa, itattét(·) yowái ‘As for today’s section heads as a class, when it comes to economics, it’s Marxian economics, and on modern Keynesian economics they are extremely weak’ (SA 2668.25b)—I take the copula gerund dé as simple ‘and’-conjoining rather than the consequential ‘and so’. In origin the so-called ‘provisional’ form (-réba)—synonymous with -të wa (in one use)—contains a ngoriéd form of the particle wá, thus adding to the evidence from the orthography that the original shape of the particle was pá, and the same ngoriéd form ba is used as optional emphatic extension of the so-called “conditional” form -tárà ba and in literary

39. Examples of thematicational tte: Róóma tte, hurúi monó o taisetú ni surú maši desu né ‘Rome, you see, is a city that prizes old things’ (SA 2685.122d); Sonna kotó tte áru ka sira ‘I wonder if such things happen’ (Fn 165a). Among other devices for thematization, Morishige (183-4) suggests N no yáu [wa] as in Tanaka no yáu [wa] ‘(that guy) Tanaka’, but in the example it is unclear how yáu (= monó) thematizes as such. An example without wá: Kónaids Keimeisen no tokí ni, wáwú no yáu mákura o dásite yoko ni nátte rázíol) kiite ‘yagáru n desu ‘At the time of the Keiö-Keiiji game recently, my wife put out a pillow, lay down, and listened to the radio’ (Tk 2.49a). Note too the use of nánté (§2.9) to mark a theme, often with some negative or pejorative conclusion: Kotobá nánté mó ó yáku ni táhanai ‘[Mere] WORDS are of no use any more’ (SA 2672.155). We also find themes introduced by to iu (or tó or tte) monó/yáu [wa]: Bisúketto te eyú wá ... ‘Biscuits ...’ (Tk 4.195a); Zyóooeto tte monó wá, hitóto mo arimasén né ‘There isn’t the least bit of feeling to it’ (Tk 2.270a). There is also nánté [e] monó/yáu [wa]: zigoro nántee yáu wá minakatta? ‘(In Paris) you didn’t see any gigolos or the like?’ (Tk 2.193a). Cf. Y 443 where thematic N tte is taken as meaning N to iu hitó/monó/tókoró/kotó/(etc.) wa.
Japanese of the object particle お ba. For these reasons, among others, there is a widespread feeling that the wa-marked theme is in some way a distilled CONDITION: 'if it be a matter of speaking of ...' or the like. Since N de wa and N da と can often be used for N nara 'if/when it be N', the quasi-theme of a sentence like 今 no Nihon de nara zitugen kanoo da 'It could be put into effect in the Japan of today' (SA 2648.106a) might be rephrased ... Nihon de de wa or ... Nihon de da to 'if it be in Japan' as well as ... Nihon de wa, which can be interpreted either as 'in Japan (guess-what)' or 'if it be Japan' (incorrect for the exact paraphrase intended here).

Certain summational epithemes are adverbialized (often directly—without に) in order to set up conditions and these can be used to mark quasi-themes, as we see with baai 'situation' and tokí 'time, occasion' in the following sentence, which begins with a transitional theme and may have as many as four themes, depending on how maido 'every time' is to be explained: Tatoeba K [Kée] kun no baai, A [Ee] butyoo("') no toki wa maido tóppu [da] 'For instance, in the case of fellow employee K, when it's department chief A [who does the rating], every time he's tops' (SA 2668.108a—l would not have been able to figure this one out except for the rest of the paragraph, here omitted). And note these two examples of N nara tó-mo-kaku where we expect N wa tó-mo-kaku [to site] 'Be N as it may': Meeakaa nara tó-mo-kaku, ... 'To say nothing of the maker(s) ...' (SA 2671.107d); ... hooka nara tó-mo-kaku, ... 'leaving arson to one side' = 'arson being quite another matter' (SA 2669.105a).

Vardul would treat all themes as accretions from some other (unexpressed) sentence because of the possibility of ANAPHORIC REFERENCE (or "reprise") within the attached sentence, as in these examples he cites from modern sources (V 52 ff): Tankensitai WA ॥ Sátoo hakase ga l KORE o siki sita 'The exploration [detachment = ] party, Dr Satō directed it'; Gakumon no l ziiyu ॥ KORE o hosyoo suru 'Academic freedom, we will defend this'; Ayako-san no kaa WA ॥ máda l SONNA KAO o site irú ka i 'Ayako's expression, is she still putting on such an expression?'; Íma no l Nihon ni l [I] yàtu no l dénai no MO ॥ SONO tûmi no l hànbin wa l zas ii-sya no l tûmi desu l né 'The fact that no good ones appear in Japan, half the fault for THAT, [it] is the fault of the magazine reporters, you see'.

In some cases the anaphoric reference is at some distance, as in these further examples from Vardul: Siro-buddóosyu no l kopppu to l uisukii no l kopppu tô WA ॥ huutatabi l buáiso no l weetaa no l tê de l kohaku-iro no ekita ga l SONO naka ni l mitasarieta 'The glass of white wine and the glass of whiskey, at the hands of the sullen waiter the amber liquid again got poured to fill THEM'; Bussitu no kussetù-ritu WA ॥ hikari ga l nânì kara l nuusuya sitê kita ka de l SONO [ne —] atai ga [I] tigatte kîru 'The coefficient of refraction of objects varies in ITS value depending on the source of the incidence of the light'.

Some examples of anaphoric reprise suggested by Mikami: Kono kâmera (WA) ॥ KORE o niman-en de uru 'This camera—I will sell it for ¥ 20 000'; Kono kâmera (WA) ॥ KORE ni niman-en haráu 'This camera—I will pay ¥ 20 000 for it'; Zóo (WA) ॥ KORE wa hana ga nagai 'The elephant, it has a long trunk'; Yóoku site irú no WA ॥ KORE wa o-ryooriya-san da to ka o-huroya-san 'Those who do it a lot, they are restaurateurs or bathhouse operators'.

Here is a long sentence from Matsuda (52) which seems to have a thematized subject with anaphoric reprise that is embedded within a larger theme (subdued by wa): Nihon no daigaku no kenkyûu-sya GA, SONO wakai tokî ni Amerika de osiete miru kotô WA ॥
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Nihon no tamé ni mo Amerika no tamé ni mo, hónnin no gakumon shi no men ni mo, kita to purasu(*) ni nárú monó ga tákushinárú to omó no desu ‘I feel that for a researcher in a Japanese university to try teaching in America while he is young has many advantages for both Japan and America—and for the person’s studies and thought, as well’. (This is a counterexample to the claim that themes cannot occur in adnominalized sentences, but notice that the epitheme is the summational koto, a postadnominal.) The example Naiyoo wa to iu to, kore mата(−),... to ka ... to ka ‘As to the content, this too is a matter of ... or of ...’ (SA 2645.107e) contains a quasi-thematization derived from a reduced quotation Naiyoo wa [dōo da] to ... ‘How (= what) is the content ...’, followed by a reprise that is itself thematized and followed by a transitional theme mата(−) ‘again’.

More examples of subdued themes with anaphoric reprise (from KKK 3.187): ... mútī ya ki-magurél(*) ya waga-mámā ni motozúku genkoo WA, túyoku KORE O seigen sinakereba narain de arō ‘Words and deeds based on ignorance and whim and willfulness ... these must be strongly restrained’; ... kono hyoozyun-sen ni oyobazaru monó WA súbete KORE O hitei sú beki monó to kangaérū ‘The ones which fail to reach this standard line, it is felt, ... these are all to be rejected’; ... mата(−), kan’i-saibansyo-hánhzi óyobī(−) huku-kénzi WA, tómō(−) ni KORE O zyogai sú beki monó to kangaérū ‘... furthermore, summary-court judges and assistant public prosecutors, both of these are treated as categories to be excluded’. The following is a nice example of a thematized object, with adnominalized reprise: Móizī O mázu SONO syúrui kara miru to, go-syúrui no mózī GA tukawarete iru ‘The letters, when we look at them first from their varieties, five kinds of letters are in use’ (K 1966.165). An example of a subdued theme separated from its reprise by a concessive adverbialization that includes both focus markers wā and mó: Ízyoo moosī-ageta yóo ni, boin no musē-ka(−) WA ippan-teki na gensoku wa ātē mo, SONO araware-kāta wa samazāmā(−) desu ‘As I have mentioned above, the vowel unvoicing, though there are general rules, its appearances are quite diverse’.

There are a number of special problems. We will sometimes wish to consider a QUOTATION to be thematized, since anaphoric reprise is possible: ... to, kono yóo ni nobemasita ‘... (end quote)—this is what they said’; ... to, kayoo ni sin-zúrū(−)’... (end quote)—this I believe’; ... to iū ka, sore wa ...; ... tte ‘ttára să, sore kóso ... (Morishige 148). And the anaphoric reprise can be followed by enscoped or instanced quasi-appropositions that would seem to refer back directly to the theme (cf. §3.11.3):

THEME wa/mo ANAPHORIC REPRISE sore ga/o ENSCOPED itību ga/o

It has been observed that when you extrude a theme you may leave behind in the simplex an anaphoric marker (typically sore, soko, sono, etc.), which I call the anaphoric REPRISE of the theme. In a similar way, when you extrude an epitheme, you may leave behind (i.e. ahead, in anticipation) a cataphoric reference (or HERALD), though this seems to be rather uncommon outside of philosophical or linguistic discussions: Bún ga SOKO DE kirete syuuketu suru TOKORO o syuusī-bu to iimāsu ‘We call the part where the sentence breaks and ends (THERE), the “conclusion”’ (from Mikami). For the cataphoric nó of cleft sentences, see §14.2.4. Considerably more on cataphora will be found in Okutsu 1974 (154, 165-6, 168-9, 171-2, 173, 175, 178).

Perhaps to be considered here are sentences of the type S1 hōo ga N ga ... in which the hōo-ga phrase constitutes an adverbialization of CONDITION (Morishige 224,249):

Bōku(−) wa || bēddo no | hōo ga || karada ga yasumārū ‘Me, my body gets a better rest in
Kosyōo wa II saīgo ni I hurikaketa hōo ga I kaori ga yoi I 'The pepper, it has a better aroma if you sprinkle it on last'; Yappāri I tabemóno wa II mita me I mo I kirei na hōo ga I ii I nē I 'After all, when it comes to food it's easier on the eye [looking at it] if it's pretty'; Inaka no hōo ga I monō ga I yasū I 'In the country things are cheaper'; Yōrū no hōo ga mawari mo sizuka de denwa ni zyama sarezu, nōōritu(・) ga agaru I 'At night the surroundings are quieter and I don't get bothered by telephone calls; my efficiency rises' (SA 2640.17d); Daigaku o yameta hōo ga I yōku I kuērú I 'I can eat better if I quit [teaching at] the university' (SA 2671.27e); Nōoka no syuunyyuu o bunseki suru to, noogai-syōtoku no hōo ga noōka sono-mōnō no syuunyyuu yōri nobi-ritu ga takāi I 'When you analyze the income of farmers, the non-farm earnings enjoy a higher growth rate than the farmer income itself' (SA 2684.18b).

Sometimes S no ga is used to set up a condition ('if ...') much after the manner of S hōo ga: Hutto toraberūmin no yōo na kusuri o hūne ya kuruma ni noru mae ni nōmu NO GA, kuruma-yoi no yoboo ni wa kōoka ga arimasu I 'It is usually effective to prevent motion sickness IF you take a medicine like Travelmvine (= Dramamine) before boarding a boat or getting in a car' (SA 2669.104a).

It should be kept in mind that a CONDITION can be followed by an anaphoric reprise, as in this example: [Ryuuukoo-go wa, sono ōmi o yōku ōrikai(・)] suru hituyoo wa kanarazū-simo arimasēn.] Mūudo ga dēreba SORE de zyuubūn desu '[For current words, it is not absolutely necessary to understand their meanings well.] If the mood emerges, THAT is enough' (Shibata 1966.64). The bracketed context also contains an anaphoric reprise of the subdused theme—apparently extruded from a genitive (§3.11.3).

Of course there is no need to assume that EVERY anaphoric reprise of a clause is diagnostic of a theme; we might be unhappy with that view of structures like Uti(・) e kāette, sore kara ... (or: sono āto ...) 'We returned home, and after that ...'; and Yuki ga hūte 'ru si, sono ue ... 'It's snowing, and on top of that ...'; but the unhappiness may abate as we consider the function of thematication—to relate the sentence to the larger discourse (specifically, to the preceding sentences). Sore kara, sono āto, and sono ue function as transitional themes.

Support for the identification of THEME with CONDITION may be found in the fact that you do not apparently find a theme within a condition nor, usually, within a theme—but see the example from Matsuda cited earlier); and it appears to be ungrammatical to put a condition within a condition (KKK 23). It does not follow, however, that the focus particle wa is precluded from appearing within a condition. And, if my interpretation of the meaning is correct, the following example would seem to contain a thematized condition with anaphoric reprise (... kītara sore kōso) included in a thematized CAUSE with anaphoric reprise (... da' kara sore o): ... kyuukyū'yu-sya nāka kītara sore kōso gakkoo no hu-mēiyo ni nāru n da kara sore o māzu dāi-itī ni kangāete kure '... since if ambulances and the like come, that [condition] itself will disgrace the school, therefore think about that [fact] first of all ...' (SA 2655.37e)—but the structure is perhaps looser than I have assumed; the second sore could refer back to the n [ō] 'fact' of gakkoo no hu-mēiyo ni nāru n da, with the cause unthemematized as such.

40. Unless these examples of delayed subject provide a counterexample: Nooyaku ga hutyaku sita kī-no-mi O tori GA tabērea, sono tori wa sinu. Kūsō O nyuugyū GA tabērea, nooyaku ga maizita titī ga dēru 'If a fruit sprayed with pesticides is eaten by a bird, the bird will die. If grass is eaten by a dairy cow, milk contaminated with the pesticides will be produced' (SA 2684.45b).
The following example would appear to have three themes, two of time (or perhaps of condition)—the second being subdued, followed by a directly adverbalized quantity いっさい ‘everything’: Kasu toki ni, じき ga じき toki wa, いっさい かき-nusi( ) ni wa みわく wō kakenai de, zibun no sekinin de syőri suru munē no yakusoku o site okēba dai-zyōōbu desu ‘When you lend a car it is [safe] enough if there is an agreement to the effect that in the event of an accident (arising) everything will be taken care of [by the driver] on his own responsibility without troubling the owner’ (SA 2664.107c). The second and third themes are incorporated in the adnominalization to the summational epitheme munē ‘effect that’.

Thematization is often responsible for surface ambiguities. In the following sentence (KKK 3.212), for example, the first phrase (hito mo arō ni ‘of all people’) can refer to either of the two personal references in the remainder of the sentence: Hito mo arō ni ひ どり ranboo-mon ni ひ tate o ひ tuku to wa ひ yoppodo dōkyōo no ひ áru ひ otokō da ひ ne ‘Of all people, you are indeed a brave man to tangle with that roughneck’ grammatically interpretable either as ‘You of all people’ or ‘that roughneck of all people’, though it will normally be taken in the second way. In the sentence Sore o rīkai( ) dekiri zyootai ni site oku kotō [da] we can take Sore o merely as the object of the verbal noun rīkai( ) (‘leave matters in a condition where we can understand THAT’) or we can take it as a theme (‘THAT—leave that in a condition where we can understand [it—or something unmentioned]’): rīkai( ) dekiri represents an ellipsis of rīkai( )[suru kotō ga] dekiru. If Sore o is intended as just the object, the expected minor juncture will be suppressed—because the phrase is atonic and short; if it is intended as the theme, the expected major juncture may be reduced to minor—for the same, surface-level, reason.

In spontaneous speech, themes are often INVERTED—perhaps as afterthoughts (cf. §23): じゅうぶん kawarimasita né—Yokusuka mo né ‘It’s changed a lot, you know, Yokosuka!’ Contrast the tightness of epithematization: じゅうぶん kawatta Yokosuka ... ‘Yokosuka which has changed a lot’ or—as epithematic identification (with ellipsis of final [da], see p. 253) ‘Yokosuka has changed a lot’.

Observe the following two groups of sentences (cf. KKK 23.213–5):

**SUBJECT UNTHEMATIZED**

Tāroo-san ga ひ iki-nasai
‘You go, Taro.’
Tāroo-san mo ひ iki-nasai
‘You go too, Taro.’
Tāroo-san wa ひ iki-nasai
‘You go, Taro (the others will stay).’

**SUBJECT THEMATIZED**

Tāroo-san ga ひ iki-nasai
‘You, Taro—go!’
Tāroo-san mo ひ iki-nasai
‘You, too, Taro—go!’
Tāroo-san wa ひ iki-nasai
‘You, Taro—go (the others? let them stay).’

There are bits of evidence in favor of treating the SUBJECT as a special kind of theme, notably those discussed on pp. 35–6, the various kinds of subjectification41 allowed by the

41. What Fillmore calls “primary topicalization” is here called SUBJECTIFICATION—or just SUBJECT in many cases, since it is not necessarily secondary in Japanese; what he calls “secondary topicalization” is here called THEMATIZATION, though the concept is somewhat broadened.
§3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

grammar (cf. pp. 38-9), and the ordering of subject marker AFTER focus markers (N mó {ga}, N màde ga, and marginally N mó wa) in contrast with the object marker, which comes BEFORE focus (N ó mo, N ó made, *N ó wa = N ó-ba, p. 53).

As mentioned on pp. 621-2, there exist intruded themes corresponding to two types of intruded epithemes: resultative and transitional. We can ask whether there might also be a theme that would correspond to the SUMMATIONAL epitheme, and some of the adverbs of sentential relation in § 13.7 are perhaps what we seek, e.g. ‘probably’ = ‘it is a probability that’.

The following example displays a highlighted theme extruded from an Identified that is a nominalization (as is the Identifier), followed by a subdued transitional theme: [Tó suréba,] asú no hu-ántei no hóo ga kyóó no anei yóí zíkan o óbite(−) sonzai suru to iú no MO, kekkyóóú WA, anei to hu-ántei to no aida no soogo-kánkei ni okérú huantei-sei o kan-zít’ óru kotó na no de aru ‘[Thus considered,] the very fact that the instability of tomorrow exists with a look of greater reality than the stability of today, in the last analysis, (that) is a matter of our feeling the quality of instability in the interrelationship of stability and instability’ (KKK 3.191).42

3.9a. SUBJECT DELAY

We have suggested that a delay in the expected positioning of the subject—whether marked by ga or given focus by wá or mó—may indicate the thematization of one or more other adjuncts, though it is by no means clear that thematization always results. Here are some examples that I have collected in order to study subject delay with various kinds of preceding adjuncts.

(1) Preceded by direct object (ó):

(1a) Traversal object: Aq, asoko O híí GA arúíte ‘r’a [= arúíte irú wá]! ‘Oh, over there there’s a baboon walking!’ (SA 2676.106c); ... tukí ni itta, tuki no ué O ningen GA arúíta, banzáí, ... ‘... (they’ve gone to ...) they’re on the moon, man walks on the moon, hurray, ...’ (SA 2635.22d—arúíta is a vivid use of the perfect, for the event is being observed by television); Kono húkína wa dôóro ga iríkünde irú tamé ni, ò no títákú O zidóó-syá(−) GA tóorazu, taíhen sízuka de aru ‘Since in this neighborhood the streets are tangled, the vicinity of the house is not favored by cars; it is very quiet’ (SA 2678.156).

(1b) Other objects: Yamerú no O, hwán GA yürüísé kurenaí n desu ‘My fans won’t LET me retire’ (SA 2662.103e); Sângó-syoo O kurosió GA arau ‘The coral reefs are washed by the Black Current’ (SA 2808.103); Kyuuzítu no hotónó O káre WA zibun no yóóto de sugósi, ... ‘Most of the holidays he would spend on his yacht, and ...’ (SA 2650.58b); Soo íu umáí syóóbaí O, dóo site minná GA yaraná no ka to oomoimáus yó ‘I tell you, it’s such a fine business I wonder why everyone isn’t in it’ (SA 2668.41a); Tokóró-de, kono yöó ni hássuru suru katyoo O búka WA dóó mite irú no daróó ko ‘And section heads that hustle like this, how will their underlings look upon them?’ (SA 2668.25b); Tokóró-غا

42. Thematizations similar to those of Japanese turn up in many other languages, but the resemblances are not always easy to spot. An unusual example from English: ‘These pills will take more than a person can swallow before they will kill you, but ...’ (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 28 Sep 69 A-4.18)—presumably a thematization of a genitive ‘[more] OF these pills’ from a noun phrase that functions as underlying object of the sentence ‘[it] will take’.
§ 3.9a. Subject delay

itizyun site miru to sima wa sukkari “katazuite iru” to iu insyoo O watasi WA mota ‘But upon going around I got the impression that the island [of Iwo Jima] had been completely “tied up”’ (SA 2670.43b); To suru to, Beigun no Kanbozia-syútugeki O, kaihou-sensen WA süde ni yoki site, tō o utte ita no da ‘(If we grant that,) then the American incursion into Cambodia was already expected by the Liberation Front and they clapped their hands at it’ (SA 2679.18d-19a); Kantoku wa Oosima Nagisa de áru ga, kyakuhon O mà dá nižis-sai no Hara Masayosi GA tyuuusin ni nátte káki, syutuen site iru no wa zis sai ni kono háru made kookoo-éiken de éiga(1) o tukútte ita wakamóno-táti no gurúupu de áru ‘The director is Nagisa Oshima but the script was largely written by Masayoshi Hara who is still just 20 years old, and the performers are a group of young people who were making high school experimental films up to this spring’ (SA 2687.116b); Nokotta ikutu ka no sisen ga, zibun ni sosogarérú no O Sáeki(2) WA sitte ita ‘Saeki knew that the remaining several eyes were staring at him’ (IG 1962.87); Ayao wa syuumai dá no yakibuta dá no O Ákira to Tómoko GA yorokônde tabérú no o nagusamánai(3) kao de mite ita ‘With disconsolate face Ayao watched Akira and Tomoko eagerly eat the Chinese ravioli and roast pork’ (IG 1962.87)—since this is within an adnominalized sentence, yielding a nominalization that serves as the object of mí ‘watch’, it is questionable whether we would want to interpret the preposed conjoined object (‘ravioli and roast pork’) as ‘theme’ in any sense; Koo site syógyoo muzyoo no sekái-kan no tooiito no motó(4) ni nárú yozoíi O, hazímete, Nihon-zín WA mútó yóó ni náttite ga ... ‘Thus the Japanese for the first time came to possess an epic to form a basis for unifying a conception of the world as total vanity ...’ (Öno 1966.216)—this example seems to have two themes, one extruded from the object (‘an epic ...’), the other extruded from a time adverbial (‘for the first time ...’) unless we interpret the time reference as a transitional theme; Mózi o seigen site hitóbito no hyoogên(5) no ziyúu o koosoku suru kénri O dáre MO motáni hau de áru ‘Surely no one has the right to restrict people’s freedom of expression by limiting the written characters’ (Öno 1966.237); ‘Kokín-syuu’ no genkei O watáši-táti WA miru kóto ga dekinai ‘The original form of the Kokin-shú is not available for us to look at’ (Öno 1966.208)—is the subdued phrase the indirect subject of the potential (marking the possessor of the potentiality) rather than the direct subject of miru?; ... húdan wa iwanai yóó no [= nal] kóto O óyazí(6) GA hossa-teki ni ii-dáusu to ... ‘when things not ordinarily said start coming spasmodically from one’s father’s lips ...’ (Tk 3.37b); Soo iu yakumé O watasi GA orná to site yaru ... ‘For such a role to be performed by me as a woman ...’ (SA 2672.60b); Tokoró-qa, kore O syoogákku no ro kó-kó no hi to GA oto kó no hasoo-hoo de tukútte ‘ru desyo ‘Up to now things that women use have been made by men according to male conceptions, you see’ (SA 2672.63a); Konó-ko ga umareru kóto O kážoku no monó GA kangei sinákatta kará da to iu ‘It is said to be because this child’s birth was not welcomed by (those in) the family’ (SA 2689.42b); Káigí ni työkúzen(7) ni nátte, sono Wanibuti san O, koosei-syoo no Tákano Takéyosi syokuhin-eisei-ká-tyoo GA katyyó-сутi ni yobi-dášita ‘Right before the conference, our Mr. Wanibuchi was summoned by the head of the Food Sanitation Section of the Ministry of Welfare, T.T., to the section office’ (SA 2687.135c); Kore máde wa orná no hitó ga tukau monó O otokó(8) no hitó GA otokó(8) no hassóo-hoo(9) de tukútte ‘ru desyo ‘Up to now things that women use have been made by men according to male conceptions, you see’ (SA 2672.63a); Konna ni kyóóhu(10) no hyoozyóo O, watasi WA Betonamu dé mo mita kóto ga nákatta ‘Such fearful faces I had never seen even in Vietnam’ (SA 2678.40a); Nihon de wa sizen ga hôóhu(10) de áru hoka ni, sono sizen O Nihon-zín WA taihen yorokóbu ‘Not only is
nature bountiful in Japan but that nature is much enjoyed by the Japanese’ (Kindaichi in Ōno 1967.27); Tosiyo no inotì O so○on GA töri ni kūrō zō ‘Old people’s lives are being snatched by the noise, I tell you’ (SA 2678.67a); Nittoo wázuka yonyaku-en. Sono yón-wari O SURA byooin WA pin-hane site iru to iu ‘The daily allowance [per patient] is a mere four hundred yen. And even forty percent of that, they say, is raked off by the hospital!’ (SA 2672.26d); Dā ga, mondai wa soo kantan de wa nai koto O 1930-nèndai no rekisi WA osiète iru ‘But that the problem is not so simple is shown by the history of the 1930’s’ (SA 2673.45a—note that the sentence adnominalized to the summational epitheme koto contains a subdual of the nucleus dā as well as a subdual of the subject mondai [ga]); Genkoso tō ka kati-kan to ka, sisin nari mokuhyou nāri O, sekinin-sya WA simesānyā(1) ikan to omō n desu ‘Principles and values, directions and goals, must be shown by the responsible people, I think’ (SA 2678.48b); Nāigai no hīhan(¬) o abi-tūtū sekāi ni kunrin suru ‘Amerika-tēikoku’ no taigai-kōodo O Seiō tisikizin WA dō miru ka ‘How do West European intellectuals regard the international behavior of the “American Empire” that dominates the world while showered with criticism at home and abroad?’ (CK 985.121). See also the examples in §2.3.

(2) Preceded by various particle-like uses of nī: Mōtō-mo, isitū no hūzuoku NI wakamonō(¬) GA hikāreru no wa, sinriteki nī mo seiri-teki nī mo toozen na koto da si ‘To be sure, it is natural both psychologically and physiologically that young people will be drawn by [new and] different ways, and ...’ (SA 2684.119d); Inakā-mati no tetudōi-in no mizime na seikaku no saimoku NI, kankyaku WA warau ‘The onlookers laugh at the petty details [sic] of the wretched life of a railroad worker in a country town’ (lg 1962.70); Konna koto o kari nī mo kuti ni suru hāna de nakkata koto NI Kūnikō WA odorokasāreta ‘Kuniko was surprised for it was not [like] mother to say such a thing even in jest’ (LG 1962.87); Tooyōo NI Meizi-tennō WA yuuoo-seihi o oita ‘The Emperor Meiji located the central government in Tōkyō’ (Ōno 1966.229)—would the best translation be ‘It was in Tōkyō that ...’?

(3) Preceded by copula-like uses of nī: Masunaga ni hanasu tokī to betu na hibiki ga āru yōo NI Masunaga WA kan-zuru ‘Masunaga felt that it had a different tone from when he, Masunaga, was being spoken to’ (LG 1962.88); ... guu-zen NI mo Nihon-zin WA sono yōo na ten ni ki-ga-tūku yōo ni nāri, ... ‘quite by accident the Japanese came to pay attention to that sort of feature, and ...’ (CK 985.295)—if ki(-)ga(-)tūku is not taken as a unitary lexieme the expression ten NI ki GA tūku will form an example for Group (2) above; Sono kaitoo NI, Nihon no sararī-man GA natta ‘The president [sic, kaitoo = kitaoyoo] of that group—a Japanese salary worker has become it’ (SA 2671.62a)—see §9.1.11.

(4) Possessive and quasi-possessive sentences in which the direct subject (= the underlying object, the possessed) precedes the indirect subject (= the underlying subject, the possessor)—reversing the normal unmarked order: Hosino-Ōnsen ni mo, īku-do ka kita kioku GA kāre NI āru ‘He has memories of having come to Hoshino Springs, too, a number of times’ (LG 1962.86)—the location of the comma in the original text is misleading, for I do not believe the author intended to thematize Hoshino Springs: Kore GA Amerikā-zin NI wa wakarāni n desu nē ‘This an American can’t understand, you see’ (Kindaichi in Ōno 1967.30); Hideko no mé no kagayakī de, tyūugaku no ninen-sei ni nāru to iu sonō-ko no kita koto GA, kāre NI mo sūgu ni wakatta ‘From the glitter of Hideko’s eyes, it was apparent to him too that she who was said to be [or: to be going to be] a second-year student in middle school was here’ (LG 1962.88)—here, the indirect subject (the possessor) is
§3.10. Identification and propredication

HIGHLIGHTED: Waratte iru wâke GA Noboru WA hazîmete wakâutta ‘Noboru understood for the first time the reason for the laughter’ (Ig 1962.70)—here, the indirect subject (the possessor) is SUBDUED: Kûnîko o Nozaka to wakaresasû ‘A problem GA Ayao ni WA wakarânakanatta ‘Whether separating Kunîko from Nozaka was after all a good thing or a bad thing Ayao couldn’t tell’ (Ig 1962.88)—here, both direct and indirect subjects are subdued, the first wâ replacing gâ. Two examples: Táda konpon-teki na tigai wa, iu koto o kikkanâkya ansatu sitâri bunnagûtâri suru yûuki to iu kâ, dôkyoo to iu kâ, sore GA anâta NI wa âru. Soo iu monô GA, atasi NI ya nai n desu yô ‘But a fundamental difference is that (call it) the courage or (call it) the pluck to assassinate or assault unless what you say is heeded, THAT is something you possess. That sort of thing I just don’t have’ (Tk 3.92a).

5. Preceded by the allative e: Mutyuu ni natte nige-dasita Tookyoo E watasi WA kaéraneba narânai ‘The Tokyo that I fled in a trance I must return to’ (SA 2685.101c); Soko E betu no kobune DE dënka GA kenbutu ni yatte kita ‘Whereupon in a separate boat “His Excellency” happened by to watch [the sport]’ (SA 2685.100a)—apparently a thematized allative followed by a thematized instrumental.

(6) Other cases: Yuki no utuskûsai(‘) da kē [o Hûkuko ga] hanäsu no GA Masû massûga WA âware datta ‘Masunaga felt pity that she (Hukuko) would speak only of the beauty of the snow’ (Ig 1962.91).—Does the wâ come from gâ or from nî/gâ? If gâ, then âware is an adjectival noun with quasi-desiderative grammar; here, the “cathector” (who experiences the emotional reaction) follows the gâ-marked “cathected”. If from nî/gâ, then âware has quasi-possessive grammar, the “possessor” (of the cathexis) following the “possessed” (the cathected).

The following text delays the subject in two successive sentences; the first sentence thematizes the object and what is thematized in the second is either an allative or a mutative-locative: Kono kozåkanâ O òoki na sakana GA tåbete sodûtâ. Òoki na sakana no táinai NI, sâra ni dokusei GA ruiseki sarete yuku ‘These little fish, the big fish eat to grow on. In the bodies of the big fish, the poison is gradually accumulated’ (SA 2688.44b). The example Watakusu no taita gôhan NI, Kozîma GA mînku o itta koto wa, kûtute arimasen ‘My rice never provoked any complaints from Kojima’ (SA 2685.43a) has a thematized dative in a sentence adnominalized to a summational epitheme (koto ‘experience’) that is itself thematized and subduced. The thematization is attested to not only by the subject delay, but also by the context. The preceding text is Watakusu, tukurôo to omôtâra, dekinai o-ryôori wa arimasen; Itiban taisetu nâ no wo, gôhan to omiotuke da to omôu n desu ‘There’s no cooking I can’t do if I want to fix something; The most important things are rice and soup, I think.’ And the sentence that follows is Omiotuke ni mo mônku o iimasen ‘He doesn’t complain about my soup, either’.

An example of subject delay in a sentence adnominalized to a summational epitheme (nô ‘fact’, the factual nominalizer): ... Gei-Urin te namea O atasi GA hazîmete sitâ no wa, ... ‘The first I learned of the name [of the artist] Gei Unrin (was when) ...’ (Tk 4.294a).

3.10. IDENTIFICATION AND PROPREDICATION

We have assumed a set of basic sentence types that includes what we have called NOMINAL SENTENCES, essentially a noun + some form of the so-called “copula”. In a more abstract form such sentences consist basically of a noun + the ESSIVE marker ni;
and in §13.5a and elsewhere we distinguish this usual sort of essive as "objective" in contrast with the to that is used in quotations and vivid descriptions, which we are calling the SUBJECTIVE essive. This more basic form of sentences—before the attachment of tense or aspect—is here treated, for convenience rather than accuracy, as a conversion from the imperfect, our starting point, by a process of "infinitivization", §9.1; the real structure is probably the other way around.

But for the purposes of the present discussion we will not consider the essive as such but rather the essive + the auxiliary áru in their various manifestations. In Literary Japanese ní + áru/ári (attributive/infinitive-pseudopredicative) contract to form the copula náru/nári, but when nuclear focus is applied (§5) the underlying components emerge: N ní wa áru/ári, N ní mo áru/ári. It is the attributive form náru of the literary copula, we assume, that has evolved into the modern adnominal forms ná and perhaps (by vowel crisis and shortening) nó. Forms of the literary copula are preserved in certain expressions in the colloquial language, where they underlie various elements given separate treatments in various parts of the present description (see Index): náru, nári, nárazu, naráru; náradewa; .... The literary language makes a "subjective" copula by contracting to + áru/ári, and the resulting forms are also preserved in set expressions in the colloquial: tárú, tári, tárazu, taráru, táráru, .... I assume that the subjective copula can take nuclear focus but I have not yet come across the examples of to wa/mo ár- that are needed to confirm the point. Satô (1.100) gives literary examples of to KA ár- as well as ní WA/KA ár-, but none of to WA/KA ár- except for to m[o] áre (alongside ní m[o] áre); he also has an example of ní z[o] ári (103).

The predicates of all modern Japanese imperfect (nonpast) sentences continue the ATTRIBUTIVE form of older Japanese, or an analog thereof,43 that is why sentences that once ended in ári now end in áru (older cane ári = modern cane ga áru 'has money'), the latter being derived from some sort of nominalization: cane ga áru [kotó] or the like. An exception, however, is the nominal sentence. Instead of *kane ná from cane na [kotó], earlier cane nárú [kotó] < cane ní áru [kotó], the unadnominalized sentence is Kane dá 'It is money'. This word dá and some of its conjugational forms (dáta, daróo, etc.) are derived not from náru/nári < ní áru/ári, but from de + á(r)-. And de comes from ni-te, the GERUND of the essive, by way of nite < n'te (cf. sinde < sini-te 'dying').

In the somewhat formal style that you may hear in public speeches or see in books, the copula is generally treated as de áru with no contraction; and áru is given its usual conjugation, so that the polite form, corresponding to the more colloquial désu, is de arimásu. Even in colloquial usage, when nuclear focus is applied the copula dá reverts to its immediately underlying components and yields de wa/mo áru. The honorific stylization of a nominal sentence (shown in §22.2) is made by adding an honorific synonym of áru to the essive gerund, yielding N de gozaimásu or, with nuclear focus, N de wa/mo gozaimásu. And the polite stylization N désu is a contraction of N de arimásu, the polite formal version, as shown by the forms with nuclear focus N de wa/mo arimásu.

43. A slight exaggeration, for the verb sinu 'dies' would seem to follow the pattern of the literary predicative; the attributive is sinuru. But that has to do with a recategorization of the verb into a regular conjugation, that of the consonant bases. Vowel verbs of more than one syllable that end in -eru and -iru in the modern language are analogs to the literary attributive forms that ended in -eru.
We would expect the negative forms for the unfocused nominal sentence to be N de nai—with stylization N de arimasen and N de gozaimasen—and you will sometimes see such forms, especially in a somewhat formal style. But in ordinary speech you find that zya commonly substitutes for de in the negative expressions so that you hear N zya nai. With polite stylization this will be N zya arimasen; N zya gozaimasen is also heard, but less often, since the level of formality implicit in the honorific style leads you to use either de or de wa. The word zya comes from a contraction of de wa and it is sometimes used as that contraction, so that it will not always be obvious whether N zya nai is to be taken as equivalent to N de wa nai, with subdued nucleus, or merely to N de nai with unfocused nucleus. But some speakers use a lengthened version zyaa for the “living” contraction of de wa. For such speakers the short zya is simply an allomorph (an alternant shape) of the infinitive of the copula, the other allomorphs being ni (the essive) and de (as in N de mo nai)—not to be confused with de1, the gerund of the copula (as in Hadé de mo iī ‘It’s all right for it to be gaudy’ and hadé de wa damé ‘It won’t do for it to be gaudy’), despite the common origin of the two forms. In effect, de1 is simply a borrowing of the gerund for use in place of the infinitive, and zya1 is a borrowing of the contraction zyā[a] from the subdued copula gerund de wa for use in the same way.

The provisional form of the copula, nara[-ba], is borrowed from the conditional form of the literary copula (in focused form N ni wa/mo ára-ba); the somewhat old-fashioned flavor of the provisional category has perhaps kept the standard language from developing the form *dāreba that we would have expected. On the confusing interrelationships between form and meaning for the literary and colloquial copulas in a number of forms, see the charts in §9.3.

But the forms of the copula are only part of the story. How is the nominal sentence used and what does it mean? It appears we must distinguish at least two functions: IDENTIFICATION and PROPREDICATION. In a propredicational sentence the copula is used to mark an ellipsis of some specific predicate either alone or together with any number of its adjuncts. This is a device that lets you be as vague, or unexplicit, as you like about the verbal element; usually you can prune the sentence back to any degree, revealing less and less of the situation, provided only that you retain at least ONE nominal element, for the copula will not normally stand alone. (Exceptions involve ellipsis, as when Sō or Sore is suppressed in [ ] Dā kara ... ‘Therefore ...’ and similar sentence openers.)

It might be possible to regard the identificational sentence as one type of propredication, with the copula marking an ellipsis of something like ... N [ni/to hitosii no] da ‘is [a matter of being equivalent to] N’. But there are syntactic characteristics that make it desirable to treat identification separately and to extend the category so that it includes descriptive identifications as well as specific equations.

An identification involves two entities: a variable, the IDENTIFIED, is given a value by the IDENTIFIER. The Identifier (Ir) specifies which of the range of possible values the speaker wishes to assign to the Identified (Id). The Id must be in the essive, with N ni becoming N da in the finite sentence, UNLESS it is thematized; in that event, the Ir, normally marked by gā, takes the essive:
§ 3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

WITHOUT THEMATIZATION                      WITH THEMATIZATION

(1) Kane ga mondai da.                      =  (1a) Mondai wa kane da.

                      "MONEY is the question."
                      "The question is MONEY."

That this is indeed focused thematization in (1a) rather than just subdued focus is shown by the fact that Mondai wa kane ga mondai da 'The problem—MONEY is the problem' is a paraphrase, but *Kane wa mondai ga kane da 'Money—the PROBLEM is money' is unacceptable. Cf. Ikú no wa, bóku(¬) ga ikú n da 'The one who’s going—ME, I’m the one who’s going'.

Notice that the Identifier cannot be thematized, unlike all other functions represented by Nga such as agent, attributee, etc.; and that is a restriction unique to the identificational sentence. But one can, of course, reverse the semantic direction of the identification since in most instances the only difference between A = B and B = A is a matter of where one’s knowledge or interest starts from:

(2) Mondai ga kane da.

                      "A QUESTION is (the matter of) money."

(2a) Kane wa mondai da.

                      "(The matter of) money is a QUESTION."

Unless otherwise marked, the Id is presumed to be definite ("the") or general ("any") and the Ir is presumed to be indefinite ("a/some"):

(3) Onna ga syáin(¬) da.

                      ‘The employee is a woman.’

(3a) Syáin(¬) wa onná da.

(4) Onná wa syáin(¬) da.

                      ‘The woman is an employee.’

(4a) Syáin(¬) ga onná da.

But, with deictic or anaphoric marking:

(5) Kono onná ga sono syáin(¬) da.

                      ‘That employee is THIS WOMAN.’

(5a) Sono syáin(¬) wa kono onná da.

Yet I have found apparent counterexamples of (7a): ‘Genzí-monogatari’ no zaidai wa, umare GA nání ka, kettoo wa nání ka to iu kotó ... ga, hizyoo ni óoki ni kankéi-zi de átta

44. This example is somewhat confusing; mondai is both an abstract noun 'problem' and an adjectival noun 'problematic'. What is intended here is only the former.
zidaĩ de âtta ‘The era of the Tale of Genji was an era when it was a matter of considerable consequence what one’s BIRTH was and WHAT one’s lineage ...’ (Ono 1966.26); A to B no kankei ga dóo de áru ka ni yotte ‘depending on what the relationship between A and B is like ...’ In these examples the sentence in question is embedded in a larger structure; under such circumstances there may be no overt difference in marking between Identified and Identifier except for order: Dâre ga syatyoo ka siranai and Syatyoo ga dâre ka siranai both mean ‘I don’t know who is the president of the firm’ (or ‘I don’t know who the president of the firm is’). Cf. the remarks in § 2.3.1. Additional examples where the Identified is marked by gâ in a sentence that is embedded or subordinated: Zibun no musuko ya musumé ga dâre da ka wakarânaí n desu yô ‘He doesn’t know who his own son and daughter are, I tell you’ (Ariyoshi 69); kyôô ga do-yôobi de yôkatta. (Asitâ wa niti-yôobi da si, ...) ‘she was glad today was Saturday. (Tomorrow would be Sunday, and so ...’) (Ariyoshi 256). See also p. 58, p. 250 (fn. 46).

The following sentences are examples of unthematized Identifieds (Ir ga Id da): Sono tugû ga Eziputo to Isuraerû [de], sono tugû ga Betonamu de áru ‘Egypt and Israel are next, and after that is Vietnam’ (SA 2672.99c); Aikawarazu nà no ga zyagaimô (kîo hyakû[nîzyûû-en]) [de], tama-négî (hatizyuû-en) [de], ninzû (hyaku-en) [da] ‘Those unchanged are potatoes (¥120 a kilo), onions (¥80), carrots (¥100)’ (SA 2679.115c); Mâda kyôô ga syonitô nar n desu yô ‘The opening day is (yet) today’ (Tk 2.82b); Knôô ga Oohuna no hòo no syonitô nar n desu ‘Yesterday was the opening day in Ôfuna’ (Tk 2.83a). The saying Itìzi ga bânzî de ‘One case being enough to tell you what will happen in all cases’ apparently involves some sort of ellipsis, perhaps bânzî [no daihyoo] de ‘being representative of all cases’.

The thematization apparently must be focused but the focus need not always be subduced; highlighting—of the Id only—is also possible: Kore MO kanasii kyôku(‘) da ‘This too is a sad tune’ (Ig 1962.73); Kyôôsî MO ningen de áru kara ‘Since teachers are human beings, too ...’ (Ôno 1966.140); Mînobe tìzi MO mattaku[komâta] o-hito de áru ‘Governor Minobe is indeed quite a nuisance’ (SA 2664.33d—a descriptive identification); Matsûsita de wa ‘sinbun to seriai suru monô de wa nai’ to ite irô ga, kore MO hitôtô no tutâ-kata da ‘The people at Matsushita are saying ‘It [= facsimile communication] is not something to compete with newspapers’ but this indeed is one way it could be used, too’ (SA 2647.137d); Ima-mâde tukatte ite kôoka ga nai to iu kotô de âreba, kusuri o kaette miru to iu kotô MO hitôtô no hooho dehô ‘One [or: Another] method is to change the drug if it happens that there is no effect from using it to date’ (SA 2669.104c); Sore MO màa hitôtô no ikën desyoo ne ‘That too, I guess, is another way to look at it, isn’t it’—but *Hitôtô no ikën MO sore da, (?)* Hitôtou no ikën wa sore MO da.

The thematized Identified (Id wa) is often omitted or delayed and stuck on as an afterthought: Onnâ desu, senséi wa ‘She’s a woman, the teacher is’. Less often the Identifier (Ir ga) will be added as an afterthought: Genkai desyôô ne, sên-mai ga ‘It’s the outside limit, a thousand pages’ (SA 2650.42d)—this is equivalent to saying Sên-mai desyoo ne, genkai wa ‘It’s a thousand pages, the outside limit is’.

On the distinction between identification and propredication, cf. Vardul 106, who gives two interpretations to the example Âme da:

1 = [Sore wa] âme da ‘That is rain’ (don’t mistake it with snow).

2 = Âme [ga hûtte iru no] da ‘It is [a fact that it is] raining’. Propredication can leave any of the adjunct markers stranded before the copula. V 77 gives
this example of the direct-object particle (taken from Mikami 1953:45): Benkyoo no tan’e to omoeba, dare mo mina’-kore o kyuu-kutu to wa kangaenakatta. Gakusei to sito mo mina’ ga zit’-to sinobi-osae te ita no wa wakai ikigomi(‘) ni tomonau kekkW) O [motte ita no] de atta ‘Feeling it was for the sake of our studies, no one thought this oppressive.

That we all endured it with a patience surprising even for students was [because we enjoyed] the animal vigor that accompanies youthful enthusiasm’.

The following example is even more revealing, so to speak, in that for each ellipsis the author has inserted a comma (preserved in the transcription but not intended to signal a juncture): Tø-ni-kaku onna ga dete kite hada ka o misuru. Oppai o, de wa nai. Heso o, de wa nai. Maru-hadaka o, de aru. ‘Anyway, out comes the woman to display her flesh. Not her breasts. Not her navel. Her stark naked body’ (SA 2650.118e)—what is dropped is [misuru no] ‘displaying’.

The following sentence would seem to be best explained by the indicated ellipsis, which leaves N1 or N2 stranded before the copula: ... iyasi(‘) toogokú-zin o aite [ni suru no de aroo to mo ... ’even though they would have the hateful Easterners for adversaries’ (Oño 1966.35).

As a result of propredication the copula itself can follow adverbalized forms of the copula: Minnâ de [ ] desu ka ‘Are we going to [do it] as a group?’; Minnâ de [ ] de wa damé ‘It’s no good [to do it] as a group’; Minnâ de [ ] de mo ii ‘It’s OK [to do it] as a group’; Gënki ni/de [ ] nara ... ‘If it is vigorously [that one does it] ... ’; Zibun no kangaé o aite ni mukatte, goku syookyoku-teki ni [ ] de wa aru ga, siiru no ga sekkyoo(‘) desu kara n’Because preaching is forcing one’s ideas—to be sure (it is a matter of doing it) in a very conservative way—on the other party, you see’ (Tk 2.213b). What is omitted is something like suru no ‘doing it’. Some dictionaries treat itu-no-ma-nya-ka ‘unawares’ as a single lexical item; we can derive it by way of an ellipsis that drops the propredicative copula imperfect da: itu no ma ni [da] ka ‘whether [it is] in an interval of when/some-time/anytime’ with ni taken as the time-locative marker.44a

Here is a more obvious case, where the author’s punctuation is not merely a reminder of ellipsis but calls for a juncture in reading the passage aloud: Sore koso zyoodan daroo, da ‘THAT’s the joke, is the situation’ (Kb 266a). What has been omitted before da is something like to iu zyootai ‘the situation’ or to ii-tai kimoti ‘a feeling of wanting to say’: the actual intention perhaps never got beyond ABSTRACT-NOUN da, if that far.

Under adnominalization, the copula gerund can be predicad N de da → N de no, and that—by way of propredication—is the explanation for examples such as these: ... hontoo no imi de no han-tæise ‘anti-establishment in the true sense’ (SA 2680.116d); ... kono yó no na katari de no ‘dassoo’ ga ... ‘desertion’ in a form like this’ (SA 2678.27d); ... genzyoo [=gënzai no zyootai] de no koosaku ‘farming under present conditions’ (SA 2679.35d); Kono ten de no honso no tokutyoo wa ... ‘With respect to this the distinguishing thing about the present book ... ’ (SA 2677.110c); ŘEn ga ya’suku, sitagatte doru ga takai genzyoo de no Nitibëi-kan no booe ki wa, ... ‘Japan-America trade which is in a current situation where the yen is cheap and accordingly the dollar is expensive ... ’ (SA 2687.124b).

Examples of propredication, taken from KKK 23.128-70: Yamá wa yukí da ‘The mountain has snow on it’: Káre wa asú kará gakkoo da ‘He starts school tomorrow’: Káre wa asú kará koogi(‘) da ‘He begins his lectures tomorrow’: Asítá wa ensoku da

44a. But other accentuations indicate lexicalization: itu-no-má-ní-ka.
‘Tomorrow [there] will be a picnic’; Wareware wa iyōiyō asita syūppattu da ‘Tomorrow we are finally off on our trip’; Bōku(‘) wa unagi da ‘I’ll have eel’.

Notice the suggestion (KKK 23.270) that Kōndo wa kodomo ni mikan da ‘This time an orange for the child’ is to be treated as Kōndo wa kodomo ni [ageru no wa] mikan da ‘What I will give the child this time is a mandarin orange’; a simpler explanation would be Kōndo wa kodomo ni mikan [o ageru no] da ‘This time [it is that] I will give the child an orange’ with the narrowed meaning taken from situation or context.

It is easy to find examples where propredication has pruned a sentence down to a single noun, but a case-marked noun turns up less often. In rough order of frequency we can expect (starting from the most frequent) to find examples of the following:

N kā da; N màde da.
N tō da.
N de da.
N é da: Watasi no kāeru no wa zibun no tokoró e da ‘Where I returned was to my own place’ (V 1972.162).
N ni da: Kimi ni zyaa nái, okyakuşama ni da ‘It’s not for you, it’s for the guest’ (Kb 325a—the text has a comma before da); Ai-tái n da.—Dáre ni?—Áru otokó ni da ‘I want to get together.—With whom?—(It’s) with a certain man’ (Kb 269b—the text has a comma before da, to signal the ellipsis).
N ó da: ‘Uótuka o desu ka? ‘You mean [drink] vodka?’ (Kb 230b—also uótuka, uókka); Ore ó zya nái ka ‘Surely it’s me that’s meant’.
N gá da: Désu kara nē, senséi no táido ga desu nē ‘So, you see, [it’s a matter of] your attitude, professor’ (SA 2670.18c)—presumably an ellipsis of something like táido ga [mondai] désu; Omae, warūi ryūō ken da zé.—Nání ga desu? ‘You’ve got something naughty in mind.—What?’ (Kb 64b).

Certain of the case markings are more common when the propredication is adnominalized:
N kara/máde no N; N é no N; N tō no N; N de no N. But N ní no N appears to be rare; whether dative or allative, it is usually replaced by N é no N, and as a stative locative ní shuns propredication so that you get N ní áru N or the like rather than (?)N ní no N. Yet the (residual) locative dē freely occurs in adnominalized propredication: ... tikágoro katei DE NO yasai-sáibai ga súzuka na būmu da ‘recently there has been a quiet boom in raising vegetables at home’ (SA 2670.108a); ... Indosínà DE NO senso ‘the war in Indochina’ (SA 2685.16c); ... minkan-byōoin DE NO arubáito o yame, ... ‘I quit my part-time job at the hospital, and ...’ (SA 2678.129c); ... kōkùnai DE NO hyóoka(‘) ga takamárú no ga ... ‘the rise in appreciation [of it] within the country’ (SA 2681.60d).

And it is possible that (?)N gá no N and (?)N ó no N never occur (I have yet to find examples), though they would constitute a handy device for disambiguating certain phrases adnominalized to a verbal noun (see p. 869); we will probably have to say that gá and ó obligatorily drop when the propredication is adnominalized. Since N wá da is itself rare (and largely limited to interpolated dá ná or désu né, §23), it is hardly surprising that we are unable to find an example of N wá no N; however, N mó no N is used, and you will also find N made/kara mó no N: tūki made mo no rokétto ‘a rocket all the way to the moon’, tūki kara mo no tuusin ‘a message all the way from the moon’.

The following example propredicates one kind of instrumental, with the copula appearing in its uncontracted formal shape de áru: Hótérü e kāerü to, sono-hi taiken sita hana si ni ikon o tükete téepu ni huki-komu. Motiòhon Eigo DE de aru ‘When I return home I add
my views to the story of each day’s experience and record it all on tape. In English, of course’ (SA 2671.64c).

On problems of adnominalizing identificational and propredicational sentences, see §13.1.5.

Notice the following operations that can be done to sentences:

\[ \text{N ga X o suru ‘N does X’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{N ga suru no wa X da ‘X is what N does’}. \]

\[ \text{N ga V ‘N V-s’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{V no ga N da = N wa V no da ‘The one who V-s is N’}. \]

Cf. the “cleft” sentences of §14.2.4.

A few examples of \( \text{V no ga N da} \): Gasorin-sya(〜) no gasorin ni atarû no GA, denki-zidôosya(〜) no denti ni takuwaerâreta(〜) denki-enérûgi DA ‘The electric energy stored in the batteries of an electric automobile is what corresponds to the gasoline of a gasoline car’ (SA 2684.24a); Kiti-nai ni sùmu no GA gohyakû-nin DE, yosô kara kàyou no GA gohyakû-nin [DA] ‘Those living on base are five hundred in number, and those commuting from outside are four hundred [also] = There are five hundred living on base and there are five hundred commuting from outside’ (SA 2685.29ab); Mâe wa ìk-ko nihyakû-en mo sitâ no GA ìma wa hân-ne(〜) [DÉ], ... ‘What before cost a whole two hundred yen each are now half price, and ...’ (SA 2679.115a). (See also pp. 246-50, p. 867.)

Several different vivid expressions use an identical noun both for \( \text{Id} \) and for \( \text{Ir} \); this we can call SELF-IDENTIFICATION. Notice these types:

1) \( N_1 \text{ wa } N_1 \text{ de means ‘}N_1 \text{ being } N_1 \text{ ‘ or–equivalent to } N_1 \text{ wa } N_1 \text{ de } \text{mo} –‘even though } N_1 \text{ is } N_1 \text{ ‘ as in: } \text{Sore wa sore de yôkatta ‘That was all right as it was (or: as far as it went)’ (Shibata 1965.212); Todokoori-nâku sùmeba, kore wa kore de medetai ‘If all goes without a hitch, that in itself calls for congratulation’ (SA 2649.109a); Sore wa sore de nání ka betu no mondai to site kangaemasyû ‘That’s what it is but let’s think of it as something in the way of a different problem’; Sore wa sore de mo kamawanai ‘That’s all right, if that’s all it is (= if it goes no further than that)’ (Maeda 1962.1970); Hôn wa hôn de mo, manga-bon ‘When it comes to books, [it’s] comic books!’ (SA 2677.120b)–equivalent to ‘The only books they read are comic books!’: Kyôôzyû(〜) wa kyôôzyû(〜) de mo, kyôôzyû(〜) ni yotte nakâmì ga tigau ‘Professors may be professors, but the substance varies with the professor’ (SA 2685.60); Nanigoto mo okorânakkata kara, sore wa sore de yôkatta ‘Since nothing happened, that was all right as far as it went’ (SA 2685.138b). A similar expression is Mâa, sore wa sore to site, ... ‘Well, be that as it may, ...’ (SA 2664.33d); and Sore wa sore to sité mo, ... ‘Be that as it may, ...’ is also common. In most of the preceding examples the self-identifying noun is a situational anaphoric: ‘this [situation], that [problem]’, etc. But there are other examples in which the noun is animate or is an institution (Nihôn ‘Japan’ will do) and the expression is followed by a verb referring to behavior; the meaning is ‘(that is) just like N’, or ‘N, typically enough’, with the gerund de showing consequence (‘\( N_1 \text{ is } N_1 \text{ and consequently ...} \): Hûmiko wa Hûmiko de nähî-mo tetudâte kurenâkatta ‘That’s Fumiko for you—not a bit of help’, cf. Hûmiko wa yappâri Hûmiko desu ‘Fumiko is, after all, Fumiko = That’s our Fumiko, all right!’; Siki-sya wa siki-sya de, kyûûryoo morawanâkya kuênai si né ‘For his part, the conductor has to get a salary or he...
can’t eat, you see’ (Tk 3.50a): Oya wa oyá de, kodomo o sin-zite("") iru; kodomo wa kodomo de, oyá o sin-zite("") iru ‘Parents (being parents) will believe their children, and children (being children) will believe their parents’ (Kb 274a—the text was cluttered with commas): Ippó Hónda wa Hónda de, “Kyúu Hón-dai no masukomi-sōosa ni suginaï” to mite iru rassì ‘For its part, Honda, typically enough, is said to be taking the view that “it is merely the Former Honda Group manipulating the mass media”’ (SA 2655.26d). Sometimes N wa N de is a mere literary device to return to a subject, or to remind the reader of his name: Isokiti wa Isokiti de, bon’yári, kinkó no ué no bara no hatí ni mata mè o yatta ‘Isokichi then idly cast his eyes again upon the potted rose on top of the strong box’ (Kb 223b—ending a section).

In these usages, you will sometimes find N1 mo N1 de: Kyóosi mo kyóosi de, wáza-to kyooodan de sinbun o yónde iru ‘And the teacher for his part deliberately reads the newspaper up on his lecture platform’ (Endó 79). The expression kóró wa kóró de means ‘THIS time’: Kánari mèe karakaisán-huu ga húki, kóró wa kóró de, sanguin de “anna kótó” ga okóttari site iru seikai de mo, móto-yori reirai de áru hazu wa arimasén ‘Dissolution [of the Diet] has been in the wind for some time, and THIS time even for the political circles in the Upper House where “you know what” sometimes happens there is, of course, no likelihood of being an exception’ (SA 2640.130). Cf. Kenkyusha’s example of kóró to iru kóró wa: Kóró to iu I kóró wa II zitú ni I yowáatta ‘THIS time it’s the toughest luck’. A somewhat similar expression is orí mo orí [to site] ‘just at this very moment’, which appears in an extended form in this example: Kono orí mo I orí, II kóró wa II zassi “Rúkku” ga ... to II senséesyonaru na I kízi o I noseta ‘Now of all times, Look Magazine ran a sensational article that said ...’ (SA 2647.135b). A similar expression is found in this example: ... Nikkatsu no hookai sunzén(”) to iu toki mo toki, ... ‘Right on the very brink of Nikkatsu’s collapse, ...’ (SA 2664.103c). The expression ki ga ki de/zya nái ‘feels uneasy’ is perhaps best treated as an idiom: Kazue wa, ki ga ki de wa arimasén desita ‘Kazue felt uneasy’ (KKK 3.17).

(2) N1 nàra N1 means ‘just (a case of) N’ as in: Tatóeba II haná nara I haná o II réi ni I tótte I míru to ... ‘If, say, we take just a flower for example ...’ (Morishige 143). Leaving out the N1 nara will affect the meaning only slightly. Here belong Sore nára II sore ni kosita kótó wa I arimasén ‘There’s nothing better than that, all right’ (Tsuijura 77) and Sore nára sore de ‘Be that as it may’ as in Sore nára I I sore de, I dòo site I sono toki ni I setumei sinákatta n desu ka ‘That’s all very well, but why didn’t you explain it at the time?’

(3) N1 wa N1 de, N2 wa N2 dá means ‘N1 will be N1 and N2 will be N2’ and N1 mo N1 de, N2 mo N2 dá means ‘N1 is a problem and so is N2’: Oyá wa I oyá de, I kodomo wa I kódómo da ‘Parents will be parents and children will be children’; Oyá mo I oyá de, I kodomo mo I kódómo da ‘The parents are a problem and the children are a problem (too)’.

(4) N1 mo N1 nàra N2 mo N2 da] means ‘not only N1, as might be expected, but also/even N2 [is a problem]’: Gakusei mo gakusei nára(-ba) II kyóózyu(−) mo I kyóózyu(−) da ‘Both the student and the teacher are a problem’ or ‘The teachers are just as bad as the
students"; Hatiroo mo Hatiroo nara, N u t i (−) no oziisan made ga ne ... 'Hachiro is bad enough, but even our GRANDFATHER (doing such things) ...!' The expression can be conflated by adding N3 mo N3 nara/ de with the copula gerund used in place of the provisional at the point where you wish to place the major break—which is marked by the only major juncture: Gakusei mo gakusei de, il kyóózyu(−) mol kyóózyu(−) nara il oya mol oyá da 'The students are a problem and both the teachers and the parents are a problem, too'; Gakusei mo gakusei nara il kyóózyu(−) mol kyóózyu(−) de, il oya mol oyá da 'Both the students and the teachers are a problem, and so are the parents'; Tokí mo l tokí nara il tokoro mo l tokoro daga, il nání ka l wáke ga l áttá no daroo 'The time and the place are a problem, but there must have been SOME reason' (Maeda 1962.42).

(5) N1 mo N1 [de], N2 'is so much N1 that it is N2; is the utmost N1 and is even N2': Akunin mo [i] akunin [de], il satuz-f han da 'He is such a villain, he is even a murderer'. Cf. V-ta mo V-ta 'really did, did ever so much', V-anai mo V-anai 'really doesn't, doesn't at all', A-i mo A-i 'is ever so A'. §14.6; AN mo AN §13.5a.

(6) N1 nara, N2 de 'is so much N1 that it is N2; is the utmost N1 and is even N2': Il kú nara il ikú de, il kinbó l soo itte kureréba l yókatta no ni 'If you ARE going, why didn't you let me know yesterday?!'; Ittá nara il ittá de ... 'If you HAVE been there ...'; Kawanákatta nara il kawanákatta de ... 'If you DIDN'T buy it ...': Hosii nara il hosii de ... 'If you really WANT it ...'; Iyá nara il iýá de ... 'If it is such an unpleasant thing ...'.

(7) N1 wa N1 dá ga/kedo N1 is N1, to be sure, but ...: Dótira mo l hón wa l hón da ga, il naiyoo mo [i] káti mo l zenzen tigú 'Both of them are books, all right, but they are totally different both in content and in value'; Íma, il hima wa [i] hima dá ga, il kyaku ni wa il ai-táku l nái 'I am at leisure now, true, but I have no desire to see tourists'. Cf. S kotó wa S ga/kedo, §14.1—the "iterative concessive". Notice that ellipsis is possible in the structure AN [na koto] wa AN da ga: Sízuka wa l sízuka desu ga, il tyó-tó l tooí desyoo? 'It’s quiet enough, all right, but isn’t it a bit far?'

On sentences of the type N1 ka to omóttara N2 dá[tta] used to express unexpected identification, as in Dâre ka to omóttara anáta desu/desita ka 'Oh—it’s YOU?', see Alfonso 811. The frequency of the perfect form of the copula in these expressions is to be explained from its use to express sudden realization (see p. 603).

It is of interest to see what kinds of sentences will put the Identified into the essive, i.e. before the copula—sentences of the type N2 ga N1 da (= Ir ga Id da). In one type the Identifier is a long nominalization and the Identified is short (...) nó/kotó ga N da 'It is N that/to ...) ... anzen-sei no hyóoka(−) ga nasárete inai tenká-buto ga yurusárete irú no GA mondai no konpon DA 'The root of the problem is that additives are permitted that have not been given a safety evaluation' (SA 2664.93b); Zísyo o kau toki ni wa, dáre de mo, kono is-satu ga área, hituyoo na toki ni wa dónna kotobá de mo hikeru to omóu no GA ninzyoo DE ARU 'It is human nature for everyone to think, when buying a dictionary, that with this one dictionary you can look up any kind of word when necessary' (Shibata 1965.196); Minári o l kiréi ni ie, il minná de l ooki de l otó de l rókku o l kikú no GA l Koozi no l asobi DÁTTA 'It was Koji’s recreation to get himself all dolly up and listen with the gang to rock and roll with great hubbub' (Ig 1966.88)—is the phrase ooki otó de to be taken as MANNER or as CAUSE?; Sono tiryoo mo l san-kágetu GA l gendo [DA] 'for its treatment, the limit is three months' (SA 2670.30d)—the first phrase is a highlighted
thematized genitive; Tyuutoo no kaimono de wa, ne-girú no GA | zyosőski DA ga, ... ‘If you’re shopping in the Middle East, everyone knows what you do is haggle’ (SA 2673.37a).

... benkyō suru hima ga nai no GA | nayamí DESU ‘It distresses me not to have any time to study ...’ (SA 2665.144d); Igaku-bu to iu to, sūgū | hooken-sei to iū no GA I seken no GA | zyosőski DA ga, ... ‘It is a matter of people’s common knowledge that a reference to medical faculties implies feudalism, but ...’ (SA 2647.25d); Sáabisu ga | zinsoku ná no GA | tokusyoku de wa ‘It features rapid service’ (SA 2689.117c); Sore kara, kutikazu ga sukunā no to | kuti no kiki-kata no sūzuka na no GA | tokusyoku DATTA ‘And then, it was characteristic for him/her to be sparing of words and quiet in speaking’ (KKK 3.168); Oiru-tyé enzi | no hituyoo no ná no GA | tokusyoku DE SU ‘It enjoys the special feature that no oil changes are necessary’ (SA 2662.97b); Eiga-kénbutu to | iittē mo, katari o kaeta mōtēru, iite mireba, kaa-sékkusu no | tamari-ba ni nāru no GA | oti DAROO ‘Call it movie viewing, but it will end up becoming a motel under a different shape, a rendezvous for car sex, so to speak’ (SA 2658.110e—reference is to drive-in movies); Zịzịtu ‘zyoo wa | hyaku-paasiento | ōtuyoo no | mune-sānzu nī I makasāretē iru to iū no GA, sēmnōn’-tati no | iven DA ‘It is the opinion of the specialists that in practice a hundred percent is left to the discretion of the hospital director’ (SA 2670.30d); ... doogyōo-kan no I tyo osei | suru no GA | mokuteki DE ARU ‘the aim is to make adjustments among those in the same trade’ (SA 2685.20e); Zis yu-zēmi wa | ... soozoo suru tikarā(*) o | tukutē iku koto GA | nerai DÉSU ‘The undirected seminar has as its aim to build up the power to create ...’ (SA).

In other types, too, it is usual for the Ir to be short: Yadoya no niwa no sūgū mukōo GA, ūmī DÉTTA ‘The sea was right across from the garden of the inn’ (Ig 1962.73). Does the location of the comma, taken from the original text, indicate that the Ir is actually thematized, contrary to my assumptions of what is possible? Or is this one of the time/place subjects with ellipsis as described on pp. 65–6? More examples: ... tikagorōl katei de no | yasai-sábai GA | sūzu kana | būumu DA ‘... recently there has been a quiet boom in raising vegetables at home’ (SA 2670.108a); ... kekkō-siiki de wa | homete I homete | ike | kure no GA | etiketto [DA] ... ‘At a wedding ceremony it is etiquette to praise [the couple] to the skies ...’ (CK 985.391); ... hōondo no | kankō-ryōkōo GA | mé-ate DE, ... ‘with a tourist trip to main-island Japan as their aim’ (SA 2674.27b); ... tārēbi no | ryoo-ri-bāngumi de, kūoso GA | zyo sei DE ARU to ... ‘when a woman is lecturer on a TV cooking class ...’ (Maeda 1962.169)—notice that zyosei is the Ir, for we are talking about women, not lecturers; Sikāsī, | sono zyuusin-ki GA | mondai DE ‘But the RECEIVER is the problem’ (SA 2647.137c); Niwasaki ni oite arū | kuruma no nābāa GA | Tookyōo nābāa DE | ‘kappe’ | narazūro | tokoro o | kōōzi(*) | site iru ‘The license number of the car left in front of the garden is a To kyōo number, proudly proclaiming that it is not some “hillbilly’s” place’ (SA 2648.35c).

Even when not especially short, the Ir will usually be relatively simple in structure: Sutuyūwādesu ga | ‘Zaseki-bēruto o l o-sime kudasā’i’ tte | itte kita no GA, Hukūoka o | tātē kara | iti-zikan | nizip-pun DA ‘It was an hour and twenty minutes after leaving Fukukoka that the stewardess started saying “Fasten your seat belts”’’ (Tk 4.5a).

Not infrequently the Ir is an anaphoric: Wadai no tyuusin GA | sore DÉSU | yō ‘That’s the central topic (that I’m asking about)’ (SA 2649.48d); Kokkyyoo wa, | ... tiisāi I kawā
§3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

GA | sore DÁ ‘The boundary, it was a little river that ...’ (Fn 463b)—the anaphoric is a re-
prise of the thematized Id of the underlying source. But anaphorics also occur as Ir:
... kore GA kien(‘) DE ... ‘with this as occasion = this led to ...’ (Tk 3.69b); ... sore GA mò-
ate DE ... ‘with that in view ...’ (SA 2670.40d); Soko GA ponto desyoo nè ‘THAT’s sure-
ly the point, you see’ (R); Hatigatu ni Izu-kōoen ni rinkan-gakkoo ni ikú no de, sore GA tansosimí(‘) DÉSU ‘In August we go to a camp school in the Izu highlands, and THAT is
fun’ (SA 2635.40)—notice the anaphoric reference to the preceding situation, perhaps ar-
guing for the treatment of ikú no de as a (gerundized) nominalization ‘with its being a
matter of going’ rather than considering no de as a conjunction (see p. 854).

Certain descriptive predicates are particularly common with ... no ga; among the above
examples we can cite ... no ga zyoosiki dà ‘it is common knowledge that ...’, ... (to náru
no) ga oti da(oro) ‘the upshot [= end of it] will be that ...’, and ... no ga tokutyoo (=
tokusyokuk) dà ‘it has the special feature/characteristic that ...’. Similar predicates are
these:
... no ga hónrai dà ‘it is natural to/that ...’
... no ga seki-no-yamá dà ‘it is all one can do to ...’
... no ga yo-no-túne de aru ‘it is usual/common that ...’ (SA 2680.19a)
... no ga hutuu dà ‘it is usual that/to ...’
... no ga ippan dà ‘it is common that ...’
... no ga túne dà ‘it is customary to ...’
... no ga túně datta ‘it used to be that ...’
... no ga tuurei dà ‘it is customary that ...’
... no ga zyoodoo dà ‘it is the normal course to/that ...’
... no ga zituzyoo (no yóo) da ‘the facts are (seem to be) that ...’ (SA 2668.29e)
... no ga genzyoo dà ‘the state of affairs (= the way things are) is that ...’ (SA 2670.30d)
... no ga më-ate dà ‘the/one’s aim is to ...’
... no ga ziman dà ‘we pride ourselves on ...’
... to iú no ga hónsin dà ‘the motive is ...’ (SA 2664.122c)
... to iú no ga kyoootuū-iken datta ‘it was the consensus that ...’
... no ga husigi dà ‘it is odd that ..., the funny thing is that’: Sekiri ga hassei sinái no ga
husigi da ‘It is odd (= surprising) that dysentery doesn’t break out’ (SA 2672.24c).
... no ga kimari dà ‘it is a rule/habit that ...; makes it a rule/habit that ...’: Āsa okiru to,
uti no urá no Higasi-kóoen e ikú no ga kimari de, watasi ni ai-tái hitó wa Higasi-kóoen e
kúreba ii to iu kotó ni ná tt’ bii kúrai desu ‘I make it a habit to take a walk in East Park
in back of my house when I get up in the morning; it’s got so anyone wanting to see me
does well to come to East Park’ (Tk 3.84b).

You will sometimes find mo in place of ga, especially when the predicate refers to in-
evitarility or naturalness: Gakusei-táti ga l démó ni l sanka sitá no MO l dooori da ‘The stu-
dents have every reason to participate in the demonstration’; Sore dáké ni, sigeki ni
tobosii(‘) zimotó(‘) no syoonèn-táti ni óokina eikyoo o ataeta no MO, atarimae DÉ wa
nakaróo ka ‘With that alone (for cause), wouldn’t it be only too natural for it to have ex-
cercised a big influence on the local youth, hungry for stimulation?’ (SA 2647.118a);
Koozyóó(‘) de hataraita iru dokusin-sya [= dokusin-mono] ga óói no MO byoonin ga
sukunai gen’in de aróo ga, ‘... The very fact that many of those working in our factory are
bachelors probably accounts for the low number of illnesses, but ...’ (SA 2645.103a);
Kako ni hihyoo ga ókatta no MO tásika da kedó ‘It is quite true that in the past there
§3.10. Identification and propredication

was much criticism (but ...)’ (SA 2671.20c); ... oyū no sinpai ga hitōtu hūeta no MO tāsika [da] ‘there’s no doubt that the worries of the parent have increased by one more’ (SA 2681.104b).

A common type is the gerundized N ga motō(̄) de ‘with N for a basis, starting with N’ as in o-sake GA motō(̄) DE sinu ‘dies from drinking’ and these examples: Kārē no tūma wa otto ni sarāreta(̄) kanasimī(̄) GA motō(̄) DE, ma-mō-naku naku-nattā ‘His wife soon died from the grief of being left by her husband’ (Ig 1962.94); ... sore GA motō(̄) DE hiroku tukawareru yō ni nattē kīta ‘Starting with that [= appearing as the title of a play] ... it [= the word gametsui] came to be widely used’ (Ōno 1966.16). Similar are N ga mé-ate de ‘with N as aim/objective’ and N ga gen’in de ‘with N as cause’, illustrated among the sentences given earlier.

Certain kinds of nominal (or adjectival-nominal) predicates seem to demand a gā-marked subject—i.e., the subject cannot be subdued with wā (nor, usually, highlighted with mō):

(1) Kore karā GA taisetu (na tokorō) da ‘From now on is (the place/time that is) what is important’; ... kyooiku no naiyoo GA taisetu na kotō desu ‘the important thing is the content of the education’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.298); Kaitoo wa enzetu surū yori kiki-te nī nāru kotō GA taisetu nā n desu ‘What is important for the chairperson is to be (come) a listener rather than make speeches’ (SA 2671.64d); Koo i monō o oozūkami ni sirabēnaka ikenai to iu kotō GA dā-itī de arimaū ‘The most important thing is that we must investigate such things in general’ (KKK 23.214). Yet we find: Sizen o nokōsu kotō WA taisetu dēsu ‘It is IMPORTANT to preserve nature’ (SA 2642.46c). But Taisetu nā no WA kokōro desu ‘It’s the spirit that is important’ (SA 2642.46c) is not a counterexample, since it comes from Kokōro GA taisetu {na no} da ‘The HEART (= SPIRIT) is important’.

(2) Sao sita uwasa GA miyako de wa móppara(̄) de aru to iu kotō de atta ‘They said that such rumors were all over the capital’ (Ig 1962.81)—notice the backgrounding of the subdued locative.

(3) Hūkuko ga Hāruko no kotō o ittā no wa, sore GA hazimete da ‘That is the first time that Hukuko talked about Haruko’ (Ig 1962.89)—sore is a reprise of the subdued thematization of a nominalization; Gaikokū-zin no aida ni hāiru no wa, kore GA hazimete de wa nā ‘This is not the first time to [enter =] be among foreigners’ (Ig 1962.89)—like the preceding (note the failure to subdue the reprise even with the negative).

At first glance, some of these would seem to be propredications rather than identifications (if indeed we can successfully draw the distinction), but the adverbs and adjectival nouns that are involved can usually be expanded into nominals (with tokorō or kotō or the like). Cf. the discussion in KKK 23.214, where it is said that there are sentences that will not permit gā to be replaced by wā (such as those given just above) and also that there are sentences that will not permit wā to be replaced by gā: Kore WA mottē-no-hoka(̄) dēsu ‘This is absurd’. But the stricture is misleading, if not mistaken, for the following are all acceptable: Nāni ga mottē-no-hoka(̄) desu ka ‘What is absurd?’; Kore ga mottē-no­hoka(̄) na/no kotō ... ‘The fact that this is absurd ...’; Kore ga mottē-no-hoka(̄) to iu hanasi ... ‘Talk that this is absurd ...’.

Another type is N₁ ga N₂ dé mo ‘even if N₁ should be (reduced to being) N₂’ as in Mikka ga iti-nītide mo ... ‘Even if it is only one day instead of three ...’ and this example:
Identificational sentences are used to express several different relationships. Miyake (Word 24.299-302) speaks of REVERSIBLE identity (Id wa Ir da = Ir ga Id da)—in which the Id and the Ir are coextensive; of TAUTOMATICAL identity—in which the Id and the Ir are totally identical; and of SEQUENTIAL identity—nonreversible specifications of time or cause. In the framework of our discussion most examples of sequential identity would probably be treated as propredication. Miyake notes that tautological identity is used either to derogate or to praise; see the remarks on what is here called self-identification, pp. 244-6.

Let us consider another way of classifying identificational sentences of the type Id wa Ir (da):

1. EQUATIONAL: Definite Id is Definite Ir—reversible.
   - Kono syain(“) wa sono onna da = Sono onnâ ga kono syain(“) da.
     ‘This employee is that woman.’
   - Sono onnâ wa kono syain(“) da = Kono syain(“) ga sono onnâ da.
     ‘That woman is this employee.’
   - Hânîn wa kâra da = Kâre ga hânîn da.
     ‘The culprit is him.’
   - Kâre wa hânîn da = Hânîn ga kâre da.45
     ‘He is the culprit.’

2. CLASSIFICATIONAL: Definite Id is Indefinite Ir—irreversible.46
   - [Sono] onnâ wa syain(“) da = ‘The woman is an employee’.
   - [Sono] syain(“) wa onnâ da = ‘The employee is a woman’.

45. But this sentence would be ungrammatical according to Hayashi 80, ‘“Definite” is not always readily apparent, and translations can be misleading. In Minnâ ga teki de, dae mo osiete kurenái si, ... “Everyone is a rival and no one shows me anything, so ...’ (SA 2680.47b) you can reverse the identification to Teki wa minnâ de, and a closer translation would be ‘The enemy is everyone ...’. (But *Teki ga minnâ de = Minnâ wa teki de is rejected.) In Sore kara moo hitotu gu kyoikouku de arîmasu ‘And then ANOTHER thing is education’ (Ôno 1967.170) we know that ‘education’ is to be taken as definite because you can reverse the identification: kyoikouku wa moo hitotu de arîmasu ‘education is ANOTHER thing’. I am not sure that this approach will account for the first identification in the example below, but perhaps it will: ... nyusuyô-o-sya no seibetu o kazôete mitarâ, nyusuyô-sya zyuuhati-nin ‘nuu, yo-nin GA dansi de atta; sikâ-mo, iti-i KOSO onnà datta ga, ni-ni ni otokô ga osamatte iru ‘... a count of the sex of the prize-winners reveals that of the eighteen winners four were male—moreover, the first place itself was taken by a woman, but the second was occupied by a man’ (SA 2672.117b). Nor is it obvious that the Ir is definite in Kenbutu no dai-bubun GA Tyoosen-zin desu ‘Koreans comprised most of the audience’ (Tk 3.76a).

46. But in certain conversions, only Id ga Ir da will appear, since some structures will not permit a theme within, e.g. adnominalizations and adverbializations—and subordinating conjunctionalizations: Tó ossyåru no wa anâta GA Edokko de o-ide dâ kara ‘You say that because you are a child of Tôkyô’ (Kb 139a); Watasi GA ano gakusei; no oyâ nara ... ‘If I were that student’s mother ...’ (SA 2678.139a)—the only alternative is Ano gakusei no oyâ ga watasi nara ... ‘If that student’s mother were me ...’. TôtÔbêa, bôkû(“) no itta kotô GA matigai de âru to surêba, bôkû(“) wa sekînô o tóru ‘For instance, if what I have said should prove to be a mistake, I will take the responsibility’ (SA 2671.21a)—
§3.10. Identification and propredication

(3) DEFINITIONAL: Any Id [and therefore THIS Id] is a specimen of Ir—irreversible.
   Ningen wa doobutu da kara watasi mo doobutu da ‘Man is an animal so I am an animal too’.
   Tái wa sakana da ‘A sea bream [red snapper] is a fish’.

(4) DESIGNATIVE: Definite Id is called the name Ir—irreversible.
   Kono sakana wa tái da ‘This fish is (called) a sea bream’. This could also be interpreted as classificational: ‘This fish is a (specimen of) sea bream’.
   Watasi no hāha wa Hāmako da ‘My mother is (called) Hamako’.
   Amerika no syūto wa Wāsinton da ‘America’s capital is (called) Washington’.
   This could also be taken as equational (and reversible to Wāsinton ga Amerika no syūto da).

(5) EXEMPLARY: Definite Id is the best example of its Class Ir—irreversible.

(6) TAUTOMICAL: Definite $N_1$ (Id) is characteristically Definite $N_1$ (Ir)—reversible(?).
   Aite wa aite da (?) = Aite ga aite da ‘Such is the adversary’ (Kb 165a).
   Mōo tosi ga tosi da kara ‘Age being what it is’, ‘The years being what they are ...’ (Okitsu 130).
   Cf. p. 664.

Examples of identificational sentences: ... zīsan ni ‘Isuke san de gozaimäsita né. Tásika’ to, kōe o kāketa. ‘Isuke wa wasi dá yō.’ ‘He addressed the old man ... ‘You would be Isuke; I’m sure’— ‘Isuke I am, all right’’ (Fn 170b). Tantei-syōōsetu o yomi-dasu to, hānnin wa dāre ka siri-tāi n desu yō ‘When I start to read a detective story I want to know who the culprit is’ (Tk 2.156a). Watasi wa kuni wa Waka'yama na n desu ‘My hometown is in Wakayama’ (Watasi wa is a subdued thematization of a genitive). ... daisan'ī-sen [daisanissorsen] wa?—Motiron kūru to omōu né. Daisan’sen ga kessyōō-sen da ‘... and what about World War III?’ (Tk 3.148a). Kore ga tanosimī[= dē wa āru ga tama ni sika nāi ‘This is my hobby but I do it only occasionally’.

In §2.2 (p. 42: nī14) are listed a number of expressions such as N nī wa nī-syuu ga āru ‘There are two kinds of N’: Hitōtō ni wa ... (moo hitōtō ni wa ... ‘For one ... (and for another ...)’, etc. Since the following predicate is typically āru or some quantifying adjective that has a similar grammar (ōōi ‘there are lots’, suku na ‘there are few’), it was suggested that these expressions might be regarded as an extended use of sentences expressing possession or location. The LOCATION interpretation is favored by the frequent possibility of a paraphrase N no utī(=) ni ‘among Ns’, from which most of the sentences could be regarded as derived by ellipsis. But there is another explanation that I would like to consider, and that is to assume that these expressions display thematization of the Identifier

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47. Ippan ni yōnde to iu monō ni, yōnde omosirōi monō wa sukinai ‘There are few things that are interesting to read among what are generally called company histories’ (CK 985.36).
(marked by the essive *ni*), the Identified being suppressed since it is identical with the subject of the following predicate. This would treat *B ni nite 'ru hitó ni A ga áru 'Someone who resembles B is A' (cf. example in §2.2) as derived from two underlying sentences
A wa B ni nite 'ru hitó da 'A is a person who resembles B' (classificational, hence irreversible, so the underlying *... hitó ga A da is forced to thematicize and focus the Identified) and A ga áru 'A exists'; i.e., 'A exists AS a person who resembles B'.

This explanation will yield the following scheme for the classificational sentence:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEMATIZATION OF IDENTIFIED</th>
<th>UNDERLYING S.</th>
<th>THEMATIZATION OF IDENTIFIER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Id wa</td>
<td>Ir da</td>
<td>*Ir ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Cf. the diagram showing epenthematization on p. 656.

Hayashi (32, 92) calls our attention to the variety of different devices, in addition to the simple copula expressions, that Japanese makes available to express DESIGNATION:

A to wa B da ‘What is called A is B’
B no kotó da ‘What is called A is a matter of (= refers to) B’
B o iu/sásu ‘What is called A means/designates B’ = 'By B we mean B’
B no kotó o iu/sásu ‘What is called A refers to B’ = 'By A we refer to B’

A o B to iu/yobu ‘A is called B’
tonáærú/nauzukérú/syoo-súrú ‘A is named B’
suru/sadamérú ‘A is designated (stipulated as) B’

A o sásite B to iu ‘A is B by/in meaning’
A o nazüarket B to suru ‘A is designated B by name’

There are a number of other expressions which might be added to this list: for example, A wa B to onazi da ‘A is the same as B’.

There are several adverbs that will reinforce an identification, notably sunáwati ‘namely, id est; precisely’, túmari ‘in other words, to be more precise; in the end’, kekkyökú ‘after all’, yahári ‘after all’, masásiku ‘evidently, really’, tyoodó ‘just, precisely’, hitoyonde ‘popularly called —; by popular designation —’, ...

You will find both Id wa sunáwati Ir da and Ir ga sunáwati Id da; an example of the latter: ... tání-ni, Yooróppa ga sunáwati sékái da nádo to kangaérú no wa ... ‘thinking simply that Europe is the whole world [= that the world is to be identified with Europe] and the like’ (Ôno 1967.5).

Noun phrases such as A l túmari/sunáwati l B ... are a reduction from an identification sentence A wa túmari/sunáwati B da ‘A is namely B’. (Similarly, A wa l motíron l B sáe maré(‘) da ‘Even B is rare, to say nothing of A’ contains a reduction of A wa motíron da ‘A is unquestioned’.)

In English we usually avoid repeating a noun when we can substitute a pronoun, and that is why we use ‘the one’ in a sentence like ‘Is the letter I saw the ONE you wrote?’ In Japanese you can freely substitute either monó or nó ‘the one’ for either occurrence of
§3.10a. Epithematic identification

The identical noun (‘Is the one I saw the letter you wrote?’ being less awkward in Japanese than it is in English)—or, if the context makes the noun clear enough, for BOTH occurrences. But there is no compulsion to do this, since Japanese find nothing awkward about simply repeating the noun. Thus all the following sentences are possible ways to say ‘Is the letter I saw the one you wrote?’ or (6–9) ‘Is the one I saw the one you wrote?’:

48. Gá can be replaced by nó in either part of each sentence, or in both parts (§ 13.1.6). You can even say Watasi no mita no wa anāta no kāita no desu ka.

But when we apply the factual nominalization (S nó da) of §14.2, we find a restraint that prevents the sequence "no nā no da:

(1a) Watasi ga mita TEGAMI wa anāta ga kaita TEGAMI na no desu ka?
(3a) Watasi ga mita TEGAMI wa anāta ga kaita MONO na no desu ka?
(5a) *Watasi ga mita TEGAMI wa anāta ga kaita NO na no desu ka?
(7a) *Watasi ga mita MONO wa anata ga kaita NO na no desu ka?
(9a) *Watasi ga mita NO wa anata ga kaita NO na no desu ka?

3.10a. EPITHEMATIC IDENTIFICATION

Some authors are fond of a stylistic device that I will call epithematic identification. This leaves the Identified stranded with no visible Identifier; the descriptive material that would have made the Identifier is used instead as an adnominalization that takes the Identified as its epitheme: Honto ni ukatu na watakushi dēsīta ‘I was certainly stupid’ (SA 2670.116c); ... sono sasayaka da ga kiteīyo na hīna ni, onna-rasii yorokōbi(−) o kan-rite iru watasi de āru ‘I feel a womanly pleasure at those humble yet precious dolls’ (SA 2670.140d); “Azi-ōnti” to iwareru watasi de āru ‘I am said to be “deaf to tastes” ’ (SA 2672.124a); Kodomo no inai watasi-tāti desu ‘We are childless’ (SA 2664.108d); Risoo ni moete tyūugasu no kyoō ni nāta Saēki-si da ga, kekkyokū, rokon-nen-kan kyoō o tutōme dake de kāre wa tera e kāetta ‘Mr Saeki, burning with ideals, became a middle school teacher, but finally after some six years as a teacher he returned to the temple’ (SA 2674.62); ‘...‘, mēgane no oku no hōsoi me o issoo hosōmete, nikkōri to warau Mōrito-si de āru ‘[Saying] “...” beams Mr Morita, narrowing still more the narrow eyes behind his spectacles’ (SA 2684.64c): Īssai no ningen-kānkei o tātu zooyooatu-ningen [to] dooyoo no kāre da ga, ... ‘He is like an evaporated man suppressing everything human, and ...’ (SA 2685.112b); Nīno no zyosei o zessan site yamanai kāre da ga, ... ‘he praises Japanese women no end, but ...’ (SA 2685.111a).

The identification can be negativized: Uso o iu yō na iemoto zyaar arimasen ‘It’s NOT like the Master to lie’ (Kb 237a); Yōo no sūnda tokorō ni, ītu made ūro-uro site iro
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O-uta san de wa nakkatta ‘O-uta was not one to loiter forevermore once she’d taken care of the business at hand’ (Kb 276a).

The epithematic Id is usually a person, often oneself. If my analysis is correct, the first sentence above derives from something like Honto ni ukatu ná no GA watakusi désita = Watakusi wa honto ni ukatu ná no désita ‘I was [one who was] really stupid’. 48a

3.11. MULTIPAROUS SENTENCES; MULTIPLE SURFACE-ADJUNCTS

Up to this point we have discussed the Japanese sentence as a structure that consists of a nucleus or PREDICATE and a series of optional build-ups or ADJUNCTS. We have assumed certain constraints with respect to the number and nature of the adjuncts it is possible to add to a given predicate; and we have found that the case-like relationship that obtains between some of the adjuncts and the predicate is often marked by a particle and that the cases are controlled by (= governed by = in valence with) the predicate.

In general we expect a predicate to have at most one adjunct each for such roles as the subject (agent or attributee), the affected (direct object), the beneficiary (indirect object), and so on. When more than one agent (etc.) is involved, the two or more nouns are grouped together and conjoined to form a single adjunct in the surface structure, as explained in § 2.8. Multiple locatives of place and time are perhaps best regarded as shared sentences with the ordering of scope determined by meaning: Uti(‘) ní il daidokoro ni il reizóoko no usiro ní il sóköetto ga l áru ‘At home in the kitchen behind the refrigerator there is a socket’; Syóówa(‘) i nízyuu i tí-nen ní il nígátu(2) no tútítaí ní il ása no i yó-zí ní il okóttá ‘It happened at four in the morning on the first of February in the 21st year of Shówa’; Kin-yóóbi ní il nán-zí “góró ní il kímássá ka ‘What time did you come on Friday?’; Tyuukyóo ní wa il dóko ni mo il hae ga íppíki mo inai ‘In Communist China there are no flies anywhere’ (Mikami 1963c.172). Kóóti to il Yámato to no il sakái ní il Kongóó-san to iu il tokoro ní il síro o kámaéte ... ‘Building a castle at a place called Diamond Mountain on the border between Köchi and Yámato ...’ (Mikami 1963.109). These types should not be confused with the simple “gapping” left by dropping a verb: O-támi wa, naka-no-ma e [dète], O-kin wa daidokoro e [dète], wakare-wakare ní zyotyuu-beya o dèta ‘They left the maids’ room separately, Otami for the middle room and Okin for the kitchen’ (Kb 57a). Comparable problems are involved with numerical expressions and with apposition; see § 13.6 and § 25.

But there are a number of sentences that require us to account for what appear to be multiple subjects, objects, etc. First, we can exclude as pseudo problems those sentences that involve some subject or object that is incorporated in an adnominalization: Dáre ga senséi ga káita hón o yónda ka = Senséi ga káita hón o dáre ga yónda ka ‘Who read the book that the teacher wrote?’; Hanasi o hito o nattoku saseru yó o suru = Hito o nattoku saseru yó o hanasi o suru ‘He tells his tale so that people will understand it’. And then there are examples of “gapping” that result from an obvious ellipsis: Bú-kími na seiyyaku ga nó o [tutünde] mori o tutúmi, hirogatte yuku ‘An eerie silence spreads, enveloping the fields, the forests’ (SA 2688.44b—a free translation from Rachel Carson’s “Silent Spring”).

48a. An example of impersonal epithematic Id: Tosi ‘goto ni l ninki galtakamátte he orimasu keiba désu ga ll ... ‘Horse racing is growing in popularity every year’ (R).
Multiple surface-objects.

The sentences mentioned just above involve more than one underlying sentence. Other examples result from the application of conversions that affect the underlying sentence AS IF it had been combined with some other underlying sentence—perhaps of a more abstract sort. The sentence Sensē ni tegami o kāku ‘I will write a letter to the teacher’ contains a single beneficiary,49 but an additional one can be added when you apply the FAVOR conversions (§10) to create Gakusei ni sensē ni tegami o kāte ageru ‘I will write a letter to the teacher for the student’. And in theory, at least, such beneficiaries can be multiplied without limit, since the giving and receiving of favors constitute a recursive device in Japanese: Tomodati ni gakusei ni sensē ni tegami o kāte ageru ‘I will have a friend do me the favor of writing a letter to the teacher for the student’; Titi ni tomodati ni gakusei ni sensē ni tegami o kāte ageru moratte ageru ‘I will do my father the favor of letting a friend do him the favor of writing a letter to the teacher for the student’, etc., though the sentences grow as clumsy as the English translations indicate.

The causative conversion will normally mark the agent of the underlying sentence with the object marker お unless there is an お-phrase already in the underlying sentence; in that event, に is preferred to mark the underlying agent but お is sometimes used. This leads to sentences such as (**)Gakusei o sensē o matašērū gakkoō da which means either ‘It is a school that makes teachers wait for students’ (= Gakusei o sensē ni matašērū gakkoō da ← Gakusei o sensē ga mātu ‘Teachers wait for students’) or ‘It is a school that makes students wait for teachers’ (= Gakusei ni sensē o matašērū gakkoō da ← Gakusei ga sensē o mātu ‘Students wait for teachers’).50 Such examples seem to be somewhat more common when the お-marked phrase of the underlying sentence represents a place departed from or traversed, i.e. when the verb is a quasi-intransitive (or intransitive motion) verb: Hikō-ki o anzen ni Haneda o tatasēru tamē ni ... ‘For the purpose of permitting airplanes to take off safely from Haneda’; Yōru no hāiūue o kāre wa kuruma o hasīrasta ‘He sped his car down the night(-darke ned) highway’ (Okutsu 1967); Kodomo o bęnti o tata seta ‘We had the child get up from the bench’; ... .

Since it is possible to have a traversal object with a TRANSITIVE motion verb, we face the prospect of finding two お-marked phrases used as adjuncts for a single verb—one to mark the affected object and one to mark the traversal object. Such sentences will not turn up often (at least not in print) because usually one or the other of the objects (if not both) is usually backgrounded with どこ or foregrounded with どこ, and these focus markers normally require suppression of the marking of the subject-object distinction. But we would have to assume that such sentences are grammatical in order to account for the actual sentences with どこ and どこ even if we could not find them. This is how an example can be built up to win acceptability:

Sono nīmoto WA ęki kara ęhoteru no aida O ę zitten-sya(−) de ę hakonda ‘The luggage, I took by bike the distance from the station to the hotel’.
Sono nīmoto O ęeki kara ęhoteru no aida WA ę zitten-sya(−) de ę hakonda ‘The distance from the station to the hotel I took the luggage by bike’.
Sono nīmoto O ęeki kara ęhoteru no aida O ę zitten-sya(−) de ę hakonda ‘(What I

49. I use the term loosely.
50. But many speakers will reject such sentences, feeling uncomfortable with all examples of N o VT-CA USATIVE as an optional version of ะ N  ni VT-CA USATIVE.
did to the luggage is) I took the luggage by bike the distance from the station to the hotel'.

A similar sentence: Sono nímotu o rózi o katuíde hakonda 'I shouldered the luggage down the lane'.

Now, since we can get another ó-marked phrase (in place of the optional but preferred ní) to serve as the underlying agent of a causativized sentence, it is possible to create a sentence with three direct objects in its surface structure: (?)Musuko O (= ni) sono nímotu O rózi O katuíde hakobasetu 'I had my son shoulder the luggage down the lane'. But many speakers will reject this sentence for the reasons explained in the preceding footnote; and in any event it is unlikely that a speaker would let this sentence come out without first applying focus (wá/mó) to one or more of the other ó-phrases if he chooses the option of ó for the first adjunct.

The readiest examples of this sort of thing involve those transitivity doublets (§4.6) which present a morphological relationship between a quasi-intransitive verb and a transitive verb of motion that parallels the regular causative formation: (?) Nímotu o kawa o watasu 'He takes the luggage across the river'—cf. Umá o kawa o watarasu 'He lets/makes the horse go across the river'; Sonna hitó o kono mae o tósosite wa ikenai 'You shouldn't let such a person pass in front of us'—cf. Umá o gakkoo no mae o tooraséru 'He lets the horse pass in front of the school'.

An example such as Tegami o sákuru no naká o mawasite yómü 'We will read the letter circulating it around the circle' might be given a different interpretation 'passes [something] around the circle and reads the letter' (= Sákuru no naká o mawasite tegami o yómü) but that is not what is intended. Mikami (1963.109) cites the literary-flavored example Túmi omoki mono o ba kubi o kirü 'Those with heavy crimes will have their heads cut off'.

Very occasionally two ó-marked direct objects are put in apposition, as in Nání o báka na kóto o itte 'rú n da ná 'What nonsense are you talking?!' (Okitsu 1.251).

3.11.2. Multiple surface-subjects; the "genitive" as a surface phenomenon; genitivization; kinds of genitivities

A number of Japanese sentences come to the surface with more than one "subject", i.e. the predicate seems to have two or more adjuncts marked with the particle ga. And many other sentences contain a structure N₁ wa/mo N₂ ga in which the focus-marking with wá or mó can be taken back to an underlying ga in a sentence of the same kind. These sentences fall into four major classes, three of which we have already examined:

(1) Those with possessive and quasi-possessive predicates (§3.5) have the grammar dáre NI/GA nání GA ... 'possessor ... possessed'. This includes áru 'possesses' (= dáre ga nání o motú), ir-u 'needs' (= dáre ga nání o yoo-süru), wákáru 'understands' (= dáre ga nání o ríkai(-) surú), dékíru 'can do' (= dáre ga nání o si-éruru/-úru), miéru 'can see' (= dáre ga nání o mi-éruru/-úru), kikóeru 'can hear' (= dáre ga nání o kikí-éruru/-úru), and the regularly formed potentials in [-re-ru and [-ar]-éru (§4.4); nái 'lacks' (= dáre ga nání o motánai), oói 'has lots' (= dáre ga nání o takusuná motú), suknúi 'has little' (= dáre ga nání o sukúsi sika motánai), hituyoo da 'needs' (= dáre ga nání o yoo-süru). The double-subject version of such sentences seems to be the result of a blend between the expected surface grammar found in the alternative version (dáre NI nání GA ...) and the grammar of the underlying semantic structure as seen in the paraphrases (dáre GA nání O ...).
 Apparently what has happened is this: the underlying semantic subject is retained in the surface structure, while the underlying semantic object is converted to subject marking by the originally intransitive nature of the Japanese predicates that were coopted to express possessive meanings. (On the analysis of $N_1$ ga $N_2$ ga A as containing a genitive, see Frei 1939.)

(2) Those with desiderative and quasi-desiderative predicates have the grammar dâre GA nânî GA/O ... . These include si-tai ‘wants to do’ etc.; suki da ‘likes’, kirai da ‘dislikes’, and iyâ da ‘dislikes’. On the difficulties of eliciting nânî o with the latter two and with hosîi (= ari-tai) ‘wants to have’—owing to the intransitive intransitivity of áru in ITS surface grammar—see §3.5. In these sentences the underlying (= semantic) object is optionally converted to a surface subject, under the influence of the surface grammar of the adjective and adjectival noun. Similar to the desiderative is the FACILITATIVE (§ 9.1.8)—with a few additional subject-conversion options.

(3) Catechetic adjectives and adjectival nouns such as kowâi ‘is afraid’ have the grammar dâre GA nânî GA ... ‘experimenter [feels an emotion toward] the stimulus’. See §3.5a.

The sentences accounted for in the above listing can include only two such surface “subj ects” and for the first two types there is an alternative marking: in the possessive sentences the underlying subject can be marked with nî (as if dative or locative), in the second type the underlying object can be marked with ó (as expected). In the fourth type, now to be discussed, it is possible—at least in theory—to have any number of surface subjects, but certain semantic constraints obtain; a consideration of these constraints will help to explain the sentences. We begin by considering sentences with only two subjects since the larger structures can be explained in the same terms.

The classical example is from the title of Mikami’s book Zôo wa hana ga nagâi ‘The elephant has a long nose (= trunk)’. This sentence is to be immediately derived from Zôo ga hana ga nagâi ‘The ELEPHANT has a long nose’ either in answer to the question Dâre (or Nânî) ga hana ga nagâi ‘Who (or What) has a long nose?’ or when adnominalized as in Zôo ga hana ga nagâi koto ... ‘The fact that the elephant has a long nose’. Focus can be applied to either adjunct or to both:

(1) Zôo ga hana ga nagâi ‘The ELEPHANT has a long nose’.
(2) Zôo wa hana ga nagâi ‘The elephant has a long nose’.
(3) Zôo mo hana ga nagâi ‘The elephant too/even has a long nose’.
(4) Zôo wa hana wa nagâi ‘The elephant has a long nose [but a SHORT tail]’.
(5) Zôo mo hana wa nagâi ‘The elephant too/even has a LONG nose’.
(6) Zôo ga hana wa nagâi ‘The ELEPHANT has a LONG nose’. (?)
(7) Zôo ga hana mo nagâi ‘The ELEPHANT has even/also a long nose’.
(8) Zôo wa hana mo nagâi ‘The elephant has even/also a long nose’.
(9) Zôo mo hana mo nagâi ‘The elephant also/even has also/even a long nose’.

Under an elliptical interpretation Sentence (9) could mean ‘Both the elephant and the nose are long’ (= Zôo mo nágakereba hana mo nagâi) or even ‘Both the elephant and the nose have long ones’ (= Zôo mo sore ga nágakereba hana mo sore ga nagâi) or—as seen below—‘Someone has both big elephant and big nose’ (= Dâre ka wa zôo mo nágakereba hana mo nagâi) etc.

But there is another set of sentences that can result:

(1a) Hana ga—zôo ga nagâi ‘It’s the elephant (who) has a long NOSE’.
(2a) Hana wa—zôo ga nagâi ‘It’s the elephant (who) has a long nose’.
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(3a) Hana mo–zōo ga nagai ‘It’s the elephant (who) has a long nose too/even’.
(4a) Hana wa–zōo wa nagai ‘It’s the elephant (who) has a LONG nose’.
(5a) Hana mo–zōo wa nagai ‘It’s the elephant (who) has a LONG nose too/even’.
(6a) Hana ga–zōo wa nagai ‘It’s the elephant (who) has a LONG NOSE’.
(7a) Hana ga–zōo mo nagai ‘It’s the elephant too/even (who) has a LONG NOSE’.
(8a) Hana wa–zōo mo nagai ‘It’s the ELEPHANT too/even (who) has a long nose’.
(9a) Hana mo–zōo mo nagai ‘It’s the ELEPHANT too/even (who) has a long nose too/even’.

Sentences (1a) through (9a) are to be regarded as thematizations, with and without attention focus. Sentences (1) through (9) can also be said with thematization, simply by putting a major juncture after the first phrase (referring to the elephant)

(1b) Zōo ga–hana ga nagai ‘The elephant, HE has a long nose’.
(2b) Zōo wa–hana ga nagai ‘The elephant, he has a long nose’.
(3b) Zōo mo–hana ga nagai ‘The elephant too/even, he has a long nose’.
(4b) Zōo wa–hana wa nagai ‘The elephant, he has a LONG nose’.
(5b) Zōo mo–hana wa nagai ‘The elephant too/even, he has a LONG nose’.
(6b) Zōo ga–hana wa nagai ‘The elephant, HE has a LONG nose’.
(7b) Zōo ga–hana mo nagai ‘The elephant, HE has even/also a long nose’.
(8b) Zōo wa–hana mo nagai ‘The elephant, he has even/also a long nose’.
(9b) Zōo mo–hana mo nagai ‘The elephant even/also, he has even/also a long nose’.

With thematization the only thing that protects such a sentence from ambiguity is the semantic relationship between the two nouns: elephants have “noses” but noses do not, in ordinary parlance, have elephants. (Situations can always defy rules, of course: if you paint an elephant on your nose, the nose will then possess an elephant—of sorts.) And this seems to be the key to the structure: some sort of POSSESSIVE sentence is built in. We can think of the underlying structure as consisting of two sentences at a deeper level: Zōo ni/ ga hana ga aru ‘The elephant has a nose’ and [Sono] hana ga nagai ‘[The] nose is long’.

How these two deeper sentences are combined in the “double-subject” sentence will be discussed in a moment. But first let us consider the fact that the “possessive” relationship between N₁ (possessor) and N₂ (possessed) is not the only kind that may obtain in such a sentence; the other relationships are similar in corresponding to a structure N₁ no N₂ in which the nó can be treated as a GENITIVE case marker, with the understanding that in Japanese as in many languages the “genitive” case covers considerably more ground than mere possession. The relationships that lead to the “double-subject” sentences do not obtain, however, in ALL instances of N₁ no N₂; suppose we class as “genitive” just those instances of nó where such a relationship DOES obtain, treating the other instances of nó in other ways—for example, as the adnominalized form of the copula (the essive ni + the auxiliary áru) in IDENTIFICATION and PROPRÉDICATION (§3.10). But, exceptionally, we may wish to treat as a genitive the Objectival Genitive (Type 7) listed below, even though it does not lead to double-subject sentences; see below (p. 262) for a different treatment.

In this sense of genitive, we find the following types of relationship marked (cf. KKK 23.131):
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(1) possessor-possessed (Possessive Genitive):
   (1a) inalienable (body, body parts, spirit, kin, ...):
   Zōo no hana (ga nagai) : Zōo ga hana ga nagai ‘The elephant has a long nose’.
   (1b) alienable:
   Zōo no hanā (ga sirōi) : Zōo ga hanā ga sirōi ‘The elephant has a white flower’.

(2) wider scope–narrower scope (Scope-narrowing Genitive):
   (2a) partitive (whole–part):
   Hana no anā (ga ookii) : Hana ga anā ga ookii ‘The nose has large nostrils’.
   Ie no yāne no kawara (ga utukusii) : Ie ga yāne ga kawara ga utukusii ‘The house has a roof that has beautiful tiles’.

(2b) specificative (general–specific, type–token, class-member):
   Kuruma no kogata (ga keizai-teki da) : Kuruma ga kogata ga keizai-teki da ‘Of cars the small types are more economical’.

(3) characterized–characteristic (Attributive Genitive):
   (3a) underived attribution (attributee–color, smell, taste, look, size, repute, status, occupation, origin, basis, ? purpose, limit, number, ? price, ? age, health, feel, ...): Kawara no iro (ga utukusii) : Kawara ga iro ga utukusii ‘The tiles have a beautiful color’.
   (3b) derived attribution (coming from adjective or adjectival noun):
   Irō no utukusii-sa (ga itizirusii) : Irō ga utukusii-sa ga itizirusii ‘The color has a striking beauty (about it)’.

(4) location–located (Locative Genitive):
   (4a) place-located:
   Koko no miti (ga kitanai) : Koko ga miti ga kitanai ‘This place has filthy streets’.
   (4b) time-located (relative time only?):
   Hāru no hanā (ga utukusii) : Hāru ga hanā ga utukusii ‘Spring has (= brings) nice flowers’.

(5) subject–predicate (Subjectival Genitive):
   (5a) intransitive subjectival—with intransitive verbal nouns, nouns derived from intransitive infinitives or from adjectival nouns, certain nominalizations (A/AN/VI + koto, ...):
   Zōo no sanpo (ga osoi) : Zōo ga sanpo ga osoi ‘The elephant has a slow stroll = The elephant’s stroll is slow’.
   (5b) transitive subjectival—with transitive verbal nouns, nouns derived from transitive infinitives, certain nominalizations (VT + kotō, ...):
   Sizin no kenkyuu (ga muzukasii(−)1) : ??Sizin ga kenkyuu ga muzukasii(−)1 ‘The poet has a difficult study (that he is doing)’.

(6) producer–product (Effective or Creative Genitive):
   Sizin no hōn (ga omosirói) : Sizin ga hōn ga omosirói ‘The poet has an interesting book (that he has written)’.

51. This takes hōn as a creative product; if it is merely taken as an object, the sentence can be interpreted as a possessive genitive ‘The poet has an interesting book (in his possession)’ or as an adnominalized predication ‘The poet has an interesting book (to sell, that he has bought, that he was talking about last night over sherry after the large dinner party at my wife’s uncle’s house in the country, etc., etc.).’
(7) affected-process (Objectival Genitive)—with transitive verbal nouns, nouns derived from transitive infinitives, certain nominalizations (VT + kotó, ...):

Sizin no kenkyuu (ga muzukashii(¬) )_2 : "Sizin ga kenkyuu ga muzukashii(¬) _2 ‘The poet has a difficult study (done about him by someone)’.

Additional examples for various of the types will be found below.

The Possessive, Partitive, Locative, and Attributive Genitives (1–4 above) can be explained quite neatly in terms of ellipsis: the ga' marks the possessor in a possessive sentence (Zóo ni/ga hana ga áru ‘The elephant has a nose’) that is adnominalized to the possessed, with obligatory dropping of áru in all instances EXCEPT those of alienable possession, where the dropping is optional. Whether áru is dropped or not, ga' can be replaced by nó (under the process described in §13.1.5) and such replacement is, in fact, obligatory in colloquial Japanese—though not in the literary language—UNLESS the new predicate for the extruded noun (the possessed) is an adjective or an adjectival noun: ^52

(1a) Zóo ni ga hana ga áru

\[ \text{Zóo ni áru hana} \]

\[ \text{Zóo ga áru hana + ADJ, AN (But any pred in literary.)} \]

\[ \text{Zóo no áru hana + ANY PRED} \]

‘The elephant has a nose’.

(1b) Zóo ni ga haná ga áru

\[ \text{Zóo ni áru haná} \]

\[ \text{Zóo ga áru haná + ADJ, AN (But any pred in literary, or if áru is not dropped.)} \]

\[ \text{Zóo no áru haná + ANY PRED} \]

‘The elephant has a flower’.

Note that the alienable possession permits a perfect, and the perfect form of áru (átta) is not to be omitted in the adnominalization:

(1c) Zóo ni ga haná ga átta

\[ \text{Zóo ni átta haná + ANY PRED} \]

\[ \text{Zóo ga átta haná + ADJ, AN (But any pred in literary.)} \]

\[ \text{Zóo no átta haná + ANY PRED} \]

‘The flower that the elephant has ...’

Under unusual circumstances, to be sure, any “inalienable” can be treated as an alienable possession; just as Zóo ni ga átta hana ‘the nose that the elephant used to have’ suggests a somewhat odd but conceivable situation, so you might dream up a circumstance that would call for Zóo ni/ga áru hana ‘the nose that the elephant happens to have in his possession right at the moment’ (perhaps one of several papier-maché noses that have been distributed as playthings).

(2) Yáne ni ga kawara ga áru

\[ ? Yáne ni áru kawara \]

\[ Yáne ga áru kawara + ADJ, AN (But any pred in literary.) \]

\[ Yáne no áru kawara + ANY PRED \]

‘The roof has tiles’.

^52. But a few VERBS are also allowed: Sensei ga hyooban ga ÓTITA ‘The teacher has fallen in repute’; Kore wa Kanbun to Nihon-bun(¬) tó ga, kotobî no zyûnzyo ga TIGAÚ no o nan to ka Nihon ‘huu ni yómu tamé no kuhuu dátta ‘This was a device to read somehow in Japanese fashion the places
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(3) Kawara  
\[\{\text{nī} \text{ ga} \}\text{i} \text{rō} \text{ ga} \text{ārū} \rightarrow \]
? Kawara ni ārū iro
Kawara ga  
\[\text{ʃ} \text{ārū} \text{ʃ} \text{irō} + \text{ADJ, AN (But ...)}\]
Kawara no  
\[\text{ʃ} \text{ārū} \text{ʃ} \text{irō} + \text{ANY PRED}\]
‘The color of the tiles’

(4a) Koko  
\[\{\text{nī} \text{ ga} \}\text{miti} \text{ ga} \text{ārū} \rightarrow \]
Koko ni ārū miti
Koko ga  
\[\text{ʃ} \text{ārū} \text{ʃ} \text{miti} + \text{ADJ, AN (But ...)}\]
Koko no  
\[\text{ʃ} \text{ārū} \text{ʃ} \text{miti} + \text{ANY PRED}\]
‘The streets that this place has ...’

(4b) Hāru  
\[\{\text{nī} \text{ ga} \}\text{hanā} \text{ ga} \text{ārū} \rightarrow \]
Hāru ni ārū hanā
Hāru ga  
\[\text{ʃ} \text{ārū} \text{ʃ} \text{hanā} + \text{ADJ, AN (But ...)}\]
Hāru no  
\[\text{ʃ} \text{ārū} \text{ʃ} \text{hanā} + \text{ANY PRED}\]
‘The flowers of spring ...’

In this way we explain by a single mechanism (dropping of ārū) four types of the “multiple-subject” sentences and the corresponding four type of genitives in both their colloquial (\(N_1 \text{nō} N_2\)) and their literary (\(N_1 \text{ga} N_2\)) manifestations. Since the “multiple-subject” must be followed by an adjectival predicate, it is tempting to speculate that the dropping of the ārū is triggered by the submerged ārū that we assume to be a part of the inflectional forms of the adjective and the copula; the resulting formulation of obligatory ellipsis will look something like this (for the colloquial language):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N}_1 \text{ ga ʃ } \text{ārū} \text{ ga } N_2 \{ \text{A-i kū ārū i j} & \cr \text{AN nē tʃe tʃ āfr-i j} & \cr \text{= A-i} & \cr \text{= AN dā} & \cr \text{= AN nā (when adnominalized)} & \end{align*}
\]

Perhaps we should say that every adjective (and adjectival noun) has not only the meaning ‘(\(N_2\)) is A’ but also the latent meaning ‘(\(N_1\)) has an \(N_2\) that is A = (\(N_1\)) has an \(A\) \(N_2\)’: kami ga nagāi means both ‘the hair is long’ and ‘(someone) has long hair’.

But what about the remaining types of genitive (subjectival and effective) and the corresponding multiple-subject sentences? And what about the Objectival Genitive that does not, apparently, have a corresponding multiple-subject sentence? For the agentive version of the subjectival genitive it is easy to assume ellipsis of the pro-verb suru ‘does’:

(5a) Zoo  
\[\{\text{ɡa} \text{ no} \}\text{suru sanpo} \rightarrow \]
Zoo ga  
\[\text{ʃsuru} \text{ʃ sanpo + ADJ/AN IF SURU DROPS}\]
Zoo no  
\[\text{ʃsuru} \text{ʃ sanpo + ANY PRED}\]
‘The stroll that the elephant does ...’

(5b) Sizin  
\[\{\text{ɡa} \text{ no} \}\text{suru kenkyuu} \rightarrow \]
Sizin ga  
\[\text{ʃsuru} \text{ʃ kenkyuu + ADJ/AN IF SURU DROPS}\]
Sizin no  
\[\text{ʃsuru} \text{ʃ kenkyuu + ANY PRED}\]
‘The study that the poet does ...’

where classical Chinese and Japanese differ in word order’ (Ôno 1966.205); ... . Will all durative-stative verbs qualify?
This will work with most verbal nouns, but we may run into difficulties in individual instances. It is more difficult to derive the Effective Genitive, since there would seem to be ellipsis of the specific "verb of creation" (tukúru 'makes', kákù 'writes', ...) called for by the "product". And the Objectival Genitive could not be derived by any sort of ellipsis that assumed nó to be a subject-marker. The most promising derivation for the Objectival Genitive is as follows:

(5c) Sizin o kenkyuu suru 'studies the poet' → Sizin o kenkyuu surú no3 da 'It is a matter of studying the poet' → Sizin [o kenkyuu surú no3] no2 kenkyuu 'the study of which it is [the matter of studying] the poet'.

That is, the underlying sentence (with or without an explicit agent but with the object) is nominalized by nó3 'fact' and the resulting sentence is then adnominalized (dá → nó2 'which is') to the extruded verbal noun, with the string ... ó VN surú no3 obligatorily dropped. And the "objectival genitive" turns out not to be a genitive at all, as we have defined the term; instead, it is an adnominalization—to an extruded process expressed as a verbal noun—of a factual nominalization of a sentence with an expressed object. The /nó/ is not the genitive subject particle nó1 (nor the pronoun nó3) but the adnominalized copula nó2. This could be regarded as a case of propredication, assuming an input sentence Sizin (o kenkyuu suru) with the parenthesized material "propredicated" with dá. That interpretation would save going through the factual nominalization.

Notice that when the agent is expressed—and marked by gā, the pro-verb suru must be retained, yet must precede the underlying object: Gakusya ga sizin o kenkyuu surú no3 da → "Gakusya ga sizin fo kenkyuu; surú no kenkyuu → Gakusya ga surú sizin no2 kenkyuu 'the study of poets done by the scholars'. (If surú is omitted, of course, the sentence is latently ambiguous; it could be interpreted as 'the poet who belongs to the scholar' if we grant that the acquisitive instincts of a scholar can lead to his owning a poet.)

This placement of suru offers support for our earlier notion that a "full" sentence is a complex of one or more simplexes (= adjunct-plus-predicate) with shared nucleus.53 If we start from two simplexes with the same nucleus but unjoined and then, by way of factual nominalization, adnominalize each to the same epitheme (the process), we can lastly conjoin the two adnominalizations leaving suru in the proper place. The proposed derivations are shown in the following chart, where ordinary brackets indicate an ellipsis that is obligatory AT THAT STAGE and double brackets are a reminder of ellipsis at earlier stages:

53. But elsewhere I use the term "simplex" to refer to any sentence that has not undergone a conversion and thus include what is here called the "complex" (= a predicate with adjuncts up to a full array of case valences).
The Effective Genitive requires some sort of input sentence that will include a representative of the specific creative process that would lead to the particular product represented by N₂, unless we wish to posit an undifferentiated CREATION verbal of a more abstract nature. In order to account for the multiple-subject sentences that correspond to the Effective Genitive, I propose a derivation that includes áru:

SIMPLEX → COMPLEX → ADNOMINALIZATION (to extruded underlying object) →

Sizin ga kaita
'The poet wrote'

Sizin ga hōn o kaita
'The poet wrote the book'

Sizin ga hōn o kaita
'The book that the poet wrote'

Hōn o kaita
'The book was written'

Sizin {ni ga} hōn ga áru
'The poet has a book'

Sizin {ni ga} áru hōn
'The book that the poet has'

Sizin no {áru} hōn
'The poet's book'

CONJOINING OF ADNOMINALIZATIONS

Sizin {no}{kaita} [sizin {ni ga} áru hōn]
'The book that the poet [wrote and that the poet has] = The poet's book [that he has written]'

---

54. Remember that possessives are complex to begin with.
A somewhat more sophisticated view of the preceding derivation might include an application of V-te āru as POSSESSIVE RESULTATIVE (i.e. 'the poet has written the book and that is part of the experience he possesses'); the semantic fit would be comfortable with something of that sort, but I have not worked it out. See §9.2.4.(2) for the necessary information.

The examples cited above contain only two surface subjects each, but they can be expanded by embedding genitives within genitives (of either the same or a different kind), so as to arrive at sentences with multiple subjects such as these: Dāre ga dōko ga guai ga warūi 'Who has got what part of him ailing?'; Kono zyunban wa dōre ga tugoo ga ii desu ka nā 'Which of these turns would be best?'; Mukoo no iē wa, yāne wa, kawara wa, iro ga utukusii 'The house across the way has a roof with tiles of a beautiful color' (Mikami 1963c.105). And, with the possessor epithematized: Sikāsi, nē ga hito ga i otokō na no de, ... 'But he is a man with at heart a good nature .. .' (Nagano 1966.75) ← [sono] otokō ga nē ga hito ga ii (as the immediate source).

Unlike colloquial Japanese, Literary Japanese does not require that nō replace gā when genitives are reduced in nominal phrases taking verbal predicates; N1 ga N2 is the normal literary possessive genitive, and that is the source of the modern adnoun wā-ga 'our' from the old pronoun wā[nu] = wāre 'I'. The genitive gā is also found in clichés and place-names such as Oni-gā-sima 'Devils' Island', Kasumi-gā-ura ('Bay of Mist'), Kasumi-gā-seki ('Checkpoint of Mist'), etc., where it represents other genitives such as the attributive.

One colloquial expression that can be explained as a relic of the literary genitive is number + gā tokō [da] 'it is the extent/level of ... ' as in hyakuen gā tokō da 'it is a hundred yen('s worth)' , hyaku gozyū-en gā tokō no esā(-) 'a hundred and fifty yen's worth of bait' (KKK 25.74b). The expression as a whole is often directly adverbialized (as a number alone would be). Thus Kenkyusha's Satō o zyuuen ga tokō o-kure 'Give me ten yen's worth of sugar' and these more recent monetary examples: Kono yasu-de na zubon dāke de, ittō-ni[ī] niokū-en gā tokō kasegi-dasu ... ' ... (who) starts to earn two hundred million yen a day from these cheap pants alone' (SA 2668.37d); ... watasī wa ni hyakumantō-en gā tokō son sitimau [= sitimau] yō 'I'll end up losing a couple of million yen' (SA 2679.27a).

In the following example hūruki ga represents a literary genitive made on a direct nominalization of the adjectival literary attributive; hūruki ga utī corresponds to the more colloquial hurūi no no utī(-) 'among the old-fashioned ones': Hūruki ga utī(-) ni mo hurūi onnā ni wa, ... 'For a woman who is the most old-fashioned of the old-fashioned ... ' (Fn.278a).

When you run across a genitive in the form N no (N2) you may be uncertain whether the given form is really a genitive (and thus, presumably, equivalent to the literary N gā) or whether it is an adnominalization of N da. Nor is it always obvious just what kind of a genitive may be present. In Hutari no ko no titioya [da] 'He is the father of two children' (SA 2688.29d) we will want to say that titioya is an epithematized genitive 'the father who it is [the case that he has] two children', deriving the adnominalization from something like hutari no ko [ga āru] no da 'it is the case that he has two children', rather than treating the father as an inalienable possession (by kinship) of the children, i.e. derive the
sentence from Hutarī no ko ni/ga titioya ga āru ‘The two children have a father’, though under some contexts the latter interpretation (‘the two children’s father’) might be preferable. In san-nin no ko-moti ‘the parent of three’ our surface grammar results from an object-incorporating lexicalization of the sentence san-nin no ko o mōtu ‘has three children’, as explained—along with other perplexing genitives—in §3.8a. In Kodomo no hà̄na e no sittō(―) ‘Jealousy of the child toward his mother’ (SA 2684.120cd), the first nó is a subjectiv genitive that derives from kodomo ga sittō(―) suru ‘the child displays jealousy’; from the surface form alone we cannot exclude the meaning ‘[someone’s] jealousy toward the child’s mother’, but that was not the intention of the context from which the example was drawn.

Before a consonant the vowel of nó will sometimes optionally drop, as in boku n[o] tokoro ‘my place’ (cf. boku n[o u]ti ‘my house’ with more drastic reductions); after a final -n the dropping of the vowel will necessitate further reduction to nothing at all, since the sequence -nnC- is not permitted: ōkusans [no] tokoro ‘madam’s house’. But sometimes you will come across an ellipsis of the genitive nó that is not to be explained in that way: sīkyōkū-tyōō [no] i taku ni denwa o site ‘making a phone call to the residence of the branch manager’ signals the ellipsis by a minor juncture before taku ‘residence’ when read aloud, but if you see it in print you might mistakenly take it for a compound noun *sīkyōkyūtōō-taku or *sīkyōkyūtōō-taku if you were unaware that compound nouns of that particular type do not occur in the standard language.

In Alfonso’s interesting example Sono matsū e ikū ni wa bāsu sika norimono ga arimasen ‘To get to that town there are no vehicles but buses’ (731) we have an inversion of a specificative genitive (norimono ga bāsu ga āru) apparently triggered by the sika-focus applied to the specimen, which is extruded and, it would seem, thematized. Here is another example, in which gā has been replaced by nó under adnominalization of the structure (and that adnominalization casts doubt on the notion that the sika-focused adjunct is actually thematized): Omake ni, mukasi wa nōgyō sika sangyō no nākatta toti ni booseki-kōōzyō made dēkite imāsu ‘In addition, on land that once had only agriculture in the way of industry there now stands a textile factory’ (SA 2684.141cd).

This inversion would appear to be limited to specificative genitives that are functioning both as the specified (general, type, or class) for a specifier (instance, token, or member) and as the possessed or the existent in the matrix sentence: norimono ga/ wa bāsu ga āru ‘of vehicles there are buses’ + norimono ga āru ‘there are vehicles’. Instead of choosing to invert, you can subdue the specified: norimono wa bāsu sika arimasen ‘of vehicles there are only buses’, sangyō wa nōgyō sika nākatta toti ‘land that, for industry, once had only agriculture’. These are subdued (and thematized?) genitives.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF GENITIVE TYPES
(See also thematized genitives, pp. 267-71.)

(1a)–(2b) Examples sought.
(3a) Watasi ga mibun ga gakusei desu ‘I have the status of student’; Kono ryokāk[ú]-ki ga kassoo-kyōri ga mizikāi desu ‘This airliner has a short taxiing distance’; ? Ore ga syabētta no ga nāni ga warū ‘What’s the matter with my having spoken?’
(3b) Examples sought.
§3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

(4a) Húzi-san ga yakī ga tokénai ‘The snow on Fuji doesn’t melt’.

(4b) Nigátu ga ñóndu ga hikūi ‘February has low temperatures’; Ítu ga tugoo ga ñī ‘When would it be convenient for you?’ (= Ítu no tugoo ga ñī). But the following example probably belongs with the stylistic peculiarity of the “emphatic GA” (p. 65): Sono zībun(*) ga tabémônō ga mōttō-mo hōohu(−) de ātta (= hōohu(−) de ātta tokī da) ‘That was the time when food was most abundant’.

(5a) Gakusei ga yasumī ga ñō ‘Students take a lot of cuts’ from gakusei ga yasūmu;

... kuni no kētūi no arawāre desu ‘it is an expression of the government’s determination’ (SA 2649.44e) from kētūi ga arawārēru; ... mono(*) no kangaē-kāta no omosirō-ṣa o siru koto ga dekīru ‘you can find out the pleasure of thinking about things’ (SA 2650.93b) from kangaē-kāta ga omosirōi (the first phrase is an objectival genitive, from monò o kangaērodu). ... Kane no hōsi-ṣa ‘the desire for money’ (KKK 3.171) – immediately from kane ga hosii ‘desires money’; ... kāre no kāeri o mātu kōtō ni sitā ga, ‘we decided to await his return but ...’ (KKK 3.169) – from kāre ga kāeri ‘he returns’; ... āka-tyan no hatuiku ni hituyoo na sēibun ga ‘... ingredients necessary for the baby’s growth’ (KKK 3.169) – from āka-tyan ga hatuiku suru ‘the baby grows’.

(5b) ... sono māe ni isya no sīnatsu o ūkete ... ‘before that has a doctor’s examination’ (KKK 3.169) from isya ga [kāra dō] sīnatsu suru ‘the doctor examines [one’s body]’;

... Amerīka no Nihōn ni tai-ṣuru hīhan(−) wa ... ‘America’s criticisms of Japan’ (SA 2685.24c).

(6) Examples sought.

(7) ... zyettō-ki ni no ntori[zīken] ‘the hijacking of a jet plane’ from [kāre-ɡa] zyettō-ki o ntorûru ‘[they] hijack a jet plane’; ... sugūreta i zyūṣya de ātta ‘rasihī ⅰōnī no l sōhu no l gakūmon no ⅰ si-katā ga ... ‘the research methods of his grandfather and teacher, who seems to have been an outstanding Confucianist ...’ (SA 2650.93c) from gakūmon o suru—the no of ōnī no l is the copula (= de ārú), the no of sōhu no l is either the subjective genitive (from sōhu ga gakūmon o suru) or the possessive genitive (from sōhu ni ārū gakūmon from sōhu ni ārū gakūmon ga ārū).

There is a structure of iterated number word with the first occurrence followed by ỹ gā as in san-nin ga san-nin ‘all three people’, zis-sātū ga zis-sātū ‘each of the ten volumes’, subēte ga subēte ‘each and every one’, etc., that I would account for as a possessive sentence reduced to form a literary genitive (specificative): san-nin ga ⅰārû san-nin ‘the three people that possess three people’. The expression as a whole works as a number, and it is often directly adverbialized as are other quantity nouns. Examples: ... watakuṣū-ritu no san’in de syūsān surū no wa zēnbū ga zēnbū to itte yōi hodo, māda kekkō site inai hahāo yatādī de aru ‘Virtually all of those giving birth in private maternity hospitals ... are unmarried mothers’ (SA 2655.42): Itte mirēba, minnā ga minnā, Kārayan no hōhō o sūte iru tō wa kagirānaī si ... ‘It does not necessarily follow that, so to speak, just everyone is fond of Karajan’s methods’ (SA 2666.105d): ... zēnbū ga l zēnbū l l sōo de wa l nā ‘not all of them are like that’ (SA 2655.133d); ... zenpōo(−) o yokogiru tyoozyu-tyuugyo no issāi ga issāi o hitō-nomi ni site simāu no da ga ‘it [the pike with its mouth] swallows up every single living thing ["bird, beast, insect, or fish"] that crosses its path’ (SA 2666.85a).

The expressions zyū-ṣū-ṣū ga zyū-ṣū-ṣū ‘ten people out of ten’ and hyakū-ṣū-ṣū ga hyakū-ṣū-ṣū ‘a hundred people out of a hundred’ are used to mean ‘everyone, all of them’; Ėiga(−)
ni hazimete ututta hito wa, zyu-ru-nin ga zyu-ru-nin soo desu ne 'Everybody is like that on first being filmed in a movie' (Tk 2.140a); Soryaa hookoo-nin no kotó desu kara, syüzin o yóku iu nante monó wa, hyákù-nin ga hyákù-nin arimasén ya 'It is a question of servants (being servants) so you won’t find all of them speaking well of their masters’ (Fn 205b).

We can compare such archaic expressions as NUMERAL ga mono (Meikai kogo jiten 204c) meaning 'approximately', as in the Chikamatsu example zyuuugo-roku ga mono utte kure ‘sell me about fifteen or sixteen’, or ‘price[d]’ as in the Saikaku example 580 ga mono siro nasite ‘pricing it at 580’. Cf. tó iu monó ‘a matter of’ (§ 21.1). An archaic equivalent of N to tómo(−) ni ‘together with’ is N no/ga muta. For such expressions as gó-ñen ga zyu-û-ñen de mo ‘whether five years or ten years’, see pp. 249–50. Note also N tó iu N ‘(each and) every N’, § 21.1.

Somewhat similar are such expressions as ÍMA ga ima ‘right now’ (= tyoodo ÍMA and ÍMA ga ima-máde ‘up to this very moment’—usually treated as idioms (p. 39: ga 26). Of like structure is kyoöo ga kyoo made ‘up to this very day’; but there is no *kyoöo ga kyoo ‘this very day’ without máde. The expressions with máde will allow nó to replace ga: ima no ima-máde, kyoöo no kyoo made, but not (under normal circumstances) *ima no ima or *kyoo no kyoo. There are also the expressions kyoöo-ga/no-hi made ‘up to this very day of today’ (but not without máde) and asú-ga/no-hi ‘the very day of tomorrow’. Asú-ga-hi mo ‘even the very day of tomorrow’ is pronounced either /asugahimo/ or /asugahimo/, and asú-no-hi mo is pronounced either /asunohimo/ or /asunohimo/. But in standard Japanese, despite such expressions as sui-yóobi no hi ‘the day of Wednesday’, you will not find *otooto ga/no hi, *kinoo ga/no hi, *asáte ga/no hi, nor *siasáte ga/no hi. Kyoöo ‘today’ will not permit kono ‘this’ to modify it directly, but kono kyoöo-ga/no-hi made is acceptable. There is also sore ga tamé [ni], equivalent to sono tamé ni ‘for that reason’ and ‘for the sake of that’ or (= sore no tamé ni) ‘for the reason that it is that’.

### 3.11.3. Thematization and focus of extruded genitives and of truncated possessives.

We have described the following sentences as containing a thematicization:

1b) Zóo ga—[sono] hana ga nagai ‘The elephant, HE has a long nose’.
2b) Zóo wa—[sono] hana ga nagai ‘The elephant, he has a long nose’.
3b) Zóo mo—[sono] hana ga nagai ‘The elephant too/even, he has a long nose’.

What is thematized in these three sentences is the EXTRUDED GENITIVE (Zóo ga fark+), with and without focus.

Since we consider thematization and focus as two distinct processes, it is not always apparent whether a given sentence, especially a WRITTEN sentence, is to be interpreted with or without thematization. Most foreigners go by a rule of thumb something like this: Assume thematization if wá is present, assume no thematization if gá is present, and avoid the issue if mó is present. But that is obviously too simple. A better approach would be to look for some sign of juncture—such as a comma—that likely signals a theme regardless of the particle marking, especially if what precedes the comma is NOUN + PARTICLE followed by ADVERB to constitute a double theme: sore wa kyoöo, ..., kore mo ima, ..., tegami o móo, ..., etc. Even without such a signal, you must assume thematization if there is an anaphoric repre
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Zóo wa/mo SONO hana ga nagai 'The elephant, ITS nose is long'.

In other situations you should be prepared to suspend judgment. Certain kinds of sentences, however, will favor an interpretation of the first element as theme, provided it is focused (wa/mó): among these are the double-subject sentences which underly the genitives.

Let us examine sentences which would seem to have this kind of thematization—for the most part with backgrounding of the first member (the "possessor" etc.) though some will show foregrounding. You will notice that focus (and/or thematization?) will free the second noun phrase of N₁ gā fárut N₂ → N₁ wa/mo N₂ to take any predicate; it need not limit itself to serving as subject for an adjective or an adjectival noun (or an idiomatically used verb). Those restraints apparently disappear along with the gā. The examples are classified according to the scheme in the preceding section, but there are a number of problems, some indicated by question marks before the examples and others taken up at the end.

EXAMPLES OF SENTENCES CONTAINING THEMATIZED GENITIVES

(1a) inalienable possessive: Hebi wa karada ga nagai 'The snake has a long body'; Anó-hito wa mé ga ookii 'He has large eyes'; Watasi wa así ga itai 'I have a sore foot'; Watasi wa karada ga moeru yoo desu 'I feel my body burning'—the predicate is adjectival nominal (... yō o desu); Sugu ni, atama ni hootai o sita Toyosima zyootoo-hei no sugata ga watasi wa mé ni ukanda 'At once the figure of Private First Class Toyoshima with his bandaged head floated before my eyes' (V 71 from Hino Ashihei)—the three themes are transitional ('at once'), subjectivá ('the figure ...'), and subdued genitival (watasi wa 'my'); Kóó-si wa ókusan ga nyooin 'tyuu desu 'Mr Kō's wife is in the hospital' or 'Mr Kō has his wife in the hospital'; Kono hutari wa hahaoya ga onazi de, ... 'These two had the same mother and ...' (Onó 1966.99); Káre wa ki gi kuziketa 'He was discouraged (in spirit)'; Watasi wa nán da ka ki ga susumanakkatta 'l somehow felt unwilling to do it'; Zisyu-zémi wa ... soozoo suru tikaarâ( -=) o tukütte iku kóto ga nerai desu 'The undirected seminar has as its aim to build up the power to create ...' (= Zisyu-zémi no nerai wo ... kóto desu).

(1b) alienable possessive: Watasi wa ié ga tiisai 'I have a house that is little'.

(2a) partitive: Kíso-gawa wa mizu ga tumetai 'The Kiso River has cold water'; Kore wa tásika ni bunysoo gawarúi n desu 'The sentences are definitely wrong in this'; Toóan wa( -=) san-ban ga matigá desu 'The answer sheet has a mistake on No. 3'; ... uti ( -( =) no asá-syoku [= asamesi = tyoosyoku] mo o-kazu ga nattóo "daké to iu kóto de ... 'all we had to go with the rice for breakfast at our house was fermented soybeans, so ...' (R); Ikeda-náikaku wa watasi ga kooséi-syoo desu 'I am [the Minister in charge of] the Welfare Ministry in the Ikeda Cabinet' (= ... kooséi-syoo wo watasi desu); ICU no kyoóiku-kúiki wa syúui ga kóozi 'yoo no totan de kakomarete iru 'The ICU education areas are surrounded by metal construction fences' (SA 2676.35b); Dá ga, móo kané wa densyá-tín sika nákatta 'But now I had no more money than carfare' (Ig 1962.69)—kané no densyá-tín 'the carfare part of the money' seems to be what was intended: Okyakusan, Sibuyá wa [soko no] dono-hen desu ka 'What part of Shibuya do you want, sir?' (SA 2641.54a—taxi driver speaking); Koo iu búráko no hitó-tati wa, ima-máde isya ni kakatta kóto no 'nái no ga dai-búbun de aru 'The majority of the people in this village have yet to see a doctor' (Mikami 1963.121) = ... hitó-tati no dai-búbun wa ... nái no da; Rokugatá syózyun( -=) {de}, taue wa, ima ga sakari da 'The first third of June—this {now} is when
rice-planting is at its peak' (SA 2684.14c)—Ir ga ld da = ld wa lr da (§ 3.10), tau e wa sakari wa ima da = tau e no sakari wa ima da = ima ga tau e no sakari da; Intatyënzi mo kōznatsu suru tokorō wa saktē, suite iru kōosu o tegiwa yoku sentaku suru kōto ga nozomasai 'With respect to interchanges, too, it is desirable to select skillfully those with empty lanes, avoiding the congested places [or on among them]' (SA 2649.96c)—reference is to intatyënzi no ... tokorō/kōosu 'places/lanes on the interchanges', but tokorō could also be taken as specificative (2b below).

(2b) specificative: ' sake wa uisukī ga umāi 'Of liquors, whiskey tastes good'; Saō mo watasi nō o tukai-nasāi, rīrū mo watasi nō o tukai-nasāi 'For a pole use mine, for a reel use mine' (SA 2678.95c); Pāseri wa mizin-giri ni sita monō o tukaimāsu 'You use the parsley minced' (KKK 3.131); Watasi no kōobutu wa, koohaitī ga dā-iti da 'Coffee is number one among the things I like' (Mikami 1963.121); Bihuteki ni tukēru monō wa, bataa-sōsoo ga itiban desu 'Of the things to put on beefsteak butter sauce is best' (Mikami 1963.121); ... rиныу-hoo(-) no itirei 'an example of weaning (method)'; Bōku(-) ga kenzī o yameta riyyu mo, hitōtu wa sore désu yo 'THAT is one of the very reasons I quit as public prosecutor' (SA 2650.43d) = Sore ga ... riyyu no hitōtu da; Wikāi hwān no motomēru kēn wa hotōnō na ittōō-seki [da] 'Almost all the tickets bought by the young fans are first-class seats' (SA 2649.101c) = Ittōō-seki wa ... kēn no hotōnō da; Rekōndo wa "Loving you" ga natte ita "Loving You" was the record playing' (Ig 1962.69)—the verb is naru 'sounds'; N1 wa dōno N1 mo ... 'Just any N1 ...'; Hanasi-aite wa dāre mo inakatta ‘There was no one to talk to’ (SA 2650.104b); Torī mo iiro o torī ga kūrū ‘And all sorts of birds come, too’ (Endō 106); Sashiire wa renraku ga tūta kyoozyu-sōsíki karā no wa atta ga, oyaazi(-) karā no wa nākatta ‘Of packages sent in (from outside prison) there were some from the professors organization which I had made contact with but none from my father’ (SA 2659.118c); Watasi wa ima-māde nān-kai to nāku tei-o-sekkā o yatte kita ga, sūzyutto "gō(-) naku-natta no wa kore ga hizimei da ‘I have performed any number of Caesareans to date and this is the first to have died after the operation’ (SA 2666.114b); Kodomo wa musume(-) bākari ga yo-nin ‘When it comes to children—[he has] four, all daughters’ (SA 2684.64b)—is the underlying structure Kodomo wa yo-nin wa musume(-) bākari [da] ‘When it comes to [his] children, the four are all daughters’.

(3a) underived attributive: Kono gakusei wa tinoo-sīsuu ga hikūi ‘This student has a low IQ’; Kodomō-tātī wa kanzuy-sei ga tuyōi ‘Children are strongly impressionable’; Sāigo no monō wa imī ga semāi ‘The last one has a narrow meaning’; Kono hōn wa haba ga hirō ‘This book is wide’; Hāha wa kagen ga warui ‘Mother is not well’; Tanaka wa tugo ga yōi ‘It’s convenient for Mr Tanaka’; Ima kootuu-sīngoo wa irō ga āka da ‘Now the traffic light is red’; Kāre wa seikaku ga hakkiri sinai ‘He has an ambiguous nature’; Kono kippu wa kēn ga kirete iru ‘This ticket has expired’; Kono natu(-) no mōshō wa atarashii kankaku ga hūndan ni torī-irete āru ‘This summer’s styles liberally incorporate fresh touches’; Bānnāado hākase [or: Baanaado-hākase] wa, watasi yōri toshī ga u de āru ‘Dr Barnard is older than I am’ (SA 2647.126); Ŝimura-kun wa būngaku wa syoukyūyoo de āru ‘Shimura’s profession is literature’ (Ig 1962.77) = Ŝimura-kun no syoukyūyoo wa būngaku de āru; Sore wa Kōtakē no kekkon ni gen’in ga āru yōo ni omowārēru ‘It appears that that has its roots in Kotake’s marriage’ (Ig 1962.92); Sinbun de o nazimi no densoo-gyāsin, sore ni tērei sono-mōnō mo [sore-ra no] ōnri wa onaji koto, īwāba(-) hwakusimiri no kyōdō-bun to ieru ‘Wire photos, familiar to you in the newspapers, and television itself have the same basic principle, so they can be said to be in a sibling relationship, so to speak,
with the facsimile [newspaper]’ (SA 2647.137b)—the attribute (gérâni wa) is subdued to serve as the Identified with the descriptive Identifier onazi kotô [de] ‘is the same thing [and]’ while the conjoined attributee (densyoo-syásin [to] ... terebi sono-mônô mo) is highlighted and thematized; Sono hôn o yômû no wa muron naiyoo o yômû no ga mokuteki de arimâsu keredo, ... (Ir ga Id da = Id wa Ir da § 3.10) ‘The aim in reading that book is to read the contents of course, but ...’ (= hôn o yômû [koto no] mokuteki wa naiyoo o yômû no da) (Hukuda in Òno 1967.202); Sono tîryoo mo san-kâgetu ga gêndo [da] ‘For its treatment the limit is three months’ (SA 2670.30d) = Sono tîryoo no gêndo wa san-kâgetu [da] ‘Three months is the limit for treating it [= alcoholism]’; Bôkû-ra wa tî ga syôobai desyo. Tîsiki yori mo tî desyo ‘Our business is brains, you see. Brains rather than knowledge’ (SA 2653.44b) = Bôkû-ra no syôobai wa tî desyo. But Kisyata-bâi wa kîmotsu ga ì ‘It’s comfortable to travel by train apparently does not contain a thematized genitive, since *kîsa-tabi no goto kîmonoto would not be acceptable; instead, Kisyata-ba wa is probably a theme of CONDITION = Kîsa-tabi [o surû no] nara ‘If you take a train trip’.

(3b) derived attributive: Kotosi no huyû wa zuibun samu-sa ga kibisiî yîo desu nê ‘The cold this winter seems fierce, doesn’t it?’; Kore wa ri-yôó-sya no tu-yuûmon(‘) suru zyooho o hwakusimiri de sôkuzu ni okuri-kaesûru no ga tuyo-mi de, ... ‘This has the strong point that you can immediately send back by facsimile the information ordered by the user and ...’ (SA 2647.137e)—from Kore ga ì áru= ... tuyo-mî GA ... okuri-kaesûru no DA, from Kore ga tuyoî ‘This is strong’.

(4a) place-locative: Tôsi no kûuki wa, zînko no hirei site hokori ga zóoka(‘) suru ‘City air increases in dust content in proportion to the population’ (SA 2658.105d); Nihôn wa daigaku ga oo-sugiru ‘There are too many universities in Japan’—Here I am taking Japan as a geographical rather than a political entity; Hûzî-sa-n wa itâdakî no yûki ga yuumei dêsu ‘Mt Fuji is famous for the snow at its peak’—I take the structure as Hûzî-sa-n wa ... yûkî = Hûzî-sa-n no ... yûkî rather than Hûzî-sa-n wa itâdakî = Hûzî-san no itâdakî (the latter interpretation would be partitive, I presume).

(4b) time-locative: Huyû wa yôzôra ga utukusiî ‘The night sky in winter is beautiful’. (5a) intransitive subjectival: Kârê wa umare ga Beikoku dêsu ‘His birthplace is the US’; Watasi wa yôî mo sâmete ... ‘My intoxication wore off = I sobered up’ (Endô 92).

(5b) transitive subjectival: Kokuzîn wa utâû no ga umâî ‘Negroes are good at singing’—the verb is transitive though the object is unexpressed here.

(6) effective: Kânô-zyô wa seiseki ga yuusyuû dêsu ‘She has an excellent record’; Bikutaa-sutèrâo wa òto ga utukusîî ‘Victor stereo produces beautiful sound’.

(7) objectival: ... sikin wa zênbu bôkû(‘) zîsin ga sekinin o môtû no da ga ‘the capital I would myself take the responsibility for all of it but ...’ (SA 2647.62c).—This comes from Bôkû(‘) zîsin ga zênbu no sikin no sekinin o môtû, but since sekinin is not a verbal noun (*sikin o sekinin suru) the objectival relationship is a valence with a lexicalized nucleus involved deep in the history of the word sekinin: sikin o SEKÎ (= semè) ni NIN-zîrû(‘) ‘assumes the capital as a responsibility’. See § 3.8a.

There are problem sentences:
1b?, 3a?: Tôo wa sidoo-taisei ga ittai-ka(‘) site {1} nai ‘The leading principle of the party (‘ = the party platform) is not unified’.
Extruded genitives and truncated possessives

1b?, 5?: Káxoku itídóó wa íken ga itti sita ‘Every member of the family concurred in opinion’.

2a?, 3a?: Tooíoku-ben wa hatuon o kaerú no ga muzukasii ga, Kamigata-ben wa ákusento ya imawasi o kaerú no ga muzukasii("”) ‘For the Northeastern dialects it is difficult to change the pronunciation, and for the Western dialects it is difficult to change the accent and phraseology [when learning the standard language]’ (Maeda 1962.208).

3a?, propredication?: Kóndo no ryokoo wa, syú-tó-site Á-kun ga purán o tátete imasu ‘It is mainly Á who is setting up plans for the next trip’ (Mikami 1963.121).

6?, 7? Kóndo no tyósyo mo, B-syóten ga syuppán o hiki-úkete kuremásita ‘B Bookshop has undertaken the publication of my next work, too’ (Mikami).

In Tabako no suigara wa doko no kuni no kituén-sya ga nagái ka ‘Cigarette butts are long for the smokers of what countries? = What nationalities do not smoke their cigarettes down to the shortest butts?’ (SA) do we have an alienable possession (kituén-sya no suigara ‘smoker’s butts’), or is the sentence better explained as containing an ellipsis kituén-sya ga [sutetá no ga] ‘[the ones discarded by] smokers’ and a specificative genitive ‘those of the butts [discarded ...]’?

A special problem is presented by sentences with a genitive or propredicative ellipsis N [nó [nó]] ga serving as N₂ in the structure N₁ wa N₂ = N₁ no N₂ as in these examples: Taihúu no susumu sókudo wa, hatigátu ga osoku, kugátu ga hayái ‘The speed at which typhoons advance is slow in August and fast in September’ (Ôide 1965.149)—to be interpreted as ... sókudo wa hatigátu [no sókudo] ga ... ‘the speed in August [TIME-LOCATIVE GENITIVE] which is one of the speeds [SPECIFICATIVE GENITIVE]’ or as ... sókudo wa hatigátu [no taihúu] ga ‘the speed of the typhoons [UNDERIVED ATTRIBUTIVE GENITIVE] of August [TIME-LOCATIVE GENITIVE]’; Tozan-tai no ténto wa goosei-sénn’i ga zyoosiki dâ ga, ... ‘For the mountaineer’s tent the commonsense thing is synthetic fiber, but ...’—to be interpreted as ... ténto wa goosei-sénn’i [no ténto] ga with thematized SPECIFICATIVE genitive and ellipsis containing an UNDERIVED ATTRIBUTIVE GENITIVE.

A more perplexing example: Kono yóó na kotó kara noossótuyuu de ínoti o otósu kísetu wa, iti-nen “zyuu de nagátu ga itiban óokú, hatigátu ga itiban sukunái no desu ‘As to the seasons when lives are lost to strokes stemming from this sort of thing, of the whole year February has the most [cases] and August the fewest’ (SA 2659.116a). Apparently there is a sizable ellipsis: kísetu wa nagátu íni ... ínoti o otósu kotoí ga óokú, ... with the relationship between ‘season’ and the two month-names that of a thematized SPECIFICATIVE GENITIVE.

The thematization of genitives should not be confused with thematization of a TRUNCATED POSSITIVE PHRASE, in which both the possessor and the possessed are (at least latently) present: Wata’i nó [monó] wa/mo—sóó na n desu yó ‘Mine is like that (too)’. According to Inoue 81 the ellipsis in such an expression is possible only when N₁ (the possessor) is animate and N₂ is inanimate. In isolation such a constraint may appear to hold, but in context it seems to be possible to have an animate N₂: Kimi no tomodatí desu ka, otoóto no desu ka.—Bóku("”) nó desu ‘Is he your friend, or your little brother’s?—He’s mine’. The sentence Sono éiga(“”) wa Ameríka nó desu ka ‘Is that film an American
one?" may sound odd by itself, since you would be more likely to say Sono éiga(\(^{(-)}\) wa Amerika no éiga(\(^{(-)}\)) monó desu ka, but it should be acceptable in a larger context: Sono éiga(\(^{(-)}\) wa Nihon no desu ka, Amerika no desu ka 'Is that film a Japanese one, or American?' This authentic example appears to violate Inoue's constraint: Mata no naka de mo rigyuu-ki no wa toku ni omoku nari-yasui no desu 'And (in particular) among diarrheas those of the weaning period are especially likely to become serious' (KKK 3.172). Truncated possessive phrases are not limited to themes, of course: Watasi no o tōtte kudasai(\(^{(-)}\) 'Take mine', etc. See also the remarks on pronominal substitution in identificational sentences, p. 253.

By repeated ellipsis, it is possible to arrive at a sentence where two possessives are reduced to N no no (N):

Watasi no kodomo no monó da 'It is my child's thing'.
Watasi no kodomo no [ ] da 'It is my child's'.
Watasi no [ ] no monó da 'It is mine's thing'.
Watasi no [ ] no [ ] da 'It is mine's'.

And since the nominal sentences given above can be adnominalized to ... hazu da 'it ought to be (true that)!', we may end up with the triple-nó sentence Watasi nó no hazi da 'It ought to be mine's' (= Watasi no kodomo no monó no hazi da), which differs in meaning from Watasi nó no hazi da 'It ought to be mine' (= Watasi no monó/kodomo no hazi da) and from Watasi no hazi da 'It ought to be me' (= Watasi da).

Genitives being what they are, it should be possible to extend such strings of nó even further; we might expect that Watasi no kodomo no tomodati no monó da 'It is my child's friend's thing' would give us Watasi nó [ ] no [ ] no [ ] da 'It's mine's (It's one that belongs to mine's)' and eventually Watasi nó no no no hazi da 'It ought to be mine's (the one that belongs to the one that belongs to me') , but I doubt that such a mind-boggler would ever be uttered.\(^{55}\) (It is easier to follow the meaning if the last nó before hazi is restored to its uncontracted formal guise de āru.)

3.12. INHERENT VERBAL FEATURES: ASPECT AND VOLITION

There are a number of ways to look at a process: it can be thought of as a single instantaneous happening (for which the terms "momentary" and "punctual" are sometimes used), it can be thought of as stretched out and under way (for which the terms "progressive", "continuative", and "durative" are sometimes used), it can be thought of as just begun ("inceptive", "inchoative"), it can be thought of as completed ("perfective", "perfect") or incomplete ("imperfective", "imperfect"), it can be thought of as a set of repeated instances ("iterative", "habitual", "repetitive"), it can be thought of as a lasting state ("stative") or as a lasting result ("resultative"), etc. Such features are called verbal ASPECT: Japanese, like other languages, has a number of devices to express them.

The distinction between completed and incomplete is often treated for Japanese as a matter of TENSE ("past" versus "nonpast"), the time of the event as related to the time of narration or of some other element in the discourse. In this study, I use the terms "perfect" and "imperfect" and consider the former the marked category. Thus I say that

\(^{55}\) Most English speakers are probably unaware of having heard the form mine's's, and many may feel uncomfortable with the highly colloquial mine's.
Sakana o tabeta 'I ate the fish' is a conversion of Sakana o taberu 'I eat (or will eat) the fish' by a process of "perfectivization"; but the latter sentence is directly derived from the underlying infinitive form (sakana o tabé 'eat the fish') by the simple finitivization that yields the simplex sentence we have taken as our starting point. Elsewhere I suggest that such a description, while handy and revealing, is not the whole story. The shapes of the modern verbal sentences in the simplex form derive from older attributive (= adnominal) forms, so that we would do well to derive Sakana o taberu not directly from the infinitive but rather from the adnominal version Sakana o taberu KOTO 'the FACT that I eat the fish' or the like (KOTO represents a grammatical abstraction), in turn deriving that from something like Sakana o tabé [su]ru KOTO 'the FACT that I [do] eat the fish' with a factual nominalization of what we might call a VERBALIZATION (i.e. finitivization) of the underlying infinitive Sakana o tabé. From this standpoint, the appropriate derivation of the perfect (regardless of its semantic markedness, if any) will form a parallel to the imperfect rather than a conversion from it:

- Sakana o tabé [su]ru KOTO
- Sakana o taberu KOTO
- Sakana o tabé ru.
- Sakana o tabeta KOTO
- Sakana o tabeta.

The problem then shifts to the derivation of the imperfect suru 'does' and perfect sita 'did' but synchronically we can take this only a bare half-circle to si [su]ru and si [si]ta, for we lack any intersentential evidence to prove the historic and prehistoric developments which can be summarized here in these formulas: 56

- suru < si-i (w)uru < si-i wor(u) < si-i bor(u) 'be to do';
- sita < si-te aru < si-i te aru < si-i ti-a[ri] aru < si-i t[i]-i ar-i ar(u) 'be to-be to-(?depart)
to-do'.

Thus the perfect -tá turns out to be a contraction from -te áru (gerund + auxiliary) but it now differs somewhat in meaning from the latter. The major device for expressing aspect in Japanese is use of the infinitive or gerund in construction with an auxiliary, and the numerous types of this are taken up in §9.1.10 and in §9.2.4. In origin the gerund is itself a contraction from the infinitive (-i) of an auxiliary verb t[i]- 'depart, end'57 followed by one of the two aboriginal auxiliaries meaning 'be'.

Other aspect-marking devices include some of the nonverbal conversions of the infinitive (e.g. §9.1.6 --tate da) and the use of specific adverbs such as ima 'now', móó 'already', moo 'still/yet', ima ni 'before long', yagaté 'after a while', sassokú 'soon', zut-to 'all the way', etc.

It has long been known that certain verbs will not permit some aspects to be marked or will do so only under special interpretations. Kindaichi Haruhiko 1950 established four classes of verbs on the basis of inherent aspectuality as reflected in conversion restraints:

1. static verbs = zyootai-dóosi
2. durative verbs = keizoku-dóosi
3. punctual verbs = syunkan-dóosi
4. ("special") durative-static verbs = zyootaihattatu-dóosi

56. The hypothesis represented by these formulas may turn out to be wrong, in whole or in part, but it has merits that I feel worth discussion.
57. The details of this hypothesized auxiliary are also matters of controversy, which I will not go into here. Another etymology: the old verb (s)utu(uru)/(s)ute 'discards'.

§3.12. Inherent verbal features: aspect and volition

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The classes can be justified on the basis of at least the following conversion possibilities (adapted and expanded from Kindaichi’s study):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONVERSION</th>
<th>ASPECT CLASS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te iru continuative (= -i-tutu aru)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>repetitive</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantically empty</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te simau ‘finishes doing’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘does completely’</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘ends up doing’—involuntary?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dammit’</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te kuru ‘gradually does’</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-naosu ‘redoing (improving)’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-hazimeru/owaru ‘begins/stops’</td>
<td>(-)(^d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-kakeru ‘half-started’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘about to’</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-i-kir-u ‘to the end’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thoroughly’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-tukeru ‘gets accustomed to’</td>
<td>-(^f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-tate da ‘is fresh from doing’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-doosi da ‘keeps on doing’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘happens over and over’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-gake ni ‘when about to’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i-nagara ‘though’</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘while’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The nearest equivalents to such English examples as ‘is going/leaving’ would seem to be V-ru tokorō da/datta; cf. Alfonso 901: Ima Tookyoo ni ikku tokorō desu ‘He’s on his way to Tōkyō now’ and Tadaima uti o dēru tokorō desita ‘I was leaving the house just now’. (On tokorado see §13.2.2.) Note that -te inai can mean either ‘no longer’ or ‘not yet’ with durative verbs, but punctual verbs permit only the latter interpretation. Thus Hōn o yónde inai can be taken either as ‘I no longer read’ or as ‘I have not yet read’ but Kekkon site inai can only mean ‘I am not yet married’ and not ‘I am no longer married’. And with durative-stative verbs -te inai simply means ‘not’: sobiete inai ‘does not tower’, sugûrete inai ‘does not excel’.

b. When adnominalized: sinde iru hitō = sinda hitō ‘a dead person’.

c. Suwari-naōsu ‘reseat oneself’; in context, sinin-naōsu ‘does a better job of dying the second time around’.

d. In context, perhaps ari-hazimeru ‘begins to exist/have’.

e. But, with implied plural subject, ki-hazime te iru ‘(the crowd—the) they are beginning to arrive’.

f. But o-kane ga ari-tukete iru ‘is used to having money’ has been suggested.

g. Perhaps sinin-tukete iru ‘is no stranger to death’ (or, with implied plural subject, ‘they are used to dying—i.e. having deaths occur amongst them’).

h. But: ... hēnka ga medati-hazimeru ūkī ... ‘the period when the changes start being conspicuous’, Kōza Kokugo-shi 1.256 (1977).
§3.12. Inherent verbal features: aspect and volition

The difference between the stative and the durative-stative verb is that the latter normally requires -te iru when predicative (as in gakusya ga sugurete iru ‘the scholar excels’ and yamagasa gobiete iru ‘the mountain towers’) and take the perfect when attributive (i.e. adnominalized, as in sugureta gakusya ‘an excellent scholar’); but the stative, whether predicative or attributive, appears only in the simple imperfect (yamagasa aru ‘there are mountains’, kore ga iru ‘I need this’) and the perfect carries its full meaning whenever it appears: atta yamagasa ‘the mountains that existed’, itta monoe ‘the thing that was needed’.

But it would be misleading to suggest that the imperfect forms of the durative-stative sentences are totally ungrammatical; they will be needed to account for more complex sentences such as these: ... kanarazu-simo anzen-sei ga sugureru to wa ienai ‘we cannot say that they are always superior in safety’ (SA 2674.130e); Hito ni sugureru hodò no sanoo(‘) o motinagara kare wa nakanaka mitomerasesenn ‘Though he has the talent to excel over others it is hard for him to gain recognition’; Kono bun’ya de gakusya ga sugureru to sugu mitomeraeru desyou ‘If a scholar excels in this field he will be recognized at once’;

Sobi’eru yamagasa o sita ni mite hikoo-ki wa tonde itta ‘Looking down on towering mountains the airplane flew along’. It is better to put the matter this way: stative verbs (Class 1) never take the -te iru conversions—*atte iru ‘is existing’ and *itte iru ‘is needing’ are ungrammatical, and dekite iru is possible only as the resultative (‘is achieved/formed’) of the punctual verb dekiiru ‘achieves/formes’, not as ‘is being able’ from the stative. Similarly, wakatte iru ‘has achieved understanding = understands’ is to be distinguished from wakaru = rikai(‘) dekiiru ‘can understand = understands’. Kindaichi says that both the stative and the durative-stative verbs (Classes 1 and 4) will not normally make imperatives or hortatives, nor do they readily form passives or causatives. The verb iru ‘stays’ would seem to belong with the statives, yet it shares a number of properties with the duratives. Being voluntary, iru converts readily to commands and exhortations (Koko ni ite kudasai ‘Stay here’, Koko ni iyoo ‘Let’s stay here’) yet it normally lacks all -te iru conversions (for an unusual colloquial exception, see p. 519), as well as a number of other options open to the duratives. At the moment it is unclear how we must treat this verb and its synonyms (oru, irassyaaru, etc.); probably it forms a separate class.

Kindaichi observes a number of other things about his classes. The particular subject-exalting form that adds the copula to the honorific infinitive (o-i da, §6.1-2) can refer to present, past, or future when it is applied to DURATIVE verbs: Mooo-yomi desu ka ‘Have you read it (already)?’, Ima doko o o-yomi desu ka ‘What part are you reading now?’, Itu o-yomi desu ka—asita desu ka ‘When will you read it—tomorrow?’ But for PUNCTUAL verbs, the present is excluded: Itu o-tati desu ka can mean only ‘When did you leave (town)?’ or ‘When will you leave?’ And the DURATIVE-STATIVE verbs usually do not permit the form: *Okasan ni yoku o-ni desu ne → Okasan ni yoku nite irassya’masu ne ‘You much resemble your mother, I see’, *Takai hana o o-si desu ne → Takai hana o site irassya’masu ne ‘You (have a high nose =) are haughty, I see’. It might be thought that these sentences are rejected because of a reluctance to make honorific infinitives from monosyllabic vowel bases—*o-si will occur only under unusual circumstances (p. 341)—but *o-sugure da is also rejected, as is *o-sugure ni natte iru → sugurete irassysaaru.

One of the difficulties recognized by Kindaichi is that a number of verbs can be used in several ways, for the aspect classes are semantic in nature. Knowing that a given verb clearly belongs to two or more classes will often help us understand the intended meaning in a given context. But there are a number of subtleties that have to do with adjuncts
§3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

to the verb: sinu 'dies' is punctual when the subject is a single human being, but when it
is people in the aggregate that are spoken of—as in war or famine—a durative interpreta-
tion is possible.

The majority of all verbs in their normal usages belong either to Class 2 (durative) or
to Class 3 (punctual); the duratives are mostly transitive and voluntary, the punctuals are
mostly intransitive and involuntary. Verbs of Class 1 (stative) and Class 4 (durative-stative)
will not normally take causative, passive, or potential conversions.

The following lists give verb examples for each of Kindeichi's aspect classes.

Class 1: STATIVE verbs.
(1) áru 'exists, is located, has' (and synonym gozaimasu).
(2) iru 'needs', yoo-suru 'needs'.
(3) wakaru 'can understand' = ri'kai(-) dekiru; but in the sense 'acquires understanding'
= siru, the verb is punctual.
(4) all potentials, including dekiru 'can do'; but in the meaning 'achieves' as in odeki ga
dekiru 'acquires a skin eruption' and koibito ga dekiru 'gets a lover', the verb is punctual.
(5) ...soo ni mieru 'seems', 'seems about to'.
(6) excessives made from adjectives or adjectival nouns, e.g. oo-sugiru 'is too much, are
too many', hade-sugiru 'is too gaudy', ...

These verbs are all involuntary and mostly intransitive; but yoo-suru 'needs' is transitive.

Class 2: DURATIVE verbs.
(1) Transitive and voluntary (the majority): yomu 'reads', kaku 'writes', waru 'laughs
(at)', syabér-u 'talks', utau 'sings'; kūu 'eats', nōmu 'drinks', namēru 'licks', suu 'sips', osu
'pushes', hiku 'pulls', karu 'mows, cuts', kezuru 'shaves', nīu 'sews', suku 'spreads', huku
'wipes', kangaēru 'thinks (about)'; benkyō suru 'studies', kuhū suru 'devises'; miru
'looks' (but punctual as 'sees' and—?—stative as 'can see'), kiku 'listens' (similarly 'hears'
and—?—'can hear'); ...
(2) Quasi-intransitive and voluntary: aruku 'walks', kakeru 'runs', ...
(3) Intransitive and voluntary: hataraku 'works', ...
(4) Intransitive and involuntary: subēr-u 'slips', naku 'cries'; oyobu 'it reaches', hana ga
tir-u 'flowers fall/scatter', āme ga hūru 'it rains', tī ga yureru 'the earth trembles', hī ga
moeru 'fire burns', ...

Class 3: PUNCTUAL verbs.

sinu 'dies', (denki ga) tūku/kieru 'electricity goes on/off', todōku 'is delivered',
hanarēru 'separates' (but durative when it means 'goes away' = toozakāru), syuppatu suru
'departs', tooyaku suru 'arrives'; kimaru 'is decided', mitukaru 'is found', mē ga samēru
'wakes up', tokei ga tomaru 'a clock stops', byōoki ga nāoru 'an illness improves', āme ga
yamu 'rain stops', nokōru 'remains', tukiru 'is exhausted', sumu 'lives', ... . These are
mostly intransitive and involuntary, in contrast with those of Class 2; they refer to a
change in state which is difficult to "try doing" (V-te mīru) or to have happen "again" (as
the same event). Presumably the following are voluntary and intransitive: suwaru 'sits',
kekkon suru 'marries', rōkon(-) suru 'gets divorced', sotugyōo suru 'graduates', and
nyuugaku suru 'enters school'. Involuntary transitives include usinu 'loses' and wasureru
'forgets'. Siru 'acquires knowledge of' is transitive but perhaps involuntary, and wakarû
with the same meaning is at least quasi-transitive (since nowadays many people mark the
underlying object with お instead of が): sitte iru and wakatte iru mean ‘holds as knowledge, knows’. Tabako o yameru ‘gives up smoking’ is transitive and presumably voluntary, as are móto ‘grasps’ and móto iru ‘has in one’s possession’ and the adnominalization móto stita as in this example: Syoohin de wa aru ga, sute-gatái osomira o móto kigeki de aru ‘It’s a minor movie, to be sure, but a comedy with (“that has”) some fun to it that’s hard to reject (= that is fun in its own way)’ (SA 2657.118a).

Class 4: DURATIVE-STATIVE verbs. These are mostly intransitive.

1. sobiéruru ‘towers’, sugureru ‘excels’, nukindéruru ‘excels’, hiidéruru ‘excels’, omo-dátu ‘stands out’, zubanukéréru ‘is prominent’, arihureru ‘is trite’, saibášir-u ‘is sharp-witted’, saihazikéru ‘is presumptuous’, niyakéru ‘is nmam-pamn-pam’, bakagéru ‘is foolish’; a maséréru ‘is/acts precocious’—cf. Sonna monómiru kara, maséré noré ‘Watching such things you are behaving beyond your years’ (Fn 318a); ...

2. tómuru ‘is rich’, niru ‘resembles’ (‘often used as Class 4’)—cf. Kao ga nite iru to, seikaku mo niru monó to ú no ga gensoku dá ga ... ‘It is a general rule that those who have similar faces will have similar characters, but ...’ (Tk 3.183).

3. takái hana o suru ‘is proud’, marugao o suru ‘has a round face’, sinsi-zén to suru ‘is gentlemanly’, bottyán-bottyán suru ‘plays the spoiled son’, sinneri-mütüri suru ‘is morose’, nonben-dará to suru ‘is idle, sluggish’, ... And quite a few other uses of suru, e.g.: Kabutó-musí no yöó na KATATI O SITE ITE, mireba osóráku, dáre de mo súgo ni sore to wakárú to aróó Doitsei-sei no kogata-ryoóosya ga syyúzin-koo na no da ‘The star [of the film “The Love Bug”] is the German compact car that IS SHAPED like a beetle so that everyone would immediately recognize it at a glance’ (SA 2657.118a).

Verbs that can be either 2 or 3, according to Kinndaichi, include kúru ‘comes’, iku ‘goes’, háir-u ‘enters’, déru ‘emerges’, agaru ‘goes up’, sagáru ‘goes down’, etc. And he gives the contrasting pair (p. 51) Íma kotira e kité iru ‘He’s on his way here now’ vs. Máda koko máde kité inai ‘He’s still not here’. I believe there may be another explanation for V-te iru in the first example; if we take it as ‘he will have come = be here any moment now’, all these verbs can be treated simply as punctual.58

Verbs that can be either 3 or 4, according to Kinndaichi, include magará ‘gets/is bent’ and kuttukú ‘gets/is stuck’: Kono kugi wa magatte iru ‘This nail is bent’ and Itu made mo hibatí ni kuttúití iru ‘It is stuck to the hibachi for ever more’ show the resultative conversion of a punctual verb, but Kono mití wa magatte iru ‘This road bends’ and Seiyíó-zín wa mé to máyu to ga kuttúité iru ‘Occidentals have eye and eyebrow close together’ have the usual predicative form of a durative-stative verb. Do verbs of dressing-and-wearing belong here (punctual ‘puts on’, durative-stative ‘wears’)?

Kindaichi lists two verbs that can be either Class 1 or Class 4: tigau ‘differs, is different’ and átari ‘is (equivalent to, or in the relationship of)’. What this amounts to is that the simple predicative form can be either tigau or tigatté iru (atari or atte iru) with no difference in meaning or translation, since the V-te iru form is “semantically empty” with durative-stative verbs, as is the perfect V-tera when adnominalized: Kono geta wa tigau and Kono geta wa tigatté iru both mean ‘These are the wrong clogs’; Anó-hitó wa watasi no ozi ni atari and Anó-hitó wa watasi no ozi ni atare iru both mean ‘(His relationship to

58. But Kindaichi’s observation appears to be valid, nonetheless; cf. kátte iru tokoró ‘just the time when someone is returning’, Kite iru tokoró ‘just the time when someone is coming’ (BJ 2.204). And KKK 43.210 cites a “rare” example of ... Tookyoo ni kité iru totyuu ‘while on my way here to Tókyó’.
me is that) he is my uncle'. Notice how these verbs differ from wakāru ≠ wakatte iru and sir-u ≠ sitte iru, etc. When it means 'consists of', the verb (... kara) nāru is like tigau, either Class 1 or Class 4; the expression go-kākoku kara nāru iin-kai 'a committee made up of five countries' (KKK 25.75a) could be said with natta or natte iru in place of nāru. But the verb (... kara) dekīru, like the mutative (... ni) nāru 'becomes', is punctual only; thus while go-kākoku kara dékite iin-kai can be equivalent to go-kākoku kara dékite iru iin-kai as the resultative 'a committee formed of five members', go-kākoku kara dekīru iin-kai can only be interpreted as future ('will be formed') or iterative ('that is always formed').

By considering the question of whether V-te iru N and/or V-ru N are equivalent to V-ta N, "stative" verbs can be divided into four classes, according to KKK 25.167-8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of verb</th>
<th>V-te iru N</th>
<th>V-ru N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
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</table>

Sample expressions given for each class are these:

(A) koto-natta azi 'a different flavor', i-ta-gatta kanzi 'a feeling of wanting to stay', supōto ni kān-sita būngei(‘) 'literature concerned with sports', mōtō-mo teki-sita būnyā 'the most suitable field', dōoki(‘) o mōtta ningen 'a motivated human being', kawā ni sotta miti 'a road (following) along a river'.

(B) sikkāri sita zūnbutu 'a stouthearted character', ryōken ni nita hōnnōo(‘) 'the instincts [resembling those] of a hunting dog', bakāgeta mane 'silly mimicry', Hamurētto ‘zimita sinkyōo 'a Hamlet-like state of mind', sīrooto-bānare no sita gē 'art that is way beyond the amateur', hūzin o tureta Indō-zin ‘an Indian accompanied by his wife', sugūreta ēiga(‘) 'a superior film', kaku-bātta kao 'an angular face', mi-suita boogai 'obvious damage', ūki-uki sita hyōzyō(‘) 'a cheerful visage', syareta ansānburu 'a stylish ensemble', kiwā-dātta tenkan 'a striking about-face', hukkura to sita pokēto 'a bulging pocket', matigātta kokorō 'a mistaken idea', gēbita kotōbā 'a vulgar word', ki no kioto 'a witty remark', sāi tāketa onnā 'a woman of great talent', tē no kōnda dessan 'a skillful design'.

(C) soo itta baai wa 'under such circumstances', Nihōn no sinkei-tyūuku to itta kanzi 'the feeling of [its being] the nerve center of Japan', sore ni tīnānda muski-bānai 'a traditional tale connected with that'.

(D) dai-sōreta kangaē 'a wild idea', omote-dātta ugoki 'a public move', tyotto-sita omoituki 'a trivial thought', hu-to sita kikai 'an unexpected opportunity', kōo sita hitōbito 'people of this sort', zāt-to sita idetati 'casual attire', hono-bōno to sita aizyōō 'a faint affection', omo-dātta bara-dāntai 'a prominent ... [?] organization', rékk to sita ūyoku no tōosi 'a respectable champion of the right wing'.

Of these classes, B has over three times as many members as A or D, and there are very few members in C, though they are each used with considerable frequency (KKK 25.168).
§3.12. Inherent verbal features: aspect and volition

Mikami (1963a) follows Kindaichi’s classification but he puts the punctual and the durative verbs together as what he calls “perfective” (kanketu-teki) in contrast with the stative group, called “imperfective” (zyoootai-teki—the translation is Mikami’s), and says that -te iru “imperfectivizes” the perfective verbs, but the implications of that remark are not clear.

Mikami notes (1963a.17) that when árú means okonawareru ‘happens’ or the like as in kenkyuu-happyōo-kai ga árú ‘a meeting to present research papers takes place’, we would expect to find *átte iru ‘is happening’ and *ari-tútu ‘while happening’ but these do not occur. I wonder if we should not regard this use of árú as an optional replacement (or verbalization) of, say, okóru ‘occurs’—a replacement that is NOT permitted precisely in those instances where other uses of árú would be precluded.

Yamada 1968a classifies verbs according to a set of four binary features: activité ‘activity’, accomplissemnt ‘accomplishment’, momentaneé ‘momentaneity (= instantaneity)’, and voloné ‘voluntariness’. Since she treats these as independent variables we might expect as many as $4 \times 4 \times 2 = 32$ verb classes, but only a few combinations are mentioned. We can extract Yamada’s negative criteria as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>MOM</th>
<th>VOL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Cannot take the intransitivizing resultative (-te árú) conversion: konómu ‘likes’, omóu ‘feels’, nozómu(”) ‘expects’, mótu ’holds’, ...
| -   | -   | -   | -   |
| Cannot take Íma ... tokoro da ‘is about to ...’: sugurérú ‘surpasses’, sobiérú ‘towers’, súmu ‘lives’, nirú ‘resembles’, hukúmu ‘includes’, sìro-sugirú ‘is too white’, ...
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The -te iru form is not possible: árú ‘is’, irú ‘stays’, sìro-sugirú ‘is too white’.</td>
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</table>
| Cannot be converted to commands, favors, or exploratory conversions (-te míru): kawakú ‘dries up’, níru ‘it boils’, kikóe is heard’, tigau ‘differs’, niau ‘suits’, árú ‘is’, ...

For individual verbs Yamada notes the following properties to be accounted for:

1. Some verbs can adnominalize either as -te iru or as -ta with no difference of meaning: tigau ‘differs’, sugurérú ‘excels’, kawakú ‘dries up’, akérú ‘opens’, simau ‘shuts’, simérú ‘closes’; the verbs of wearing such as kirú. This property Yamada attributes to +MOM.

2. To express the present (as contrasted with the past or the future), some verbs require -te iru in order to mark an indefinite duration of the action, for the imperfect is interpreted as future or iterative: akérú ‘opens’, tabéru ‘eats’, kawakásu ‘dries’, kangaérú ‘thinks’, ... Yamada attributes this property to +ACT.

3. When converted to -te iru, some verbs allow both the continuative interpretation (‘is doing’) and the resultative-continuative interpretation (‘is/has done’). These properties Yamada attributes to a combination of +ACC with +MOM, and the group would seem to be those that fall in Kindaichi’s durative class.
Isami (15.32-3) has attempted a subcategorization of verbs on the basis of a componential analysis that posits a number of inherent features such as (self-initiated) movement, emotion, “goal”-direction, and change (of state)—as well as the aspectual features of continuity and terminability. His analysis yields eight types of verb subcategories with seven components (one, PROCESS, defines verbs and so is here ignored):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>Terminability</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. verb of movement: arúku, hasír-u

2. verb of action: suru, miru

3. verb of emotion: nayámú, nikúmu

4. verb of continuity: sobíéru, tadayóú, kaku (‘lacks’)

5. predicative verb: náru (‘becomes’), kawarú

6. verb of change: kieru, huérú, horobíru(‘)

7. shift verb: túku (‘arrives’), déru

8. temporary verb: owarú, kirérú, tir-ú

Isami has based these eight subcategories on the restrictions of cooccurrence with three kinds of adverbial phrases (DURATION, FREQUENCY, and TEMPORAL MANNER [fast/slow/abrupt/etc.]) and with ten gerund-connected auxiliaries, a number which we can reduce to seven since both -te ikú and -te kúru are identical in restrictions and identity also obtains for yaru, kurerú, and morau:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>movement</th>
<th>action</th>
<th>emotion</th>
<th>continuity</th>
<th>predicative</th>
<th>change</th>
<th>shift</th>
<th>temporary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DURATION
FREQUENCY
TEMPORAL
-te ikú
simau
iku/kúru
miru
oku
yaru/morau etc.
árú

58a. But Isami is apparently mistaken and this should be “+”. See pp. 281n, 360n.
(In examining the chart, remember that Isami has not been concerned with certain uses of -te simau, -te oku, and -te áru.) In the chart the EMOTION verbs differ from the CONTINUITY verbs (=Kindai-chi’s DURATIVE-STATIVE verbs) only in permitting favor conversions (-te yaru/morau). They also differ in being TERMINABLE; the perfect -ta is past in meaning even when adnominalized.\(^{59}\)

Isami proceeds to a componential analysis of the ten auxiliaries:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-te iru</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simau</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iku</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúru</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>miru</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>oku</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaru</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kureru</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morau</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Earlier in his study Isami classifies the verbs according to their CONTEXTUAL features—subjects, objects, complements, etc.—into twelve groups:

1. Vt 11 (transitive, animate to inanimate ‘HE does it to IT’): ak eru ‘opens’, yómu ‘reads’, ...
2. Vt 12 (transitive, animate to animate ‘HE does it to HIM’): yasin au ‘rears’, kurusimér u ‘distr esses’, izimeru ‘teases’, ...
3. Vt 13 (transitive, animate to animate/inanimate ‘HE does i t to HIM/IT’): morau ‘receives’, míru ‘sees’, sakér u ‘avoids’, ...
4. Vt 2 (transitive, animate/inanimate to inanimate ‘HE/IT does it to IT’): oóu(‘) ‘covers’, hiráku ‘opens’, ...
5. Vt 3 (transitive, animate to animate/inanimate—or to nothing ‘HE does it [to HIM/IT]’): kangaér u ‘thinks’, nómú ‘drinks’, benkyó su ru ‘studies’, ...
6. Vt 4 (transitive, animate to animate/inanimate WITH COMPLEMENT—or to nothing ‘HE does it to HIM/IT’ or ‘HE does it AS/TO BE …’): sin-zúru(‘) ‘believes’, omóu ‘thinks of’, iu ‘says’, ...

\(^{59}\) That is, emotions are temporary and can come to an end. But durative-statatives refer to more permanent attributes, resembling adjectives in some ways.
(10) VI x (intransitive, ?mutual); maziwárú ‘intersects, associates’, túku ‘comes in contact’, ...
(11) Vp (taking a predicate complement): náru ‘becomes’, kawaru ‘changes’, ...
(12) Vmid (‘middle verbs’—transitives that will not convert to a pure passive): mótu ‘has’, yoo-súru ‘needs’, ...
As a result of crisscrossing between the two type of classification, Isami ends up with 25 kinds of verbs, but these are unfortunately listed without examples.

3.13. POSTNOMINAL VERBS AND ADJECTIVES

A number of verbs and adjectives will attach to nouns in order to derive new verbs and adjectives. Some of these postnominal verbs and adjectives freely occur elsewhere; others are limited to deriving the new forms. At least four of the bound postnominal verbs allow the noun to carry adnominal modification and/or can be applied to conjoined nouns; for that reason, we will write them as separate—though accentually dominant—words, just as we write the restrictives (‘gurai etc.) as separate words. Here are the postnominal verbs, with a few examples of each:

(1) -meku ‘acquires the air of being, looks to be, smacks of being’: Háruiüddo no zyooyuu ‘méita o-kesyoo ... ‘makeup in imitation of a Hollywood actress’; Íkura ka tukuri-bánasi ‘méite imásu ga, zituwa da sóo desu ‘It seems a bit of a made-up story, but they say it is a true tale’ (Shibata 1961.193); ... watasí no hón wa irónna kigoo ya angoo ‘méita mémo de yogorete iru ‘my book is soiled with various notes and memos that look like code’ (SA 2639.90a); ... o-sékkkyo ‘méita kotó o iu ‘says something smacking of a sermon’ (Tk 2.318a); ... rikutu ‘méita kotó ‘argumentative remarks’; Dé mo, sukói suiri-syóo-setu ‘mékü ga, dáré ka ga gasú-kan o kuwaaseta, to iu kotó wa kangaerénai daroo ka ‘Yet, though it smacks a bit of the detective story, might it not be conceivable that someone put the gas pipe in his mouth?’ (SA 2792.27a); Ootyyoo no maboróso ‘méita omomúkí(”) o nokóo “Entí-Génni” “The Enchi [version of] Genjii, which leaves [us with] the impression of phantoms of the court ...’ (SA 2820.100b); ... hikáru gin-haiiro ni nureta ryuuyen-kei no kogata-bóoto ‘méita monó ga ... ‘something that looked like a miniature streamlined boat painted a shiny silver-grey’ (V 142). But (íma o) toki-mékü, ‘enjoys its height (today)’ is a derived transitive verb; ima-mékü ‘becomes modern’ and iro-mékü ‘is tinged with color’ are best treated as derived intransitive verbs, as is toki-mékü ‘palpitates’ (from a mimetic adverb, cf. doki-doki ‘palpitating’). Zawa-mékü ‘is astir, is in commotion, is rustling’ (= zawa-tuku) clearly contains a mimetic adverb, usually reduplicated as zawa-zawa ‘rustling’; similar are mata-mékü ‘flutters from háta-hata ‘fluttering’, kira-mékü ‘glitters’ from kira-kira ‘glittering’, yoro-mékü ‘totters’ from yoro-yoro ‘tottering’, and perhaps sañ-ña-mékü ‘makes merry; makes a fuss’. On mimetic adverbs + -meku and -tuku, see §21.7.
(2) -meká'su ‘takes the air of being, puts on the appearance of being’: Háruiüddo no zyooyuu ‘meká'sita o-kesyoo ... ‘makeup in imitation of a Hollywood actress’; ... zyooyán ‘mekasite ... somewhat joking(ly), half in jest’ (Tk 2.98b). But ima-meká'su ‘modernizes’ is a derived transitive verb; compare the adjective ima-mekásii ‘modern(-style)’, probably derived from ima-mékü- with the suffix -a-si-.
(3) ‘búru ‘poses as, affects, pretends to be; behaves like’: Kídái no akkan ‘búru ‘behaves like a rare rogue’: Itíryuu no gakusya ‘búutta táido da ‘affects an attitude of
§3.13. Postnominal verbs and adjectives

playing a ranking scholar'; O-gyoogi no i yi yuutóö-sei 〜buru hitó ga óó ni, anáta wa
guu-zen sóo de nai tokoró o miseta wáke da 'It means that in the face of a multitude of
people who play the well-behaved good student you have shown signs of somehow not
being like that' (SA 2664.35a); i-onna "bütte irú keredo, hadaka ni suru to máta ni aázá
gá arú 'She poses as a beautiful woman, but when stripped naked she has a mark on her
groin' (Fn 368b). The verb is more common with an unmodified noun: ániki "búru 'puts
on the airs of a big brother', dootoku-ka 〜búru 'plays the man of virtue', gooketu 〜búru
'plays the hero', kanemotf -buru 'plays the rich man', kenzin -buru 'acts like a saint',
mottaí 〜búru 'puts on fancy airs', yoodái 〜búru 'acts important, puts on airs', otona 〜búru
'acts like a grownup', sizin 〜búru 'plays the poet', sinzin-ka 〜búru 'puts on piety', teisai
〜búru 'puts on airs', tonosama 〜búru 'lords it over people', seiizin-b miru i having acted
as saints' (Tk 3.169b), ... . But it is possible to modify each of the nouns with adnominal
phrases, so that we do well to keep the space in our romanization. On the other hand,
when 〜búru attaches to an adjectival noun or to an adjective base, it is not possible to have
adnominal modification, and there would seem to be no reason the result should not be
written as a single word, an intransitive verb: ADJECTIVAL NOUN + 〜búru: koosyoo
〜búru = koosyoo-búru 'puts on elegant airs'; rikoo 〜búru = rikoo-búru 'displays a knowing
air'; sinkoku 〜búru = sinkoku-búru 'acts serious, puts on a grave look'; zyoohin 〜búru =
zyoohin-búru 'gives oneself fancy airs'. ADJECTIVE + 〜búru: taka-〜búru 'acts haughty;
is high-strung'; era-〜búru 'acts self-important'. In this usage, especially with adjectival
nouns and adjectives, 〜búru is a synonym of 〜garu, which we have treated separately in
§7.3. Túu-〜búru = tuu-〜búru is equivalent to túu-〜gáru = tuu-gáru 'makes a show of one's
knowledge'. The postnominal verb 〜búru is said to be the nigorie d form of the verb huru
'beaks, waves, brands'; cf. the quasi-restrictive 〜buri.

(4) 〜zimmiru 'acquires a characteristic so that it) smacks of, looks like': Yama-óku ni
sünde iru tosíyōri 〜zimmíta seikatu ... 'a life that smacks of an old man living way back in
the mountains'; Káre wa inaka-mono 〜zimmíte iru 'He smacks of the farmer'; Kitigái
〜zimmíta benkyoo no kyoosei dátta 'I was forced to study like a madman' (SA 2665.59c).
Sei-tōsaku no soo-mókuroku 〜zimmíta iti-ren no kono syú no éiga('), nán da ka kán da ka
itté mo, tumáru tokoró wa sekkusu-éiga no tane-gire o monogatáru ni suginai yóó da 'The
series of movies of this sort that smacks of a whole catalog of sexual perversions, when all's
said and done, only seem to be telling us that the sex movie is exhausted for material' (SA
2654.109e). Atakusi mo, isásaka kyoóso 〜zimmíte 〜ru to iwarete imášu ga 'I am said to be
something of a "sect head" myself' (Tk 2.154). The postnominal verb 〜zimmíru is the ni­
goried form of the intransitive verb simiru 'soaks (in), permeates, penetrates'; cf.
akazimmíru (aká-〜zimmíru) 'gets grimy (stained with dirt)'.

The following postnominal verbs apparently do not permit the noun to take adnominal
modification, so we will treat the results in all cases as derived verbs:

(5) 〜bamü 'becomes, turns into': ki-bamü(") 'turns yellow'; murasaki-bámi 'turning
purple' (SA 2684.103c); kesiki-bámi 'grows excited, becomes active'; ase-bámu 'gets sweaty';
aka-bámu 'reddens'; susu-bámu 'gets sooty'; ... . The etymology of 〜bámu is uncertain.

(6) 〜báru 'behaves, displays behavior': kakuiki-báru 'stands on one's dignity; is stiff­
necked, ceremonious'; keisiki-báru 'makes much of formality'; kensiki-báru 'assumes an
air of dignity (or of discernment)'; gisiki-báru 'stands on ceremony; is formal, punctilious';
sikaku-báru 'is formal, strict, methodical'; ... mě ni kádo [o] tátete rikutó-báru hodo no
§ 3. Expansion Constraints; Noun Subcategorization

dai-móndai de mo nai ‘It is hardly a large question calling for glowing argument’ (Maeda 1962.200). In kasa-báru ‘becomes/is bulky’ the meaning imparted by the postnominal verb is somewhat different. The postnominal verb “báru is the nigoried form of the verb haru ‘stretches; displays (etc.)’; cf. the quasi-restrictive “bari.”

(7) -biru ‘becomes like’: otona-biru ‘shows signs of precocity’; hina-biru = inaka-biru ‘becomes rustic, is countrified’; huru-biru ‘gets old’; ... . Cf. miyábita = miyabi{‘yaka} na ‘elegant’. The etymology of -biru is unknown. Is hi-kara-biru(“) ‘dries up’ connected (or is the third element a nigoried version of hiru ‘dries up’)?

(8) -dátu, vi. ‘forms, stands as’ < N (ni/ga) tátu ‘stands as N’; yaku-dátu = yakú n [i] tátu ‘stands to use/service, is useful’; tabi-dátu = tabi n [i] tátu ‘leaves on a journey’; ture-dátu ‘goes along, accompanies’; kasira-dátu ‘stands at the head (of others), leads’; taiei-dátu ‘forms a system’; kiwa-dátu ‘is prominent’; keba-dátu ‘is nappy, shaggy’; sakki-dátu ‘gets angrily aroused (bloodthirsty), (atmosphere) becomes stormy’; sooke-dátu ‘shudders, has one’s hair stand on end’; saki-dátu ‘precedes’; ... . Cf. the adnoun omo-dáatta ‘principal’.

(9) -datérú, vt. ‘sets (it) up as’ < N (o/ni) tatéru ‘sets up N’: keitoo-datérú ‘systematizes’; soba-datérú ‘pricks up (one’s ears)’—cf. sobiérú ‘towers, soars’; tituzyo-datérú ‘brings order (to)’; monó o zyunzyo-datéta kangoárú kóto ... ‘considering things in order’ (Tk 2.263a). Cf. doo-go-date ‘preparations, preliminaries; providing the necessary tools’.

(10) -zuku, vi. ‘it comes in contact (with)’ < N ga-tuku: ikiói-zuku ‘gains/gathers strength’; iro-zuku ‘takes on color’; ki-zuku ‘takes notice (of)’; ne-zuku ‘takes root’; monogokoro-zuku ‘attains (the age of) discretion’; genki-zuku ‘takes heart’, kakkki-zuku ‘shows life, gets active’ ... . Cf. the quasi-restrictive “zuki.

(11) -zukérú, vt. ‘provides with’ < N (o/ni) tukérú: ato-zukérú ‘traces’; dooki-zukérú ‘motivates’; genkai-zukérú ‘limits, bounds’; genki-zukérú ‘encourages, cheers’; gimu-zukérú ‘makes obligatory’; hookoo-zukérú ‘provides direction, steers; orientates’; imi-zukérú ‘provides with meaning’ as in ... sono tatibá o syakai-teki ni imi-zukéyóo to sita wáke desu ‘they tried to give social significance to that stand’ (SA 2665.29d); insyoo-zukérú ‘impresses’; iti-zukérú ‘provides a place, locates, places’; kakki-zukérú ‘animates, enlivens’; kaku-zukérú ‘grades, rates’; kankei-zukérú ‘relates, connects’; kanren-zukérú ‘makes an association, correlates (with)’; kata-zukérú ‘tidies up, puts in shape (kata[ti])’; kati-zukérú ‘values’; keturon-zukérú ‘forms a conclusion’; kettei-zukérú ‘provides with a decision’ as in sore o kettei-zukérú ‘serves to determine that’; kiso-zukérú ‘provides with a basis’—kiso-zukéráreta ‘was given a basis’ (SA 2673.45a); na-zukérú ‘names’; ranku-zukérú ‘ranks’ (SA 2813.58a); retteru-zukérú ‘labels’ (SA 2813.106a); ryyuu-zukérú ‘provides a reason’; seikaku-zukérú ‘provides a characteristic’ as in ... simon-kikan to site seikaku-zukeráreta ‘it was given the character of a consultative organ’ (Ono 1967.254): syoooko-zukérú ‘substantiates, provides with proof’; syuukan-zukérú ‘makes a habit of’; teigi-zukérú ‘provides a definition, defines’; tituzyo-zukérú ‘orders, puts order to’; tokusei-zukérú ‘characterizes, distinguishes’; tokusyoku-zukérú ‘characterizes’; tokutyöo-zukérú ‘characterizes, distinguishes’; tyuumon-zukérú ‘provides requests’ as in ... éssé o sansyoo site morai-tai, nádo to agáoki de tyuumon-zukéte iru ‘provides requests [to the reader] in the postface, asking for instance that one compare the essay ...’

60. Other meanings of ni are also found: me-dátu ‘stands out, is striking = conspicuous’ derives from mé ni tátu ‘stands in/to the eye’.
§ 3.13. Postnominal verbs and adjectives

(SA 2689.106c): ura-zukérú 'supports, backs, provides backing for'; waku-zukérú 'frames, provides with (puts into) a frame'; yuuki-zukérú 'inspires, instills with courage'; zyore-tzukérú 'ranks, orders'. There are derived nouns from some of the infinitives (§ 14.5): doki-zukérú 'motivation', kaku-zukérú 'grading, rating' (irregularly stonic), na-zukérú 'naming' (according to NHK also, irregularly, atonic), ... . Cf. the quasi-restrictive -zuke.

(12) --gúmú, vi. 'shows signs of': tuno-gúmú = me-gúmú 'sprouts'; namida-gúmú 'is moved to tears' (whence the adjective namida-gumasí 'tearful' with the suffix -a-si-); ... . The etymology is unclear; cf. hukúmú 'comprises; implies'.

(13) --sabirú, vi. 'becomes like ..., becomes suitable as': kami-sabirú 'becomes holy, venerable'; okina-sabirú 'becomes an elder'; ... . This is now largely obsolete. The etymology is uncertain.

(14) --gákáru, vi. 'resembles, is close to (being) ': akami-gákáta kisyókú('") 'a look of ruddy joy'; aomi-gákáru 'gets/is tinged with blue'; kimigákáru 'gets/is tinged with yellow, is cream-colored'; murasaki-gákátté irú 'is tinged with purple'; daibu uyoku-gákátté ita 'was quite rightist' (KKK 25.78a); sibai-gákátté kotobá 'histrionics': onoo-gákátté monó o moti-tái 'wants to have something smacking of Noh drama' (Tk 4.54b; 56b has noo-gákátté monó). This is the nioriged form of the verb ka-kárú 'it hangs (etc.)'.

(15) --gérú, vi. 'looks': baká-géra 'stupid' ... ; hyóo-géra 'droll' (hyóo- is bound); ... .

Also note the postnominal bound verbal nouns (-)si-suru 'regards as' and -ka-su-rú 'azines', etc. (§14.3).

Postnominal adjectives are all bound⁶¹ and do not permit the noun to carry adnominal modification:

(1) --gamasí 'is like': ... benkái-gamasí kotobá 'apologetic words' (SA 2835.42); ... girei-gamasí kyooyo-gamasí kotó wa 'etiquette-like, culture-like things' (Kb 176a); giron-gamasí 'is disputatious'; hare-gamasí 'is ostentatious' (SA 2833.124a); hihan-gamasí (SA 2793.126c), hinan-gamasí (SA 2820.31d) 'is critical, carping'; iken-gamasí kotó ó iu 'says something that sounds like a remonstrance'; katte-gamasí 'is selfish'; miren-gamasí 'is regretful, is reluctant'; oko-gamasí 'is presumptuous, is ridiculous'; onkise-gamasí 'is patronizing' (from 'on-kise from ón o kiseru 'garbs in obligation'); osituke-gamasí 'is like forcing one's way; is pushy (pushing)'; saisoku-gamasí 'is like urging, is dunning'; ssade-gamasí 'is impertinent, is meddling'; ssazu-gamasí 'is officious, is bossy'; tanin-gamásiku hurumá 'behaves like a stranger'; urami-gamasí 'is reproachful, is rueful'; yooyu-gamasí 'is demanding'. The etymology of --gamasí is unknown.

(2) --rasí 'is like': see § 19.

(3) --tarasí 'gives the feeling of being [often something bad]'—apparently attached only to adjectival nouns and to adjectives: ADJECTIVES: mugo-tarasí 'is outrageous', naga-tarasí 'is long, tedious', niku-tarasí hitó 'a hateful person', ... . ADJECTIVAL NOUNS: binboo-tarasí 'is poor, poverty-stricken' (MKZ), kinodoku-tarasí 'is pitiful' (F n 155a), miren-tarasí = miren-gamasí 'is regretful' (MKZ), sukebe [e]-tarasisi 'is lecherous', sui-tarasí hitó 'a lovable person' (from su [k] 'is liked'), ... . Sometimes the -t- is doubled, perhaps for emphasis: iya-ttarasí 'is despisable'; huizyuu-ttarasí 'is inconvenient,

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61. But this is simply because we have not included such forms as -dakái (= takái) as in na-dakái 'is famous', -bakái (= hukái) as in kyoomi-bukái 'is interesting', suyuuen-bukái 'is tenacious', and yoozin-bukái 'is cautious', -zuyói (= tuyói) as in gaman/sinboo-zuyói 'is patient', etc.
uncomfortable' (Kb 125b); mizime-ttarasii 'is miserable'; naga-ttarásiku kakánakute mo 'without writing at great length' (Tk 2.219a); ... The etymology appears to be tó + ár-a-si-

(4) -ppói 'is full of, is characterized by'—attached to: (a) NOUN: ... sukosí yakuza-ppói kuti no kiki-kata o suru 'has a bit of the hoodlum in his speech' (SA 2640.107c); ... huryoo-syoonen-ppói hitóri no otokó ga ... 'one juvenile-delinquent-looking lad' (SA 2647.60d—npp will reduce to np); kodomo-ppói 'is childlike'; guchi-ppói 'is peevish'.

(b) PRECOPULAR NOUN: Huryoo-ppói tokoró wa mizin mo nái 'There's not a bit of the delinquent about them' (SA 2640.106).

(c) ADJECTIVAL NOUN: ada-ppói 'is coquettish'; kiza-ppói 'is affected'; zoku-ppói 'is vulgar, common, cheap'.

(d) ADJECTIVE BASE: ara-ppói 'is rough'; yasu-ppói 'is cheap, tawdry'.

(e) VERB BASE: sime-ppói 'is damp'. Cf. kara-ppo = kara (precopular or adjectival noun) 'empty'. By etymology "ppói is apparently a reduction of an intensive form of ópo-, the ancestor of modern óo- 'much/many'. When the attaching form is atonic the adjective is optionally atonic for some speakers: kodomo-ppói(−), huryoo-ppói (−), ara-ppói(−), sime-ppói(−), ...

Note also the postnominal subjective adjectival noun -zen, §13.5a. And compare such phrases as N [ga] yó́i/warúi/náí, N [ga] yóku/wáruku/náku, p. 794.
4 VOICE CONVERSIONS

Verbal sentences can be converted into CAUSATIVES, into PASSIVES, and into PASSIVIZED CAUSATIVES (a passive built on a causative). These categories are formally marked by attaching suffixes (or bound auxiliaries) to the base—originally to the base + the subjunctive ending -a, now to be considered part of the voice suffix itself as it is considered to be part of the negative -ana- and of the hortative-tentative -a(m)u > -oo. We treat the resulting sentences as conversions because of shifts in the marking of adjuncts: the agent of the underlying active sentence is marked as if the indirect object (by ni) when we introduce a new subject—the INSTIGATOR (causer) of the action or the VICTIM (the passive subject)—who may or may not be the underlying direct object. But one use of the passive—as an alternative to the subject-exaltation conversion of §6.1— involves no change in adjunct marking; the domain is restricted to the nuclear sentence, the verb itself.

The passive can be considered as at least three separate conversions: the PURE (or "translational" or "normal") passive that turns the direct object into the subject in ways familiar to speakers of European languages; the ADVERSATIVE passive, in which a new subject playing the role of the VICTIM is adversely affected by the underlying process; and the POTENTIAL passive, which endows an indirect subject (the "possessor", marked by ni/ga) with the possession of the ability to initiate or to carry out the process. In addition, the passive form of the verb can be used in place of a subject-exalting verb, §6.2 (see also §10); in olden days the causative too was used for subject exaltation.

Causative verbs are made with the suffix -(s)ase-; the suffix takes the shape -sase- after vowel bases and the shape -ase- after consonant bases (see §8); colloquially the suffix is often shortened to -(s)a-, not to be confused with various suffixes that derive transitive

1. Alfonso calls the causative the "permissive".

2. When negativized, the potential is sometimes used as a mild prohibition, especially in certain dialects, e.g. Matsuyama: Hori no sakana turaremam 'No fishing in the moat' (Y 116). Yoshida's study indicates that the passive used as a potential has declined in frequency from Meiji writings to Shōwa writings, the later usage being largely limited to the negative. The uses to express subject exaltation and spontaneity (§4.4a) are very low in frequency (Y 140). Commands or exhortations will be rung on a passive form only when it is used for subject exaltation: Kangæte mirare yó 'Just think!' (= Kangæte go-ran nasai) (K 1966.177). But even this is rare; it is usually claimed that the exalting passive lacks the imperative (see p. 341, §6.2).

3. But in fast speech you may run across a variant version, perhaps substandard, that adds -asase-ru to consonant bases: kak-asase-ru = kak-asé-ru. Such forms are NOT to be interpreted as a "double causative" despite the appearance; only a single "causation" is intended. Lewin (155 n. 5) cites similar forms from texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: tatemurasase tamu 'kindly lets one do it', omowasase tamu 'kindly lets one feel'. Alfonso 955 mentions another variant: adding -rasu instead of -as(ær)u to vowel bases, e.g. taberasu for tabesasru/tabesas. This would seem to be borrowed from dialects that tend to regularize the verb conjugations by converting vowel verbs into consonant bases ending in /r/; they reinterpret tabe-ru as taber-u. The negative déran for dénai 'does not emerge' is common in the Kansai area and similar forms are heard in widely scattered areas from northern Japan to the Ryûkyûs (cf. Maeda 1961.210).

4. As in these examples: Huransu no sakana-ryóori wa, dóo yatte hurúi sakana o úmaku TABESÁSU ka, to iu dáké no ryóori na da 'France's fish cuisine is one that just tries to make stale fish somehow taste good' (SA 2669.48a); Warúi hitó ga ite, hén na koto, OBOESÁSU n desu yó né 'There are bad
§ 4. Voice Conversions

Verbs (§ 4.6) and are historically related. We know that ugokásu is a surface representation of two different underlying phenomena because it is possible to make a causative from it: ugóku 'it moves' leads to the irregularly derived transitive verb ugokásu1, 'moves it' which regularly converts into the usual causative ugokasáséru 'causes someone to move it'; ugóku also converts into a regular causative ugokásér1, 'causes it to move' which can be abbreviated to ugokásu2. Hatarakasu, on the other hand, can only serve as the abbreviation of hatarakaseru 'causes someone to work' because there is no *hatarakasérue. (A comparable problem appears in relationships between some short potentials and homonymous members of transitivity pairs such as toréú1 'can take' and toréú2 'is taken'; see § 4.4. And ugokáséru2 could be the short potential of ugokásu1 or ugokásu2.)

A pseudo-literary causative is made by adding the suffix -(a)síme-, as in this example: arátamete mé o hirakásiméru tikara (') o sonoête irú 'provides the power to open our eyes anew' (SA 2679.103d). This form is called "pseudo-literary" because the genuinely literary form would be -(a)sím[u]-, i.e. the predicative form would be -(a)símu rather than -(a)símeru and the attributive form would be -(a)símuru as in this example of modern prose: kánozó-ra no íssyu no riso-su-yú ni sikarASÍMURU tokóro na no de wa nakároó ka 'I wonder if it is not a kind of idealism on the part of those women that makes them be like that' (SA 2658.52d) - sákári = sáká [á]ri 'being like that' is a literary equivalent of sóo da; the literary language will permit causatives for verbs like ár-i which would not become causative in the colloquial. An example of the pseudo-literary attributive is found in the quasi adnom kookó-tarásiméru 'enrapturing'; see § 13.5.5.

Passive verbs are made with the suffix -(r)aré-; the suffix takes the shape -are- after vowel bases and the shape -are- after consonant bases; a shortened form -(r)- is used in the potential meaning only (§ 4.4) and restricted to consonant bases by some speakers. The passivized causative has the double suffix -(s)ás[are]-, often shortened to -(s)as[are]-. Two verbs, kurú 'comes' and surú 'does', are irregular. The verb kúru 'comes' forms the causative ko-sás[are]- (contraction ko-sás-), the passive ko-ráre- (for which some have the contraction ko-ré- in the potential use), and the passivized causative ko-sas[e-r]áre-; these verbs who have it [=the parrot] memorize peculiar things' (SA 2663.43a);... syatyoo o dorài baa ni sitâtete, kuruma no naka de MATÁSIT' oita [= matásite oita = matásete oita] '... got the head of the firm dressed up as a chauffeur and had him waiting in the car' (SA 2663.17c). According to Maeda (1961.222) Osaka prefers the shorter forms in -(s)as-, and Yoshida says the shorter forms are "Kansai-teki"; the longer "Tooyoo-teki" (Y 101). The Osaka causative for surú itself is saasu, not saaseru. The Osaka passive for surú is siræruru, not saeruru. Y 127 gives three examples of siræruru, which is said to be a Meiji and/or Kansai usage.

5. The transitive verb imasimér(u') 'admonishes; bans', with the infinitive-derived noun imasimél(u') 'admonishment; ban', appears to be a pseudo-literary causative from the verb ímu 'shuns, abhors'. Apparently in the earliest attested forms (those of the Nara period) the causative was expressed only by -(a)sim[u]-; -(s)as[u]-, at that time -(a)s-, was limited to subject exaltation—cf. the Korean subject-exalting suffix -(u)sí-. By Heian times -(s)as[u]- had replaced -(a)sim[u]- for the causative, while continuing to be used for subject exaltation. But in the eleventh century, under the influence of reading Kambun (classical Chinese), -(a)sim[u]- was revived as a "masculine" usage (Terase 85); the Kambun tradition led to the modern pseudo-literary -(a)símeru.

6. Before endings beginning with t, the passive marker -(r)aré- is sometimes shortened to -(r)at-, especially in Kansai dialects; and the imperfect ending -ru is often replaced by -n before n and by -q before k or t, so that okoráren no may sometimes stand for okorárénru no (Y 108)—as well as for the negative okoráren[a]l no—and okorákêrê may be heard for okorárérêru karê (examples will be found in Y 108, 126).
forms use the historically basic shape kō- from which the kū- of kūru and the kī- of the infinitive kī are the result of vowel assimilations, as described in Martin 1967.257. The form kirarēru is reported as an old-fashioned Kyōto equivalent of korarēru; in Tōkyō it would only be taken as the passive of kīr- 'cut' (atomic kirarēru could be passive or potential of kī- 'wear'), but other parts of eastern Japan use it also for 'come'.

For suru, the causative is s-ase-, the passive is s-are-, and the passivized causative is s-as[er]-are-, i.e. saserare- or its contraction sasare-. On serareru as a pseudo-literary equivalent of sureru, see Kazama 43-5, Mio 335. In Ōsaka the passive of suru is sirareru, rather than sureru, according to Maeda 1961.219. Kazama 47 observes that for one-morpheme Chinese verbal nouns, such as sātu(-) 'guessing' and bātu(-) 'punishing' which appear in sas-sūru(-) 'guesses' and bas-sūru(-) 'punishes', the usual written passive is -serareru (despite -sinai for the negative and -siyoo for the hortative) as in hōrutō de bas-seraremāsu 'will be punished by law' (SA 2673.109a) but that -sirareru is coming in, so that sas-sirarēru(-) is acceptable—as in ... miru kara ni sono miti no wazā-si to sas-sirāreta(-) 'from his looks you could surmise that he was an expert in his field' (SA 2671.95b) and ras-sirater(-) 'being pulled along' (Kb 242b)—though *sas-sūrē(-) would still sound strange as a substitute for sas-sūrē(-). But such forms as *sas-sūrē(-) etc. are apparently rejected for those verbal-noun morphemes that end in an oral consonant (reduced from basic -TU); cf. syoo-serāru etc. (§ 14.3) for those ending in a vowel or nasal. The same situation holds for those verbal nouns that require ngori of the auxiliary: kan-zerarēru or kan-zirarēru from kan-ziru/-zurū 'feels' (the negative is kan-zi-nai or literary kan-zenu, not *kan-zenai); some of these end in a vowel, e.g. tuu-zirū 'gets through'. Notice that such verbs have colloquial imperfect forms in -zirū in addition to the written -zuru. There are a few verbs (usually the result of contraction from earlier -ni-suru or ...-mi-suru) that attach -ziru/-zuru to native Japanese elements, but the passive and causative forms are made in the same way as for the Chinese verbal nouns: karon-zerāre(-) 'is belittled and' (SA 2671.113c) ← karon-ziru(-)/-zurū(-) 'belittles'; ... sono hatugen ga omon-zerārete(-) kita to iū no wa ... 'that this declaration came to be taken seriously' (SA 2672.63a) from omon-ziru(-)/-zurū(-) 'treats as serious'. (Lewin 112 allows a free verbal noun such as ansin to take either sar eru or serareru for passive, and either saseru or sesaseru for causative.) Saeki 22 suggests that serareru be regarded as an abbreviation of serareru and gives sesaseru as the original form of sas-sirarēru, the causative. But I have not come across sesaseru except bound to one-morpheme Chinese verbal nouns: bas-sesaseru(-) or bas-sas eru(-) 'causes one to punish'. For the auxiliary-voicing verbal nouns, the causative is regular: only kan-zisaseru 'causes one to feel' is used, not *kan-zesaseru or *kan-zas eru. During the Taishō period (1912-25) the artificially regularized form si-sas eru was promoted as a "standard", with sas eru permitted as a variant (K 1966.120), but this prescription failed to gain support. According to Lewin 155 the literary causative of one-syllable vowel verbs is made by adding sesim[e]-, as in mi-sesim[e]- 'causes to see' and ki-sesim[e]- 'causes to wear' and ni-sesim[e]- 'causes to boil/semble'; but Terase 86 accepts the forms only for the two verbs [e]- 'get' and h[e]- 'pass', saying that mi-sesim[e]- is from mis[e]- (therefore 'causes to show' in meaning?) and kisesim[e]- is from kis[e]- (therefore 'causes to clothe' in meaning?). 6a

verbs other than kūru and suru are regular in their forms, but some verbs lack causatives and/or passives altogether. The verb āru 'exists, stays, has' makes a pseudo-literary causative ar-asime-, but the colloquial lacks both the causative and the passive in any of its senses; we might have expected at least *ararēru as a synonym of o-ari da 'deigns to

6a. Bound verbal nouns attach *sesim[e]- and *zesim[e]-: tokui-sei o syoo-zesi-meta gen'in no hitōtu 'one of the causes that generated the singularity'.

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possess'. But two written examples of ararérú as potential ('can exist'), apparently a Meiji usage, will be found in Y 107; see also the expression go-ran ararémoyó (p. 341, §6.2).

Examples of arasimérú: Soo suru to, káko ni nákattó kotó o Nihón ni arasimoyó to iú wáke desu nê 'That means we want to try to let Japan have things it lacked in the past, doesn’t it' (Tk 2.152b); Tikyuu 'zyoo no káko no rekisi ni nákattó kotó o, kore kara arasimoyó to iú no wa, taihen na kóettesu [= kotó desu] nê 'It’s quite a job, you know, trying to make available from now on things that never existed before in past history on the earth' (Tk 2.152-3).

The adjective arare-mo-náí 'is improper' is said to contain the infinitive of a passive of áru. (For a formal use of de ararérú = de irassyárú, see §6.2.) And Maeda 1962 twice uses the expression itomá(−) mo arásezu 'not letting one even have time to ...' with the literary negative infinitive from a causative of áru: Kakusin-teki na hitó ga sóosyu o ageru hima mo naku, hosyu-teki na hitó ga máyu o hisomérú(−) itomá(−) mo arásezu, utakata no gótoku arawáre, kagéero no gótoku kie-sáta 'With no time for the revolutionary-minded to lift their hands nor allowing the conservatives (to have) a moment to knit their brows, it [= the usage] appeared like a bubble and vanished like a day-fly' (69); Okuni-kótoba ga seisi [src 'restraint'] no itomá(−) mo arásezú kúi kara tobíásita to itte, kuti ni tó o etátéri, kao o akarátémátari sinái de mo yói de wa nái ka ‘Rather than put one’s hand to one’s mouth, blush, or the like, wouldn’t it be all right just to say that the local regionalism slipped out of one’s mouth not allowing one (to have) time to hold it back?’ (212). Is there a confusion with itomá(−) mo ATAEZU 'not ALLOWING time'?

We find no causatives or passives for the subject-exalting verbs kudasárú, nasáru, ossáryárú, or even irassyárú—despite the acceptability of isaseru and orasérú 'lets someone stay' and of irarérú and orarérú 'suffers from someone staying' or 'can stay' or 'deigns to stay'; but the potential irassyarérú 'can stay' is accepted by many speakers. We might ascribe the absence of such forms to the fact that it is usual to make the causative or passive BEFORE putting the sentence into any other conversion (though there are exceptions, as we will see below); but probably the real reason we lack the forms is that these verbs etymologically contain an occurrence of the passive as reflected in the -ar- with which each base ends. The short potential irassyarérú 'can stay' seems to be in use, as we have observed, though the longer form irassyararérú is rare even in modern prose; and an example of ossyararérú as a pleonastic equivalent of simple ossyárú is cited in Y 119. The short potentials nasarérú, kudasarérú, and ossyarérú all seem to be acceptable, though the longer forms are not used; and many speakers will accept irassyarérú (= o-ide ni narérú) for the meaning 'can stay' as well as 'can come/go'. The latter meaning is illustrated in this example: Tyan-tóki mökutékti e irassyarémásita ka ‘Were you able to get to your destination all right?’ (SA 2659.52a).

Other verbs that do not make a causative or any type of passive include ir- ‘need’ (* irareru, * iraseru) and déki- with either the meaning ‘be able’ or ‘get produced’; for ‘lets it be produced’ instead of “dekisaseru we find dekiagaraseru from the compound verb déki-agaru. The causative of wákkarérú is acceptable (wakarasérú ‘causes it to be understood, causes one to understand’), as is the adversative passive wakararérú ‘suffers from having it understood’ though sirarérú ‘suffers from having it known’ is more common.7 Wakarasérú

7. Kuno (1973.144) says that “statives” such as wákárú (as well as ir-u) can not make an adversative passive. I suspect that idiolects differ in their assignment of wákárú; some speakers, at least, put it in two classes. See §3.12, where we observe that both statives and durative-statives do not normally take ANY voice conversions.
can also be used for subject exaltation (= o-wakari ni nāru) but not for the potential, and there is no *wakarérō 'can understand'. The verbs nár· 'become', kawar· 'turn into', moraw· 'receive' all have regular causative and passive forms.

The accentuation of causative and passive is tonic or atonic in accordance with the accentuation of the underlying base; this is true also of the negative and, in fact, of virtually all forms historically based on the -a ending. But the pseudo-literary causatives in -(a)sime-are all treated as tonic regardless of the base.

It is interesting to find a passive built on a causative but not the opposite, as we might have expected in order to represent a meaning like ‘A causes B to suffer from having C drop in on him’ = A ga B ni C ni *koraresāérō. We might even expect a further passive built on that: D ga B ni A ni C ni *koraresaserāérō ‘D suffers from having A cause B to suffer from having C drop in on him’. But such things are expressed, when wanted, by circumlocution of various sorts. I am treating both causative and passive as one-shot conversions (non-recursive), usually ordered before all others. Apparent exceptions appear when we apply the auxiliary conversions (with either the infinitive or the gerund), since the voice conversions can be applied either to the underlying verb or to the auxiliary, or again to both: sase-rare-tuzuke-sase-rare- ‘being forced to continue being forced to do it’ is grammatical, though it will probably never be encountered. Since auxiliaries are repeatedly applicable up to any limit (in theory, at least), any number of combinations of passive, causative, and passivized causative can be generated by the grammar, provided each instance is one step removed—by an auxiliary conversion—from any other instance of a voice conversion. The desiderative verbalization (-i-tagār- §7.2) and the excessive (-sugi- §9.1.9) are similar, being special cases of auxiliaries: sase-rare-ta-gar-ase-rare-ru ‘is made to want to be made to do it’ may never have been heard before but it is perfectly grammatical, as is the English translation. The back-loop from the desiderative verbalization in Chart 2 suggests that our grammar will permit the voice conversions to be directly recursive, generating *sase-sase-, *sare-sare-, *sare-sase-, etc., since a “zero” by-pass is possible at every conversion. But back-looping is allowed by the chart ONLY if the conversion is NOT by-passed. (The chart is incomplete in that it fails to include extensions of the adverbializations into auxiliary constructions; if they were included, there would be back-loops from each.) Some Japanese linguists allow a double causative in their descriptions: Soga, for example, permits Tāroo ni Žīroo ni to o akesasesasetō ‘[I] had Tarō let Jirō open the door’, but I doubt many speakers would feel comfortable with such forms. Yoshida gives two examples of V-asse- with simple causative meaning (Y 81-2), but he says that such forms are little used and denies the existence of the full form (V-asse-sase-). But he also gives an example of wakagerāsē de mo saseta used for wakagerāsē de mo sita ‘even rejuvenated [him]’ (Y 88). Shibatani (1973) has suggested that the syntactic structure of a double causative (meaning ‘A causes B to cause C to do’) is grammatical, but it is expressed with the morphologically simple causative forms which serve as a kind of haplogical reduction of the double causative: Tāroo ga Žīroo ni līroo o arukāsēfasasēta ‘Tarō made/had Jirō make Ichirō walk’. I have not come across authentic examples. There is a grammatical device available to achieve the semantic effect of a double causative: saseru yö ni suru/sasera ‘makes it (causes one to make it) so that one causes someone to do’—and in theory even saseru yö ni suru/sasera yö ni suru/sasera ... (etc. ad infinitum, the device being recursive). But an authentic example of even the simplest type has yet to catch my attention.
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Semantically corresponding forms for adjectival and nominal sentences are discussed in §9.1.6; the “passive”-like intransitive mutative -kú/ní náru and the “causative”-like transitive mutative -kú/ní suru. Cf. also yóo ni náru/suru.

On problems of semantic skewing between transitives and causatives and between intransitives and passives, see §4.8.

Certain verb phrases such as motte kúru/iku ‘bring/takes things’ and turete kúru/iku ‘brings/takes people’ are usually treated as units in applying the voice conversions, with the suffix attached to the motion verb: Bókú-táti wa Mosukuwa-sinai no áru hóteru ni turete ikareta ‘We were taken to some hotel within the city of Moscow’ (SA 2656.62a); ... koo iku ko wa kono kyánpu e mússúu(’) ni turete kóárete sindie ittá ga ... ‘children of this sort in untold numbers were brought to this camp and died one after another’ (SA 2674.89c).

Occasionally a causative or passive infinitive will enter into noun compounds. Omowase-buri o suru means ‘acts suggestively; plays the coquette’ and comes from the infinitive omowásé ‘make one think’. Kiraware-mono means ‘someone despised’ and comes from the infinitive kiraware ‘being despised’. Here is an example of the lexical abstract nominalization with -kata (§14.8) applied to a passivization of VN suru: ... sono soon yuu sare-kata zítai ni kíwámétè zyuu-yoo no ima-áí(’) ga kan-zírare nu ‘An extremely important significance makes itself felt in the very way it is inserted’ (SA 2680.104c).

Under special circumstances of ellipsis it is sometimes possible to omit the base of a vowel verb before -sase- and -are-, as if these were relatively free auxiliaries similar to those which attach to the infinitive (§9.1.10): Sin-zíraremsén ka?—Raremsén to mo ‘You can’t believe it?—Of course I can’t!’ (Y 128). Kusoo yútaka na seikaku de náí to, hárán(’) banzyoo o kíwámétè suútoríi mo kangaerénaí daroo si né.—Raremsén. ... ‘Without a nature rich in imagination you wouldn’t be able to think up stories so full of glorious vicissitudes, would you.—No, ...’ (Tk 4.285b). I presume that similar examples must exist for Sasemasen, since that form occurs anyway as the causative of suru. But I doubt whether -are-, -ase-, and especially -e- will ever allow the preceding consonant verb base to be omitted.

For the kind of quasi passive represented in the structure VT-ru tokoró no N, see p. 625.

Since the causative suffix differs from the passive only by having /s/ instead of /r/, it is tempting to speculate that these two phonemes stand in some sort of componential relationship, permitting us to set up a single “voice-transforming morpheme” *-ZaZe- with the causative marked by a positive feature (+ CONTINUATIVE = /s/) and the passive by a negative feature (- CONTINUATIVE = /r/). But the usual etymological speculation holds that the causative is related to the verb si- ‘do’ and the passive either to the verb ár- ‘be, have’ or to the unusually brief base [e]- ‘get’—or to both, since the verb for ‘get’ may well be an old causative from ‘have’: *á[r]-i- > e- with regular crasis and further abbreviation in making conjugational forms. (Chamberlain 199 derives - rare- from ár- + é-ru.)

4.1. CAUSATIVES

When the causative conversion is applied, a new character is added to the cast, the INSTIGATOR. The instigator is marked by the subject particle ga, and the underlying
agent is then marked by ni—or, under certain conditions, by ó. Marking of the agent with ó is usual with intransitive verbs, and marking with ni is usual for transitive verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
A \text{ ga kúru} & \quad \text{`A comes'} \rightarrow B \text{ ga A o kosašéru} \quad \text{`B has A come'} \\
A \text{ ga B o yobu} & \quad \text{`A calls B'} \rightarrow C \text{ ga A ni B o yobaseru} \quad \text{`C has A call B'}
\end{align*}
\]

But some speakers will occasionally permit marking the agent with ó even if the verb already has an ó-marked object, in particular when the object is a traversal object; see §3.11.1. And the agent of an underlying intransitive verb seems to be optionally markable with ni in all cases: B ga A ni kosašéru is another way to say `B has A come'. Use of ni instead of ó in the causative conversion of intransitives seems to have a softer implication for many speakers; it is possible that a differentiation is developing between the extremes of the range of meaning: “let” (permission—with ni) and “make” (coercion—with ó).

Kuroda 1965 suggests that ni (instead of ó) is unnatural unless it sounds natural to make a similar sentence B ga A ni VI-te morau `B receives the favor of A’s doing it' (§10). In the same paper Kuroda says that transitive verbs divide into two types, the “weakly transitive” like tabéru `eats’ and the “strongly transitive” like nusúmu `steals’ because the causative forms of the weak transitives can have two meanings, only one of which will be permitted by the “strongly transitive”': usi o tabasášéru can mean either (1) [ó = ni] ‘they cause the cow to eat it’ or (2) ‘they cause someone to eat beef’; but kodomo o nusumasášéru, he tells us, can only mean (2) ‘they make someone steal the child’ and not (1) [ó = ni] ‘they make the child steal it’. I have been unable to confirm this intriguing distinction with other speakers, who readily accept both meanings for the example with nusúmu as well as that with tabéru; perhaps a fuller list of the verbs Kuroda feels are “strongly” transitive will enable us to find the distinction with other informants. Meanwhile I will treat the distinction as an idiolectal innovation outside the grammar we are considering. Notice the ambiguity of an isolated sentence like Tároo o matusášéru, which could be interpreted as either (1) [ó = ni] ‘causes Táro to wait [for someone]’ or (2) ‘causes [someone] to wait for Táro’, depending on whether the ó-marked phrase is taken in construction with the causative or with the underlying transitive verb of “emotion”.

In older written Japanese the underlying agent—the instigated, the person caused to act—was expressed as N o site, leaving any object to be expressed as N o as in the sentence:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yosítúne [ga] Yosínaka o sému (= seméru) `Yoshitsune attacks Yoshinaka’ } \rightarrow \text{ Yorítomo [ga] Yosítúne o site Yosínaka o semésímu `Yoritomo causes Yoshitsune to attack Yoshinaka’ (Sansom 238). Some examples from modern prose: Watakusi O SITE iwásiméreba ‘If I am forced/allowed to say = If you ask me’ (KKK 3.79); Sono kekó, kátóte none yuužin O SITE, “soosítu” no yuunsí-sa no sosítu o nagekasérú to síté mo, rokuzyuu-kyúunen Tookyoo no huuzoku ni mugen no ómi o yomí-tóru(-) taizín ni seiyzukú sitá no da to ieyoo ‘As a result, though we feel it will cause former friends to deplore the forfeiture of the purity of his “forfeiture” [of social contact in order to achieve spiritual development], it can safely be said that he has matured into a gentleman who reads infinite meaning into the mores of Tókyó 69’ (CK 985.53); ... káno-zyo O SITE ... ayamáti(-) o okášésétá no de náí ka ‘Isn’t it that....caused her to make the mistake?’ (Tsujimura 69); Kyóoto O SITE Nihón no búnka no tyuusin tarasímenak y i kan ‘we must make Kyôto the center of Japan’s culture’ (Tk 2.310a); for tarasíméru (= to ar-asíméru), see p. 750 (§13.5). Sansom says that N ni site is used “in modern prose to indicate the subject of a sentence where there is some fear of ambiguity” (244), but I have been unable to find examples of what he means; Chamberlain (1924.206) says N ni site is a rarely found equivalent of N o site. These ways
of marking the agent of a causative are probably a by-product of the Kambun style developed to read classical Chinese in early days.

I have come across one example of a causative where the instigated (the underlying agent) retains the marking with kará that is permitted in place of gá with verbs of informing (p. 45, §2.2): ... musumé no watasi kara iwaseréba ... ‘If you ask me, who am the daughter ...’ (SA 2672.148a). The passage could have read watasi o iwaseréba; but watasi ni iwaseréba might be taken as ambiguous, since the underlying verb takes a dative valence to begin with and the expression could mean ‘if you have them tell it to me’ or the like. Here, nonetheless, is an example: Ookii okamis ni iwaseréba nán‘atte sóó da ‘To hear the mistress tell it everything is that way’ (Kb 44a). Cf. p. 295 (§4.2) for similar problems with the passive.

The meaning of the causative ranges from permission to coercion; the translation ranges from ‘makes him do it’ to ‘lets him do it’: ... dôkusya(”) ni imi o wakaraseru koto ‘letting the reader know what you mean’ (Tk 2.218b). But the ‘let’ meaning will usually undergo a favor conversion (§10): sasete ageru/kureru etc. There are even cases where the implication resembles that of the adversative passive, e.g. Kodomo o sinasete haoha ya wa hoka no kodomo o miru to sugu naku ‘The mother who has had/let her child die cries when she looks at other children’ is virtually synonymous with Kodomo ni sinaret haoha ya wa ...

‘A mother who has suffered the death of her child ...’. But the causative in such cases would be limited to situations where the underlying agent was under the potential control of the victim (the adversatively affected): to say ‘a baby had its father die’ (i.e. ‘suffered the death of its father’) only if the child would be used. Kodomo o sinasete could also mean ‘stood idly by while children died = let children die (through neglect, famine, etc.)’ but in the meaning ‘forced children to die’ = ‘put children to death’ the causative would usually be replaced by korosita ‘killed’. Cf. Hito o sinasetaku ná mon desu ‘We do not want to let people die = We don’t want to lose men’.8 The passive built on the causative of sinu, sinaséraheru, is seldom heard, but to some it is acceptable in a sentence like Watasi wa zyótyuu ni kodomo o sinaréta ‘I suffered from the maid’s letting my child die’ if the situation calls for it.

In English the instigator may be oneself, for ‘I’ can ‘make myself do something’; in Japanese such sentences are never said with the causative, for the Japanese causative requires the instigator to be someone other than the agent. To say someone forced himself to do something you use the simple verb modified by an adverbial expression such as muri ni (or múri site) or site ‘perforce’ or (perhaps better) si-kata naku ‘with no recourse’ (si-yoo ga nái kara), iyaiya{-nágara} ‘though reluctant’, or iya-oo nási ni ‘like it or not’.

4.2. PASSIVES

What we are calling the pure or “normal” passive seems to be a relatively new device in the Japanese syntactic arsenal; it appears to have developed largely under the influence of English and hence is sometimes called the “translational passive”. Pure passives are comfortably made only from transitive verbs—those that take persons or things as direct objects; adversative and potential passives are freely made from both transitives and intransitives, including the quasi-intransitives that take traversal objects.

8. A figurative example: Tatami wa sinanai. Sinasité wa naránai ‘The traditional Japanese mat is not dead. We must not let it die’ (SA 2669.72).
In the PURE passive, the underlying object becomes the surface subject and the underlying agent is given the indirect-object marker ni: A ga B o yobu ‘A calls B’ becomes B ga A ni yobareru ‘B gets called by A’. The agent need not be expressed: biragama kakerumeppega ‘leaflets are distributed’; onazi yóo na kekkaga eráreteri uró no de ... since the same sort of results are obtained’ (SA 2651.22b). In the ADVERSA TIVE (also called ‘victimizing’) passive the surface-subject marking is preempted by the victim who suffers from the happening, and the underlying agent is marked with ni, but any direct object is left marked with ó: A ga B o yobu ‘A calls B’ becomes C ga A ni B o yobareru ‘C suffers from A calling B’, and A ga kúru ‘A comes’ becomes B ga A ni koráreteru ‘B suffers from (the inconvenience of) A’s coming’. Here are examples of adver sative passives, the first containing a series: Nyuuín-kánzya B-san ... ga, aho, ko-yóo na sòburur(” o misér ‘But he shows signs of disliking to hear his father’s name mentioned’ (SA 2653.58b); ‘Mazume na kaisya’ to i ku kigoyo-iméézi o kowasa-rakú no ní, to i ku kóto ka ‘Perhaps it means that they do not want to have their corporate image shattered as a “sincere company” (SA 2663.33e); Nyóobo[o] ni totte, totuz en arú-hi kara, åsa kara ban màde me-no-máe ni téisyu ni suwatte irarentareta tamatá monó de wa ná daróo ‘It would surely be unbearable for a wife suddenly one day to start having her husband sitting around in front of her from morning till night’ (SA 2677.120d).

Authentic sentences are often so stripped down that it is far from easy to find intact examples of the full grammar. We can only decide from context or outside information the proper interpretation for the sentence Aki wa yoku kekkón-síki ni yobareru ‘In autumn one gets invited to a lot of weddings’ (SA 2649.109) since neither host nor guest makes an appearance in the sentence; whether the passive is to be taken as pure or adversative depends on how the writer feels about weddings, and grammatically there is nothing to keep us from interpreting yobareru as subject-exalting ‘Esteemed person(s) invite ...’.

Sometimes the agent is optionally marked by kará instead of ni: [Gakusetu ga] gakkai karamu sóretá ‘[The theory] was ignored by the scholarly world’; Kain kara hinan sóretá ‘He was criticized by the members’; Minná kara ái-sátara ‘She was loved by all’; ... akaruisekakude, minná kara mo sukáretá itá ‘was liked by all for his cheerful disposition’ (SA 2666.36a); ... hitokara miráreteru tokoró ‘a place where one is seen by people’ (Kotobanóyurai 147); ... hitokara tanomáreta sigoto wa ‘jobs requested by other people’ (SA 2651.66b); Minná kara mo soo iwáreru ‘I get told that by EVERYONE [—you’re not the only one to tell me]’ (SA 2645.52a); ... watasi wa gaikokú-zin kara iro-iro na kuni no ningen ni matigáreteré kita ‘I have been mistaken by foreigners for a person from all sorts of countries’ (Endó 185); Tanaka Yosio giin ga, sánzyuyu kyúu-hyoo de yábureta Miyáza kí Masao-sí kara uttaáreteré ... ‘Diet member Yoshio Tanaka was taken to court by Mr Masao Miyazaki who had been defeated by 39 votes, and ...’ (Shibata 1965.161); ... ‘térubino ninkó o hana ni kakúrú’ to sutaáhhu kara kemutagáreteré mo iro ‘... (and) he also suffers from his staff being standoffish toward him with the idea that he “has his nose in the air over his television popularity”’ (SA 2657.119d); ... hitó-táti kara kei-betu sare-nágará mo...
'though despised by the people who ...' (Ōno 1966.104); Sono sánaka ni waratte iru kyookan ga iru. Sosite, seito kara máiku de "Náze waraú no da" to kitumon sarete iru 'In the midst there are teachers who laugh. And they are subjected to demands from students at the mike 'Why do you laugh?''' (SA 2655.40b). This use of kará would seem to be an extension of the notion of agent as SOURCE, found also in Watsa kara míru to 'Seen from my position - As I see it'. Compare the ablative-dative valences (§3.7) such as hito kara/ní homeráreú [okoráreú] 'gets the praise [incurs the wrath] of people'; favors in §10; and the remarks on agent-marking when the beneficiary is subjectified (p. 310). Alfonso 949-50 observes that kará is often preferred to mark the agent when ni might be ambiguous, as in A ga B kara/(nì) C ni syookai sareru 'A is introduced to C by B'; he gives examples using warawareru 'gets laughed at', sonkei sareru 'is respected', sikeráreú 'gets scolded', tài setu ni sareru 'is thought highly of', yobóreú 'is invited', tanomáreú 'is requested', happyoo sareru 'is published', and kyóka sareru 'is permitted'. He also gives an example of (... kara) síraséte arú 'is informed (by) with the intransitivizing -te arú conversion of §9.2.4.(2).

The following example would, accordingly, be clearer if kará had been used instead of ní: Áto de sono senséi wa koo yoo ni okoráreú n zya nái ka ná 'I bet later the teacher felt the wrath of the principal' (SA 2671.48c). The other interpretation would treat okoráreú as subject-exalting passive: 'the teacher was angry at the principal'. Cf. Howard 1969.43: Káre wa anó senséi ni Nihongo o osiéreata 'He was taught Japanese by that teacher'—grammatically susceptible to the additional interpretation 'He designed to teach Japanese to that teacher'.

Alfonso 950 says that dé is used instead of ní to mark the SOURCE (= the underlying agent) when that is inanimate and not self-propelling; such examples are given as kaze de taosáre ú 'gets blown down by the wind', zisin de kowásáre ú 'gets damaged by the earthquake', sensoo de hakái sareru 'is destroyed by/in the war', kázi de yake reú simau 'is burned down in a fire', etc. In these cases the source—unable to function as a real agent—could be regarded as causal or, perhaps in some cases, instrumental. Alfonso 951 observes that the written style will substitute ni yotte for the source of the passive regardless of the colloquial marker—nì, kará, or dé. And notice that ni yotte is also used for the causal and instrumental uses of dé. A more formal written style (see below) will use ni yori instead of ni yotte: Zyuumín(−) ni yori tyokusetu sénkyo sareru 'They are directly elected by the residents'.

Not every instance of kará is to be taken as marking the agent; in the sentence Šen kyúuyah yoko yoon yoo nen, Hurunsu ga Doítu sennyyoo-gun kara kaihoo sareta tok'i ... 'When France was liberated FROM the German occupation forces in 1944' the kará is in ablative valence with the verbal noun kaihoo 'liberating'.

Agents are typically animate—and human, but inanimates can also play the underlying agent role, especially in clichés and in written Japanese, where abstract nouns often serve as agents with the pure passive: Watsa wa, sibára ku wa akke ni toráreite ita 'I was seized with amazement (= taken aback)' (Ig 1962.70); ... kára-ra kánozyo-ra wa rázio(−) ni kokóró [o] ubawárete ... 'the boys and girls have their hearts stolen by the radio' (SA 2654.132b). In formal written Japanese, according to LF 61, an inanimate agent is often marked by ni yori, an animate agent by ni óite(−) or—with exaltation—ni okareté, ni okaserarete. And ni óite(−) is sometimes given a literary spelling ni ókite; the infinitive ni oki can substitute (despite remarks to the contrary in LF), cf. §9.7. Lewin 151 says the
4.2 Passives

Passive with an inanimate agent is a modern development due to English influence.

Under the potential passive, it is optional whether we continue an underlying object as object (marked with 0) or change it to direct subject (marked with 1), the underlying agent being made the indirect subject (marked with ni or ga). Either choice is grammatical, but speakers prefer to treat quasi-intransitives in the former way—retaining the place as direct object; they prefer to treat transitives the latter way—shifting the underlying object to direct subject:

- Dāre ga nāni o tabēru 'Who eats what?' →
  - Dāre ni/ga nāni ga tabērēru
  - Dāre ni/ga nāni o tabērēru
  'Who can eat what?'

- Dāre ga dōko toōoru 'Who passes where?' →
  - Dāre ni/ga dōko ga toorārēru
  - Dāre ni/ga dōko o toorārēru
  'Who can pass where?'

Alfonso 918 says that verbs of motion "normally" retain their objects when they are made potential: uti o derarēnai 'cannot leave the house', miti o toorēnai 'cannot pass the street', miti o watarenākatta 'could not cross the road', etc. Examples like the last, however, can have the traversal object subjectified: miti ga/o watarenai 'cannot cross the road'. But subjectification is not permitted when the 1-marked object is an alternative to an inherent ablative: uti o/kara derēnai 'cannot leave the house' will not convert to *uti ga derēnai.

Alfonso 922-3 observes that the direct subjects of potentials made from intransitives must be self-propelling: Kodomo/Kuruma ga nāka ni hairēnai 'The child/car can't get inside' is quite acceptable, but *Hōn ga nāka ni hairēnai 'The book can't get inside' is replaced by the non-potential form Hōn ga nāka ni hairānai 'The book won't go inside'.

All potential passives treat the underlying agent as an indirect subject (marked by ni or 1): A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' becomes A ni/ga B (o/1) yobarēru 'A can call B' and A ga kūru 'A comes' becomes A ni/ga korarēru 'A can come'. In this respect the potential passives (and the short potentials of §4.4) are like the possessive āru 'has' and the quasi-possessive wakāru 'understands' and ir-u 'needs' as well as the derived potentials dekīru 'can do' (≠ sāreru), mirēru 'can see' (≠ mirarēru/mirēru), and kikōeru 'can hear' (≠ kikarēru/kikeru)—see §3.5.

Apparently in the potential meaning sāreru is obligatorily replaced by dekīru (for a possible exception, see p. 302), sāreru being used only for the other meanings of the passive; but (VN) saserareru has the potential meaning (run on the causative) as well as the others. And the pseudo-literary sāreru is perhaps sometimes intended as a potential: soozoo serareru 'can imagine' (Y 131), sotugyoo seraretā '(you all) were able to graduate' (Y 134—thought to overlap with the subject-exalting use of the passive). Since dekīru is limited to use with FREE verbal nouns, most monomorphemic Chinese verbal nouns are forced to

10. Cf. Alfonso 918: "a sentence like: Sono hon O yomemasu is not uncommon. This practice is not yet, however, accepted as Standard Language": See the discussion of o-marking with wakarú and dekīru, p. 196. Three examples from Meiji literature are cited in K 1966.122.

11. But the formulas are misleading: A ga B o/ga yobarēru is all right, as is A ni B ga yobarēru, but *A ni B o yobarēru is perhaps to be rejected. And, according to Kuroda, *A ni korarēru (or *A ni yobarēru with ellipsis of the underlying object) is obligatorily replaced by A ga korarēru (A ga yobarēru). Will these several rejections hold if focus is applied to the various adjuncts—e.g. (?)Kāre ni mo sakana o taberēnāi 'He can't eat fish, either?'
use -serareru/-sirareru (or -zerareru/-zirareru) for all meanings of the passive; see p. 289.

On the passive as a subject-exalting verb, see §6.2. Passives in all uses (including even subject-exaltation according to Tsujimura 189) do not commonly form imperatives (§16—nor, presumably, other ways of expressing commands) or hortatives as such (§12.2), but the non-potential passive will occasionally turn up (see the hortative examples in §12.2). In this respect the passive is similar to the verb áru itself and to the -te áru conversion of §9.2.4.(2). Kazama 214-5 notes that, like áru, sonzai suru ‘exists’ has no passives, rejecting some authentic examples as ungrammatical.

Alfonso (946 etc.) rejects the notion of an “adversative” passive; he suggests that what is often involved is simply an emotional AFFECT, which may be good or bad. The example is offered of Atuí kara sóto ni dète kaze ni hukâretu kimásu ‘It’s hot so I’ll go outside and get some breeze’. Some other examples have been suggested as situations where the emotional affect would not be taken as adversative: A ga N o yurusarérú ‘A is forgiven N’; kotaarérú (hen-zírarérú) ‘gets answered’; senséi ni kodomo o hømerarérú ‘has one’s child praised by the teacher’, etc. These examples involve verbs with basic meanings that would seem to exclude the adversative affect: praise is something that is not usually thought to do one harm. However, for the adversative interpretation, cf. Howard 1959.

The sentence Ítu datta ka, watasi wa deñosya(−) no naka de seinen kara sekû de wa nai ni o yuuzureta kotô ga áta ‘Once in a train I had been given a seat by a young man’ (SA 2663.35a) would strike us at first to be non-adversative in affect, but then reading on we find, a few sentences later: Watasi wa sono toki(1), iïsakka yuu’ütu de áta ‘I was a bit depressed on that occasion’ —because the handicapped would rather have their handicap ignored by strangers, and the author of the reminiscence is a polio cripple.

The verb ‘knows’ would seem to have the possibility of either beneficial or adversative affect, yet it lacks any adversative connotation in this example: Tokusyoku to itte mo, tyóysya ga sakkâ(−) to site na o sirareta hitô de da to iu kotô de wa nai ni ‘By special feature I do not mean that the author has his name known as a writer’ (SA 2671.99a). And a number of other examples of passives that carry direct objects are apparently not adversative: Huyû(1) no yôru, simizimî to, Tyóottayo-san kara a zi no áru hanasi o kikasareta ‘One winter evening I was quietly treated by Madam Butterfly to a delightful talk’ (SA 2657.44); Ít’iya, kâre-ra husai ni yuusyuku o syóotai sarete, hisasi-buri ni Nihó-nyoku o tanosinda ‘One night [in Moscow] we got invited to dinner by that couple and enjoyed the first Japanese food we’d had for a while’ (SA 2656.62c); Watási-táti tooyakyu sita hî ni sono kotô o osíreretâ no de, sassoku(1) yakuwárí(−) o kimeru kotô ni sita ‘Being informed of that fact [that we were being put up in a VIP hunting lodge] on the day we arrived, we decided our roles at once’ (SA 2664.81a); Sigoto de sankagetü-kan, Sanhuranisisu-syúuttýoyo o mei-zeraremásite né ... ‘I was sent on a San Francisco business trip for three months, and ...’ (SA 2660.124); Atarasî omótya o atæreretà kodomo no yô da ga, ... ‘He is like a child who has been given a new toy, and ...’ (SA 2677.52c); Áru syókubái(−) no kenko-hokën-kúmiumai de, zadán-kai no sikaia o tanomáretá ‘I was asked to chair a round-table discussion at a health insurance group in a certain plant’ (SA 2645.103a).

The following examples could be taken as the pure passive: Kono o-kási wa sake-nómî ni mo yorokobarérú ‘This sweet is enjoyed by drinkers, too’; Dâre ni(1) de mo sukärérú (konómárérú) hitô da ‘He is a person liked by one and all’; Omae ni soo iwareru to hontoo ni uresi yô ‘I am truly pleased to be so spoken of by you’ (Y 111); Atasi d’ätte ai-sare-tái...
4.3. Passivized causatives

wa, kawaigarare-tai no ‘I too want to be loved, I want to be cared for’ (Y 111); Minná ni syóobi sareru ‘He gets praised by everyone’; Yóku benkyoo sitá kara senséi ni homeráreta ‘I got praised by the teacher because I had studied hard’. But there are also examples of beneficial affect where the passive can not be treated as “pure” because the verb is intransitive: Nagái aido byooki ni nayände ita ání ni sinarete watasi wa hôt-to(‘) sita ‘I was relieved to have my brother, long suffering with illness, pass away’; Watasi wa hàá ni yorokobárete uresikatta ‘I rejoiced to have my mother happy’. Cf. Yoshida’s statement that the affective passive of an intransitive verb must be adverseeative (Y 112-3).

We might do well to label the unusual Japanese passive AFFECTIVE rather than adversative. Other terms suggested are “PSYCHOLOGICAL passive” and passive of “INTEREST” (= “benefit or harm”, Y 111). But the affect is so often adversative. And adverse affect is quite common with the pure passive, too: Mata yarareta ‘I’ve been had again’.

In long sentences when the verb is well removed from the subject, the speaker (or writer) sometimes forgets an intended passivization and produces a sentence that is, strictly speaking, ungrammatical. Cf. MJW 1.124: Sono tamé-dai-búbun ga nooritu no agaranai genși-teki na hoohoo de saitan site [= sarete] irú no de sono syuttán-ryoo wa óoku nai ‘That is why most of the coal is mined by inefficient and primitive means, with the result that the coal output is not great’. Such sentences might be regarded as blends—here of dai-búbun o [hito ga] saitan site with dai-búbun ga [hito ni] saitan sarete ...

4.3. PASSIVIZED CAUSATIVES

Each kind of passive can be built on a causative, though the action sometimes gets a bit difficult to follow:

(1) The pure passivized causative treats the underlying agent as the instigated (by the causativization) and then reverses its marking with that of the instigator under the passivization:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A ga kúrú ‘A comes’} & \rightarrow \text{B ga A o kosasérú ‘B gets A to come’} \rightarrow \text{A ga B ni kosas[er]árérú ‘A is made to come by B’}, \\
\text{A ga B o yobu ‘A calls B’} & \rightarrow \text{C ga A ni B o yobaseru ‘C gets A to call B’} \rightarrow \text{A ga C ni B o yobas[er]árérú ‘A is made to call B by C’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(2) The switched pure passivized causative treats the underlying object as the surface subject (ó → gá by the passivization), and marks both the instigator and the instigated with ni:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...} & \rightarrow \text{B ga A ni, C ni yobas[er]árérú ‘B has A made to call him by C’}, \\
\text{This would seem to be a sort of blend of B ga A ni yobaseru ‘B gets called by A’ and A ga C ni (B o) yobas[er]árérú ‘A gets made to call (B) by C’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(3) The adverseeatively passivized causative adds a victim to the happening, and the victim takes the subject marking:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...} & \rightarrow \text{B ga A o kosasérú ‘B gets A to come’} \rightarrow \text{C ga B ni A o kosas[ar]érú ‘C suffers from B’s making A come’}.
\end{align*}
\]

12. Adversative meanings for the passive occur also in other languages: “Benny, ... walked out on by his girl (because of ...)” (The New Yorker 1962/6/23.29a); “I’ve been walked in on three times” (N.Y. Times Magazine 1971/5/9.77b—reference is to an unlocked bathroom).
§4. Voice Conversions

... → C ga A ni B o yobaseru 'C gets A to call B' → D ga C ni, A ni B o yobaseru 'D suffers from A's being made to call B by C'.

(4) In the passive-potentialized causative the instigator becomes the indirect subject (marked with ni or ga):

... → B ga A o kosasérurō 'B gets A to come' → B ni/ga A ga kosasérurō 'A can get B to come'

... → C ga A ni B o yobaseru 'C gets A to call B' → C ni/ga A ni B ga/o yobaseru 'C can get A to call B'.

Inoue 58 gives an example of the latter, with 'me' for the C, 'child' for the A, and 'piano' for the B: Watasi [nǐ] wa piano ga kodomo ni hikasereru 'I can have the child play the piano'; this would be more natural with piano o. Finally, the passive of the causative—as of any passivable verb—can be used as an alternative form of subject exaltation, the exalted being the instigator: Senséi ga gakusei o/ni kosaséreru (= ... o-kosase ni nāta) 'The teacher made the student come'. Senséi ga gakusei o ni kodomo o yobaseru (= ... o-yobase ni nāta) 'The teacher made the student call the child'.

And in written Japanese you may run across the obsolete use of the passive-causative forms for subject exaltation, especially in reference to the Emperor and his family. The passive-causative form may even be applied to the copula (de araserérurō = de irassýaró): ... hokutyō no keitto de araserérurō ... 'is of the lineage of the northern dynasty' (SA 2670.146).

Examples of passivized causatives: Bókutā-tā wa uketuke de yobi-tomarête, sain o saserarete 'We were detained at the reception desk and made to sign our names' (CK 985.378—note the loose conjoining of passive with passive-causative); Watasi wa Tooodai o denakatta bākari ni issyoo nakasarete. Musuko wa isi ni kāziritte mo Tooodai e ... 'I was brought to tears for a lifetime just because I didn't graduate from Tōkyō University.

My son will go to Tōkyō University, whatever it may take ...' (SA 2663.30e); Otona "muki no syoowa ni wa kodomo ni wa kikaserarenai yō na hanasi ga ōoku nari, ...

'Many anecdotes for grownups are hardly such that we can let children listen to them (or: that we can tell them to children)' (Takeda 1970.3); Tyūgakku no tokī tenisū o yattē 'te, kookō-sei no tokī wa oyayi(ז) ga benkyōo si ro si rō tō, supōōu wa yaraserānākatta n desu 'In Junior High I played tennis but when I was a high school student my father said "study, study!" and I wasn't allowed to engage in any sports' (SA 2662.44b). The last sentence would appear to be a counterexample to the claim by Kuno (1973.347) that the passive of a causative sentence always means 'be forced to' and never 'be let to'; perhaps the negative loosens this restriction.

4.4. POTENTIALS

The potential passive can be shortened. Traditional Japanese grammar suggests that such forms are available only for consonant bases: yobareru when it means 'can call' may (or must) be said as yoberu. But many speakers use the same kind of shortening for vowel bases, too: tabéreru for taberareru when it means 'can eat'. There are two conflicting tendencies: One is to use only the short form for ALL potentials, thus formally differentiating them from the passives: hanaséreru 'can speak' ≠ hanasarérurō 'is spoken', tabéreru 'can eat' ≠ taberareru 'is eaten'. The other tendency—common in Osaka and in the north—is to use only the long forms for both the passive and the
potentials: taberareru ‘can eat’ or ‘is eaten’, hanasarérur ‘can speak’ or ‘is spoken’. These tendencies lead in many areas to free variation, or competition, between the forms. Most of the traditional Tókyó speakers favor what amounts to a compromise: they always use the long form for both the passive and the potential of VOWEL bases, so that taberareru is ambiguously ‘gets eaten’ or ‘can eat’,13 they nearly always use the short form for the potential of CONSONANT bases and the long form for the passive, keeping hanasérur ‘can speak’ distinct from hanasarérur ‘gets spoken’, but they will nonetheless often use long forms for the potential of certain consonant verbs such as ikareru instead of ikeru for ‘can go’ and tukurérur for tukurerur ‘can make’.

According to Yoshida (Y 116) use of the full passive of consonant verbs as the unabridged potential is obsolescent in speech and has a written-style flavor harking back to the Meiji period (Y 116). Yoshida (114-6) gives examples from Natsume Sōsēki (ikeru), Shimazaki Tōson (nozomaráru(“)), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (okosi-tákute mo okosaréna), and Mori Ōgai (nararénaı̇ = narána). Yoshida (132) says that though the C-e-ru forms date back to Muromachi times, the V-re-ru forms are “‘new’; he cites examples from Kawabata of korénaı̇, kóre ya sai (n = kórère wa sai) ‘can’t come’, and ikirénaı̇ ‘can’t live’, observing that the short forms are particularly common in the negative, where they are thought to have started (Y 136).

Examples of koréru = koréaru ‘can come’: Yáku gosen-tubu no tamágo(-) no utí(-) de kókyo no kawá ni modótte koréru no wa tatta ip-pikl de aru ‘Of the approximately five thousand eggs, only one fish is able to return to the home river’ (SA 2659.71c); ... yáku goman-en mo áreba dète kóreta sóo da ga ... ‘apparently they were able to get out [of jail] for about fifty thousand yen, but ...’ (SA 2666.99c). And of ikeraru = ikeru ‘can go’: Anó nésa no u e no hadasi de ikeraru món ka ‘How could anyone walk on that burning sand in bare feet?’ (Tk 2.125b); Bóku(-), Amerika e ikare-soo ná nda ‘It appears I will be able to go to America’ (Y 116). More examples will be found in Y 134-5. For dialects with such forms as yome-re-ru ‘can read’ and ie-re-ru ‘can say’, see Y 137.

For ‘can do’ apparently no one says either sareru or *seru; instead, dekíru is used. (Mikami 1963a.12 treats dekíru as the suppletive short potential for suru; but the “long” form sareru is almost never used as a potential.) To be sure, there is a word sérú, but it is the attributive form of the literary perfect séri < si-ári ‘has done’ (§9.6). Although suru does not itself make a potential (using dekíru instead),14 when attached to certain verbal nouns (such as takú-su = taku-suru ‘entrenches’, hú-su = hu-suru ‘commits’) or to certain other elements (ai-su = ai-suru ‘loves’, naku-su = naku-suru ‘loses’), what remains of suru is just the s, which is treated as the final consonant of a consonant base and makes the usual potentials: takus [ar]érur ‘can entrust’, hus [ar]érur ‘can commit’, ais [ar]érur ‘can love’, nakus [ar]eru ‘can lose’, etc.; but the longer forms, which are identical with the passive, will be avoided by those speakers who use only the short potential with consonant bases: Issyoo ni húsenái ‘kágai-sya-išiki’ ‘A “consciousness of being the injured” that can not be lightly laughed off’ (SA 2656.156-heading); Tíisá na monó o aísénái yóó de, òoki na monó o hontoo ni aísérur daroo ka ‘Would one really be able to love a big thing while

13. On the spread of such forms as miréru ‘can see’ (for miraréru) and koréru ‘can come’ (for koraréru), see Nagano 1966.187-8; he implies these forms may soon have to be recognized as part of the standard grammar.
14. But in written-style language you will also find si-úru (negative si-énai), as in sooızoo si-úru = sooızoo dekíru ‘one can imagine’ (KKK 3.243).
apparently unable to love a little thing?' (SA 2664.32c). Notice that in these examples...

But there are some other bound verbal nouns that traditionally do not contract to form new consonant-base verbs, and these apparently make their potentials with -sareru. In the colloquial language syoo-suru 'praises' or 'names' will not shorten to *syó-su (though you may occasionally run across the contracted form, especially under adnominalization: syó-su kóto = syoo-suru kóto) and the potential has to be the same as the passive, so that syoo-saréru means both 'can praise/name' and 'gets praised/named', and there is no *syoo-séru potential. (*Syoo-dekíru is precluded by the fact that syóo- is bound.)

The first group of verbal nouns—the contracting ones—include monomorphemic Chinese borrowings that are of one mora in length or that end in -ku, -ki, -tu, or -ti. The remainder (those ending in long vowel or vowel + i or or n) belong in the second group, provided they are BOUND: āi 'love' apparently goes with the first group because it is not fully bound since you can say ái o suru. (But such forms as *ai-dekíru are not used.)

Bound verbal nouns from monomorphemic Chinese loans (and a few native elements) that voice the auxiliary, such as kan-zíru/-zuru 'feels' and hoo-zíru(‘)/-zíru(‘) 'repays' or 'reports', make both passive and causative with a colloquial -zíraru or a less colloquial (hence more often written) -zeraru: ... zyuugyó-in no tínng [no] zyoosyoo ni oo-zírarénaí(‘) ‘can not adjust it to the rise in the wages of the staff’ (SA 2677.34c). Apparently *-zíraru is never used for the potential; only the full passive form will be accepted.

Another way to express potentiality is to nominalize the sentence (by adnominalizing it to the summational episteme kóto ‘fact’) for use as the direct subject—underlying object—of dekíru: kodomo ga kore o tabéru ‘the child eats this’ can be converted to kodomo ni/ga kore o tabéru kóto ga dekíru ‘the child can eat this’ = kodomo ni/ga kore ga taberáru or kodomo ga kore o taberáru—but kodomo ni kore o taberáru strikes most as awkward, though it is quite possible to have ni (or ga) to mark the possessor of the potentiality in a sentence such as Kodomo ni zí o yómu kóto ga dekíru ‘The child can read characters’. (On retaining the ó-marking of the direct object see Tsujimura 168 and Alfonso 918; above, p. 297.) This construction is discussed in § 14.1.3; note that foreigners tend to overuse dekíru, where Japanese prefer the passive potential or its shortening. Elsewhere I suggest that the use of dekíru as the potential of suru can be regarded as ellipsis: [suru kóto ga] dekíru. That will account for all occurrences, including those which do not involve verbal nouns, e.g.:...


mo kōto-natta tēido(〜) no koogf (-) o hoosoo de kēru kōtō ni nāru ‘It will be so arranged that they can broadcast lectures at different levels even for the same subject’ (SA 2659.109c). Notice that it is possible to say (VN) saseru kōtō ga dekēru ‘can cause’, as well as (VN) ōsuru kōtō ga ǒ dekēru ‘can do’; but *{(VN) sarēru kōtō ga dekēru ‘can have it done (can suffer the doing)’ is rejected. The bound verbal nouns with -ziru (§ 14.3) are similar, as can be seen from this example: Tokubetu na kūnren o surēba, moozin(〜) ni sikisai o kan-zisaseru kōtō ga dekēru ka mo sirenai (= kan-zisasereru kōtō ka mo sirenai) ‘With special training it might be possible to let blind people feel colors’.

A literary expression for potentiality can be made with the infinitive -i + [e]- ‘get’, §9.1.10; in pseudo-literary form this yields -i-e-ru, but in genuine literary form it will be -i-u when predicative and -i-uru when attributive (= adnominalized), though the form -i-e will appear as the infinitive and before the negative: ari-ūru kōtō to ari-ēnai koto ‘the possible and the impossible’.16 The verb ēru freely takes the V-i-uru potential: Tigatta kange-kāta ga ari-emāsu ga ... ‘It is possible to have a different point of view, but ...’;

Sensēi nara tutusimānakute mo yōi to iu kōtō wa, ari-ēnai ‘We can’t have it happen that he who is a teacher allows himself to ignore politeness in his speech’ (Maeda 1962.56). And the V-i-uru form can be used, in writing, to ring a potential on an identificational sentence predicated with the copula dē ēru: ... İndo wa mōhaya bookān-sya de wa ari-ēnai ‘India can no longer be [= remain] an onlooker’ (Ōide 1965.157—with subdued focus); Sono imi de, kono gurūupu wa senryō-ka ni okēru(〜), hitōto no hihan-seiryoku de mo ari-ēta no da ‘In that sense this group was able to even be a force for criticism under the Occupation’ (SA 2658.63a—with highlighting). Accent dictionaries list ari-ūru as tonic, but if the formation is regular the older-generation speakers should have an atomic compound, according to the rules presented in §9.1.10.

You may also find the subjective copula tō ēru in its reduced form tārū, yielding tari-ūru ‘can be’: Dōru ga sekai-tūuka tari-ūru wāke ‘Why (it is that) the dollar can be a world currency’ (SA 2676.44a). Here is an interesting example of a yes-or-no question in which the negative alternate is given with only the auxiliary: ... ēru itibu no hitō no sikoo ni too-zi-ūru ka, ēnai ka to iu dakē no kōtō de, ... ‘just with whether it will be able to hit a certain group of people’s taste or not [be able to] ...’ (Maeda 1961.81). Pleonastic formations V-i-erare- (with the passive-potential made on e-) are used for emphasis by some writers; see Y 128-9.

An older literary form places the infinitive ē (of ē-ru = literary ūru/ū ‘gets’) in front of a verb that is itself either negative or a rhetorical question: ē-iwazu = ii-ēzu ‘unable to say’; Kārē no e iwanu o ... = Kārē ga/no ienai no o ... ‘his inability to say’ (Y 508). Now, in Shikoku—and rather widely in the Kansai area—there is a potential construction that consists of the adverb ūbo < yo’u < yo[k]u ‘nicely = easily’ + verb: Titioya wa itai no kakunin ni ūbo ikan ‘His father is unable to come to identify the body’ (SA 2676.127e—quoting a speaker from Toyonaka). The expression ūbo iwan wa ‘I can’t (rightly) say’ has become a semantically empty cliché now spread widely through the country, including areas that would not normally use this sort of potential (cf. Maeda 1961.114-5). Like the literary construction with ē, the potential ūbo + verb is apparently limited to predicates that are negative or are rhetorical questions, though I lack examples of the latter. Maeda (1961.120)

16. In written Japanese you may come across sare-ūru ‘can be done’, a potentialized passive: ... renraku sare-ūru monō ... ‘can be linked’ (KgKbg 389.55b).

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<table>
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<th>4.4. Potentials</th>
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§4. Voice Conversions

says that in Ōsaka yōō V-(a)n began replacing ᶫV-(a)zu in the 1830's. But I wonder whether the literary € usage itself may not enjoy a false (though venerable) etymology, being perhaps instead an old crasis deriving from yē< yōō< yō(k)u. Although the € has been treated as a prefix by Western grammarians, Meikai kogo jiten lists it as an adverb and gives examples where it precedes adjective negatives with the meaning 'can hardly be said to be' or 'can't (be said to) be'. Analysis of € as an adverb is supported by the fact that it can be followed by focus markers such as mó and yá (= wá); for an 1897 example of € mo iwarezu see Y 508. O'Neill 1968.202 gives examples also of € + kóso, námú, and nán. Writers sometimes use the same Chinese character (TOKU 'get') to write both € 'can' and yōō < yō(k)u (using send-off kana “u”); see Y 508 for an example. (It is unclear whether these periphrastic potentials with yōō + negative verb have exactly the same quasi-possessive grammar as regular potentials or not.)

Maeda (1961.115-6) distinguishes three kinds of negative potential which are often neutralized in the standard language, while being kept apart in certain areas, such as Fukuoka (in northern Kyūshū):

1. It is quite impossible, beyond any ability: C-eraru, V-rareru.
2. It is temporarily hindered or blocked: C-en, V-ren.
3. It is permanently beyond one's ability, it is too much for one: C-i-kiran, V-(i/e)-kiran.

Following Maeda (1961.120) we can illustrate the forms for 'can't eat' as they occur in different parts of Japan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FUKUOKA</th>
<th>ŌSAKA</th>
<th>TŌKYŌ (older)</th>
<th>TŌKYŌ (newer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taberaren</td>
<td>taberarehen</td>
<td>taberarénai</td>
<td>taberénai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taberen</td>
<td>taberarehen</td>
<td>taberarénai</td>
<td>taberénai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tabe-kiran</td>
<td>yoo tabehen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

In southern Kyūshū V-i ga naru is used for a potential, corresponding to V-i-kiru used elsewhere (in Kyūshū?), apparently in the affirmative as well as the negative (Zhs 6.25; Fujiiwara 1969.149). Compare the standard use of narainai to mean 'it won't do' (= ikénai from 'it can't go') in forming one of the expressions of obligation V-(a)nákereba narainai 'must'.

The potential of i- 'stay' is irare-, and some speakers will allow the short form ire- (homonymous with ire- 'put in'). The humble-or-polite equivalent ör- (see §6.3-4) yields the forms orāre- and óre-. The latter is homonymous with óre- 'break it', but only because the Tōkyō dialect is historically aberrant in treating ör-< wór- as tonic when a comparison with other dialects would lead us to expect the verb 'be' to be atomic and thus to contrast with the verb ör-< wór- 'break' whose tonic accentuation is historically legitimate; the verb for 'weave' is historically tonic but the atomic form is also used in Tōkyō: ór-(-).

In the colloquial language those intransitive verbs that do not require human ability for their performance seem to lack all potential constructions; thus we find no forms for áru 'has it', húru 'rain/snow falls', kasumú 'it fogs up', oţíru 'falls', saku 'blooms', kareru 'withers and dies', etc. The possibility of suicide, however, makes sin(ar)eru 'can die' acceptable; and the potential for that verb can be used under more prosaic conditions, as well: Dóó-de [= Dóó-se] mánzoku ni tatami no ué de sineru yáru to wa omowánakatta ga yappári sóo datta ka 'I didn't think he was after all a guy who could be satisfied to die on a mat floor [= in bed], and yet he did, eh' (Kb 96b). And hutoru 'gets fat' is apparently
subject to control, at least for some persons: Tásika ni taisitu-teki ni hutorénaï hitó ga imásu ‘There are definitely people who are constitutionally unable to put on weight’ (SA 2664.106d). The expression wakárú kotó ga dekirú ‘can understand’ is acceptable at least to some speakers—though both *wakarérú and (as potential rather than adversative or subject-exalting) *wakararérú are rejected; perhaps this is due to the “transitive” influence of the Chinese-borrowed verbal noun that functions as a synonym: kore o rikai(−) suru ‘understands this’ can be converted to kore o rikai(−) [suru kotó ga] dekiru ‘can understand this’—with optional but common ellipsis of suru kotó ga (p. 850).

Potential sentences are incompatible with the hortative (−[y]oo, §12.2) or the imperative (−e, §16.1) and synonymous circumlocutions; you cannot say ‘Let’s be able to do it’ or ‘Please be able to do it’, except through roundabout paraphrases such as ‘Let’s try to arrange it so that we are able to do it’ (dekiru yó o ni siyoo).

On applying both exaltation AND the potential, see §6.1, where three possibilities are offered: most common o-V-i ni narérú, less common o-V-e ni nárú, and surprisingly frequent o-V-e ni narérú. For another instance of pleonastic (double) application of the potential, see V-e-te sima-e-ru, end of §9.2.4.(4).

It is unclear whether the present-day short potential has developed from abbreviating the passive-potential, as here suggested, or from shortening the infinitive-with-auxiliary construction -i-(e)-, a tradition that is treated with suspicion by Yoshida; perhaps we can say there has been a convergence. In any event, the forms are to be carefully distinguished from those homonymous intransitives that belong to a transitivity pair as the marked member: urerú means either ‘can sell it’ or ‘it sells’, kirérú means either ‘can cut’ or ‘is sharp’. These intransitives are made by suffixing -e- (perhaps from a proto-Japanese -i + auxiliary á- = ár- ‘be’), so that the forms thus fall together as homonyms with the regular shortening of -are- in its meaning as potential. By contrast, make- is ONLY the potential from mák- and means ‘can sow’, never ‘gets sown’ (= makarérú).

A fairly comprehensive list of the transitive bases that underlie such intransitives (homonymous with the short potentials from the same verbs) contains 30 items:


3. That end in /g/-móg- ‘pluck’, núg- ‘strip off’, sóg- ‘slice off’;

1. That ends in /m/-mom- ‘rub’.

Also to be carefully distinguished are intransitive short potentials that happen to be homonyms of TRANSITIVE verbs which belong to a transitivity pair as the marked member, by virtue of the suffix -e- that goes back to something like -a + auxiliary i- (= [sí]- ‘do(?)) in proto-Japanese. A fairly comprehensive list of such verbs contains 34 items:


11. That end in /k/-ak- ‘open’, dok- ‘remove’, katamúk- ‘incline’, múk-2 ‘face’, nok-

17. Etymologically, also sugúr- ‘select’: sugúre- ‘be superior (i.e. be select)’. 
§4. Voice Conversions


2 that end in /b/- narab- ‘line up’, ukab- ‘float’;
2 that end in /t/- sodat- ‘rear’, tat- ‘stand’;
1 that ends in /r/- ir- (= hair- ) ‘enter’;
1 that ends in /g/- yawarág- ‘soften’.

And, of course, there are other fortuitous convergences: kakérú can be either the potential of kak- (equivalent to kakáréru in the sense ‘can write’) or the transitive verb ‘hang it’ (with its own potential kakeráréru that some will contract to kakerérú ‘can hang it’) which forms a polarized pair with intransitive kakárú ‘it hangs’; makerú is either the potential of mak- (= makáréru ‘can roll it up’) or the intransitive verb ‘gets defeated’ (with its own potential makeráréru that contracts to makerérú ‘can get defeated’), which can be made transitive with the suffix -as- (makasú ‘defeats’, homonymous with the contraction of the causative of mak-, makásérú, which in turn happens to be a homonym of the potential of makás-, equivalent to makáséréru in the sense ‘can defeat’). And in a written context you must be prepared to find that kakérú may be the attributive (= adnominalized) form of the literary perfect kakéri = kai téró ‘has written’ or = kai téru ‘is lacking’; the literary perfect of mak- ‘roll it up’ as well as of mak- ‘sow, scatter’ will be tonic makérú/ makéri = maité iró ‘has rolled it up’ or = máité iró ‘has sowed (scattered)’ but that will not be apparent in writing. The literary perfect is normally made only on consonant bases and on si- ‘do’, for which the forms are séri and sérú, so there are no legitimate forms for kakérú or makerú (though you may run across kakéri/kakérú and makérí/makérú used illegitimately, cf. Henderson 248). But makásérú ‘has defeated’ is possible, and only accent will differentiate the attributive makásérú from makaserú which is either the potential of makás- or the causative of mak-.

Some potentials have developed special meanings in addition to the expected ones; we might wish to treat the special meaning as a separate intransitive verb derived from the potential. Among these verbs are mirérú ‘is worth seeing, is seeable, is enjoyable to see’, kikerú ‘is worth hearing, is listenable, is enjoyable to hear’, and nomérú ‘is worth drinking, is drinkable, is enjoyable to drink’. (Apparently tabéréru is little used in this way, though kuéró ‘is worth eating, is eatable, is good to eat’ is common.) A sentence such as Sono sibái wa miréró ka has two meanings: ‘Can that play be seen?’ (= Sono sibái o mirú kóto ga dekíró ka) and ‘Is that play any good?’ (= Sono sibái wa omosirói ká); cf. Morishige 127. On miréró = miráréru ‘can see’ as a thriving innovation in postwar Tokyó, see Maeda 1961.116-8; an example: Koo iu supékutárú ku wa Ameriká-éjá de náj ti mirénái ‘Such a spectacle can only be seen in an American film’ (SA 2678.114b).

Just as both kikeru and kikarérú mean ‘can hear’ but only kikarérú means ‘is heard’ or ‘gets listened to’, both mirérú and miráréru mean ‘can see’ but only miráréru means ‘is seen’ or ‘gets looked at’: Watasi, kango-hú de aru kótó ga wakáte, sáió mé de miráréru kótó ga yóku arímású ‘On being discovered to be a nurse, I often get looked at with “the white of the eye” (= disapproval )’ (SA 2679.81b); ... “senmon-ka” no hatugen ga kikarérú ga ... ‘declarations by “specialists” are listened to, but ... ’ (SA 2664.93b).

We can compare, from the potential of iku ‘goes’, ikerú ‘tastes good = is delicious (oisii)’
§4.5. Intransitives derived from passives

and ikenai ‘is no good (damē); is bad (warūi)’. From motēru ‘can be had by’ comes the meaning ‘is popular with’ as in onnā ni motēru ‘is attractive to women’.

The predicate ge-sēnai ‘cannot understand’ (with the same meaning and syntax as wakarānai) is derived from the negative potential of *gé-sū ‘understands’, a one-mora verbal noun of Chinese origin now hardly used except in the negative potential, though ge-si-gatai ‘is hard to understand’ appears to be acceptable. The typical usage is found in Bōku(−) ni wa ge-sēnai nē ‘I can’t understand it’ (Fn 443a). A rhetorical question is not permitted: *ge-sēru mon ka. And *ge-sānai is not used; the one example of ge-sinai I have found may be a mistake for gesēnai: ... yūumoa o ge-sinai otokō da nā ‘He is a man who doesn’t appreciate humor’ (Tk 3.--). Also found: ge-si-kaneru (Agawa 1.227a).

4.4a. SPONTANEOUS POTENTIALS AND PASSIVES

Alfonso 952 discusses “what the Japanese grammarians call the NATURAL POTENTIAL” that is used when something happens involuntarily or naturally, giving such examples as Nāni ka kāite uti(−) ni ē ga kākete iru ‘While I am doodling a picture happens to result’ and ... nakete ika ‘tears welled up’. This category, which I will call the SPONTANEOUS POTENTIAL, may account for a double use of dekīru both as potential for suru ‘can do’ and as spontaneous ‘gets produced, gets done’—as in komē ga dékita ‘rice was produced’, kutū ga dékita ‘the shoes got done (= made/repaired/readied)’, and kodomo ga dékita ‘had a child’. Other examples of the spontaneous potential: Hanasi o kīte iku uti(−) ni sizen ni waraete ika ‘While listening to the story, I was seized with laughter’; ... honō ni yōo ni omōete ika ‘it began to appear true’.

Kazama 213 refers to “natural passives” and gives as examples: ... to omowareru/iwareru/mirareru ‘it is thought/said/seen that ...’,18 okonawareru ‘it happens’, zikkō sareru ‘it goes into effect’, kaisai sareru ‘a meeting is held’. It is with this category of SPONTANEOUS PASSIVES, as I will call them, that some of Alfonso’s examples properly belong: soozoo sareru ‘it can well be imagined’, kangaerareru ‘one can be led to think’, omoi-yarareru ‘the thought keeps coming to mind’, sikēn ga omoi-yarareru ‘a test is on one’s mind’. An example: ... ni kiwāmete zyuuyoo na imi-āi(−) ga kan-zirareru ‘An extremely important significance makes itself felt in ...’ (SA 2670.104c). The spontaneous passive, in contrast with the spontaneous potential, would appear to be limited to verbs referring to psychological states (cf. Y 118). It is questionable whether verbal nouns are ever used with the spontaneous potential (soozoo dekīru) instead of the spontaneous passive (soozoo sareru).

Yoshida calls our attention to a number of examples on the borderline between pure and spontaneous passive, between pure and subject-exalting passive, and between pure and potential passive; a given example can often be interpreted in two ways (Y 121).

4.5. INTRANSITIVES DERIVED FROM PASSIVES

Some sentences contain a form that looks like a passive but turns out to have a grammar of its own, so that we must list the verb as a separate lexical item, an intransitive

18. But these can sometimes also be taken as potentials; omowarēnai at times is an equivalent of omoenai ‘can’t think/feel’ (for an example see Y 118).
derived from a passive. It would be possible to attribute the sentence Onnā ni kodomo ga umareta ‘A child was born to the woman’ to the passivization of an underlying Onnā ga kodomo o unda ‘The woman bore a child’, but a similar explanation is impossible for Otokō ni kodomo ga umareta ‘A child was born to the man = He became the father of a child’ or Kodomo ni otootō ga umareta ‘The child had a little brother born to him’. Similar verbs are (monō ni) megumareru ‘is blessed (with things)’ and (sake ni) nomareru ‘gets drunk (on liquor)’. The actual practice of dictionaries is somewhat erratic: many regular passives and causatives are needlessly listed, but some of the intransitives derived from passives may not appear as separate entries.

For the examples given here it is not possible to make a new passive, nor a causative *kodomo ni otootō o umareaseru ‘causes a child to have a little brother born to him’. But (kabe ni) motareru ‘leans (on a wall)’ from the passive of mótu ‘holds’ can apparently take the causative (hito o kabe ni motareseru ‘lets people lean on the wall’) and the adversative passive (hito ni kabe o motareraréru ‘suffers from having people lean on one’s wall’), so that these restrictions may be verb-specific.

Perhaps the following belong here: kemuri ni makareru ‘is wrapped in smoke’, sigoto ni owareru ‘is pressed by work’ (but cf. sigoto ni o-i makurareru ‘is relentlessly driven by work’, §9.1.10), ... In heitai ni torareru ‘gets taken (= drafted) as a soldier’, the passive is functioning as a MUTATIVE verb (§9.1.10) but still retains its passive grammar as well, since you can retain the agent: Pétágon ni heitai ni torarérú ‘gets drafted as a soldier by the Pentagon’.

4.6. TRANSITIVITY SETS

A good many verbs in Japanese appear in shape-related pairs that show PAIRED TRANSITIVITY. One of the verbs is intransitive or quasi-intransitive and the other represents a corresponding transitive meaning. Okutsu 1967 points out that we must take account of three kinds of derivation to explain such sets:

1. Transitivization, in which an underlying intransitive verb (such as kawā- ‘get dry’) is converted into a transitive verb (kawākas- ‘dry it’) by the addition of a suffix, here -as-

2. Intransitivization, in which an underlying transitive verb (such as hasam- ‘interpose’) is converted into an intransitive (hasamār- ‘is interposed’) by the addition of a suffix, here -ar-

3. Polarization, in which both transitive and intransitive are to be derived from some hypothetical basic form: e.g. naór- ‘get improved’ and nóas- ‘improve it’ seem to be derived, by the suffixes -(a)s- and -(a)r- respectively, from a nonexistent verb *náo- (etymologically to be found in the adverb náo ‘yet, rather’).

Similar to the polarized pairs are verbs with AMBIGUOUS TRANSITIVITY: the same shape represents both transitive and intransitive: húku ‘(the wind) blows; blows (a whistle)’, hirāku ‘(the earth, a flower, one’s “eyes”) open; opens it’, haru ‘it stretches; stretches it’, masu ‘it increases; increases it’, ?yosér ‘it approaches; brings it near’, ?akeru ‘it opens (dawns, ends) opens it’. For some of these verbs it seems that the basic grammar calls for one kind of transitivitiy, the other being a metaphorical extension, often limited to a few objects or subjects. In modern Japanese the originally intransitive verbs owaru and simau are also used transitively, meaning both ‘it ends’ and (= oeru)
§4.6. Transitivity sets

'ends it'; but sūmu is always intransitive 'it ends', paired with transitive sumāsu 'ends it'. There are also verbal nouns that can be used either transitively or intransitively, e.g. syōkyō 'eliminating' or 'being eliminated', zenmetu 'annihilating' or 'being annihilated', ... . Cf. also yama ni noboru 'climbs on the mountain' ≠ yama o noboru 'climbs the mountain'. (For a long list of ambivalent verbal nouns, see KKK 43.705-6.)

And some verbs, of course, occur as UNPAIRED transitives or intransitives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuru 'comes'</td>
<td>(motte/turete kuru 'brings')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iku 'goes'</td>
<td>(motte/turete iku 'takes')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaseru 'gets thin'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oiru 'gets old'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saku 'blooms'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iru/aru 'exists'</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>útu 'hits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>kuu 'eats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>kir-u 'cuts' (cf. kiréru 'can cut = is sharp', §4.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>kér-u 'kicks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>kokoromíru 'tries'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>nagéru 'throws'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>nagūru 'pummels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>kanérú 'combines'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitivity pairing differs from the passive and causative conversions in two ways:

(1) The derivation is not productive. Virtually any sentence can be turned into passive or causative quite regularly, but you have to know the transitivity pair as lexical items, and the semantic relationship between the two verbs is sometimes complex. (2) The shape relationship requires a number of special rules to explain. Okutsu has restated Bloch's list of suffixes in a revealing way, so that the transitivizing suffix is regularly -(a)s- with a few cases of -(a)se- and the intransitivizing suffix is regularly -(a)r- with a few cases of -(a)re-.

The other pairs (tātu 'it stands': tatéru 'stands it up'; ureru 'it sells': uru 'sells it'; nieru 'it boils': nirú 'boils it') he explains as etymologically similar to the ambivalent verbs, with the differentiation into vowel and consonant conjugations used both ways to mark transitivity. If the original meaning of the verb was transitive in nature ('sells', 'boils') a vowel-verb derivative was created to mark the intransitive; if the original meaning was intransitive in nature ('stands') a vowel-verb derivative was created to mark the transitive. I propose a different hypothesis for the historical development: For the derived intransitives, quite a few in number, the -e- suffix comes from the infinitive -i+ an auxiliary á- (probably to be equated with ár- 'be'); but the -e- of the derived transitives is a crasis of the same two vowels in reverse order and represents the subjunctive ending -a+ an auxiliary i- (perhaps a variant of [s]i- 'do').

19. I am aware that both kinds of -e- are assumed to be the same vowel in Old Japanese, which made a distinction between two kinds of /e/ after certain of the consonants. My proposal would place the derivation at an earlier stage, with analogical neutralization of the vowel distinction by the time of Old Japanese. Another theory posits a single suffix -i- (earlier *-gi-) which reverses the transitivity of the base.
A number of larger sets can be found. For example, yasumū ’rests’ (basically intransitive, but transitive in the sense ‘rests from’, e.g. gakkō o yasumū ’skips school’) underlies the polarized pair (kokōrō o) yasumēru ‘puts (one’s heart) at rest’ and (kokōrō ga) yasumāru ‘(one’s heart) is put at rest’. Similar are tubomu (= tubomaru) : tubomeru ‘puckers shut’ and yamu (= yamaru) : yameru ‘stops’: ... “yame-nasāi” tte iwaret’āte yamaranai nā ‘... though told “Give it [= drinking] up” there’s no giving of it up, you see’ (Tk 4.317a).

And some etymological connection no doubt links the polarized pair kaes- ‘return it’: kaer- ‘come back’ with the similar pairs kae- ‘change it’: kawar-1 ‘be changed’ and kawar-2 ‘be substituted’.

There are also pairs of verbs which have a parasyntactic relationship similar to, but differing from, the transitive-intransitive relationship; both verbs are transitive but the direction of action is reversed (cf. Ig 15):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUT-GOING</th>
<th>IN-COMING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shape-related:</td>
<td>Shape-related:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasu ‘lends’</td>
<td>kariru ‘borrows’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osieru ‘instructs; teaches it’</td>
<td>osowaru ‘learns it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azukérō ‘puts in custody’</td>
<td>azukāru ‘takes in custody’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated:</td>
<td>Unrelated:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uru ‘sells’</td>
<td>kau ‘buys’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atαιru ‘gives’</td>
<td>ukēru ‘receives’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cf:</td>
<td>Cf:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarui1/ageru ‘gives’</td>
<td>morau ‘receives’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kureru/kudasāru ‘gives us’</td>
<td>(§ 6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarui2 ‘sends someone (to you, there, then)’</td>
<td>yokōsu ‘sends someone (to us, here, now)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iku ‘goes/comes (to you, there, then)’</td>
<td>kūru ‘comes (to us, here, now)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Okutsu treats pairs such as osieru : osowaru and azukérō : azukāru as representing “double-transitive verbs”. Thus Sensēi ga Nihon-go o osieru ‘The teacher teaches Japanese’ and Sensēi ga gakusei o osieru ‘The teacher teaches the student’ are both possible, though ‘The teacher teaches the student Japanese’ will mark the student as indirect object: Sensēi ga gakusei ni Nihon-go o osieru. The “in-coming” versions, the result of “double-transitive intransitivization” according to Okutsu, take either ni or kara to mark the agent, as the beneficiary becomes the subject: Gakusei ga sensē ni/kara Nihongo o osowaru ‘The student is taught Japanese by the teacher’. Notice that morau ‘receives’ functions in the same way with respect to verbs of giving. Another way of stating this is to say that when the beneficiary is subjectified, the agent is marked with either ni or kara; and some verbs (e.g. osieru) permit the beneficiary to take the ő-marking of the direct object provided the underlying direct object is not mentioned.

Alfonso 935 claims “Whenever a given word has two forms, TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE, only the TRANSITIVE form is inflected into the passive” and says the following are “not used”: kimarareru, kirareru, matomarareru, kowarareru, nagarareru,

20. Corresponding to the transitive morāsu ‘leaks it’ there are two versions of the intransitive: mōru and morēru ‘it leaks’. Some speakers apparently keep the two separate but the details are unclear. In origin the pair are, like karu : kariru ‘borrows’ and taru : tariru ‘suffices’, divergent dialect developments; see §13.9.
etc. But I believe these forms can be used as adverasive passives; that is the most we can expect of them, since the meanings will preclude the subject-exalting use and the involuntary nature of the verbs will generally preclude the potential. Alfonso 936 says iru, sinu, hiru, etc. "can never be used in the passive"; as stated this is not quite true, since the adverasive passive is possible, but his examples on 946 illustrate that he meant to refer only to the pure passive.

When a transitive verb lacks a corresponding intransitive verb, sometimes the passive can be pressed into service instead. But Alfonso 943 cautions us not to use the passive for an intransitive when a separate form is available unless we want to imply an agent or source; he gives these examples:

**TRANSLATIVE** Ringo o toru 'Someone takes the apple(s)'.
**INTRANSITIVE** Ringo ga torérû 'Apples are produced'—the only implication is a location.

**PURE PASSIVE** Ringo ga torarérû 'The apples are picked [by someone]'.
**AFFECTIONAL PASSIVE** Ringo o torarérû 'Someone has his apple(s) taken [by someone]'—an agent or source and an affected are implied.

Alfonso treats dekiru as the intransitive verb corresponding to suru, as well as considering it a potential. But notice that dekiru will not substitute for sureru, any more than sureru will substitute for dekiru, and the meaning is rather different from that of suru. Thus Syokuzi ga dekita 'Dinner is ready' corresponds to Syokuzi o tuku tta (or kosi reta or zyunbi sita) 'I've prepared dinner' rather than to Syokuzi o sita 'I've had dinner'. As an intransitive verb, dekiru has a number of meanings, the most prominent being 'is produced; gets born; (a disease) breaks out; is proficient; achieves (intimacy)', and each of these can be said with some other, more specific, verb. (Etymologically dekiru includes the same elements as dete kuru 'comes out'; the common meaning would appear to be something like "it outs = emerges [as/that]".)

### 4.7. Derived Passive-Potentials

For the verbs kiku 'hears' and miru 'sees' you will find the regularly formed passive-potentials; in addition, there are derived forms: kikoe ru 'gets heard; can be heard' is used as well as kikeru 'can hear' and kikeru 'gets heard'; mirou 'gets seen; can be seen' is heard as well as mirarérû 'gets seen', and—for some speakers—mirou 'can see'. But omoérô 'gets thought; can be thought' is simply the short potential abbreviation from omonaru and requires no separate treatment. Miru also means 'appears, shows up' and is used as a euphemism for kuru 'comes'. The meaning 'appears' is also expressed by arawarérû, which forms a transitivity pair with arawasu 'reveals'; these are perhaps ultimately derived from är- 'be', though more immediately they are associated with arawa(−), an adjectival noun meaning 'overt, open, public'.

To say 'With this device you can hear even faint sounds' there are the following possibilities:

21. Since this is a consonant base, we do not expect the potential use of the passive in Tôkyô speech. An example of the pure passive: ... "senmon-ka" no hatu gen ga kikarérû ga ... 'declarations by "specialists" are heard, but ...' (ASA 2664.93b).

22. Watasi ni mirarérû iru koto o isiki suru to, ... 'When they realize they are being looked at by me, ...' (Nagano 1966.69).
Kono kikai o tukaeba, tisai otó de mo

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{kiku kotó ga dekíru.} \\
&\text{kikoeru.} \\
&\text{kikeru.} \\
&\text{kikareru. [non-Tōkyō]}
\end{aligned}
\]

It is not possible to make a passive on miéru, kikoéru, or omoéru; where you might set
out to say "Tumaránai okyakusan ni mieráreta 'I had a dull guest show up' you will have
to rephrase your thought as ... koráreta 'suffered from his coming'.

4.8. DERIVED PSEUDO-CAUSATIVES

Some of the regular causative derivations take on special meanings and then are treated
as separate transitive verbs: sīras[er]u 'informs one of, tells about' (from 'lets one know'),
kokas[er]u 'tells one of' (from 'lets one hear'), awás[ér]u 'joins' (from 'causes them to
meet'), etc. These are listed individually in dictionaries; sometimes they lead to further
derivations, e.g. the colloquial intransitive (sizen ni) té ga awasáru 'one's hands clasped
of their own accord'.

These verbs will form a negative with -sanai. But some speakers will reject *nemurasanai
in favor of nemurasenai; for them nemurasu is simply a contraction of nemuruseru 'puts
to sleep; murders'—most causatives having such a contraction.

The transitive verbs misérù 'shows' and kiserè 'clothes (another)' are old causatives
'causes to see' (= misasérù) and 'causes to wear' (= kiserù), but they are somewhat
specialized in meaning and they can underlie causative forms of their own: misasérù
'causes someone to show (it to someone else)' and kiserù 'causes someone to clothe
(someone with a garment)'. Because of the extra adjunct role they introduce, the last two
forms refer to a double causation, as shown in the skewing table of § 4.9. (Those speakers
who hesitate to accept misasérù and kiserù will probably feel comfortable with
tobasésérù from tobasu 'lets it fly', cf. tobaseru 'causes it to fly' from tobu.)

4.9. SEMANTIC SKewing

A number of verb pairs show the semantic relationships of transitive vs. intransitive but
lack resemblance in shape; the most obvious example is sinu 'dies': korosu 'kills'. Since it
is possible to 'kill' any noun that can 'die', the selectional restrictions for the object in the
one case correspond to those for the subject in the other. Another such pair is náru 'be-
comes' and surù 'makes it into' (§9.1.11); the shape-related násu 'makes' (little used in
the spoken language, which substitutes tukúru or other synonyms) is a transitive verb and
underlies an old passivization from which comes nasárù, the subject-exalting form of surú
(§6.4). At first glance the pair irérù 'puts it in' and háir-u 'enters' would seem to be little
resemblant in shape, but the intransitive verb was originally a compound that took for its
second member ir-, the literary intransitive verb 'enter' that has been largely specialized to
the meaning 'need' in the modern colloquial.

The semantic relationship between transitive and intransitive is similar to that between
the causative and the pure passive, except that between the latter pair there always stands
a "neutral" form—the underlying transitive. (But causatives made on intransitives will lack
a corresponding pure passive.) We seem to end up with a conflation of categories as a
result of the development of the pure passive on the one hand and of the transitivit y pairs
on the other. Let us think of three core situations, which I will call INERT, DYNAMIC, and CAUSAL. Peripheral to this core we will find on one side the ADVERSATIVE and on the other side a rare case of DOUBLE-CAUSAL. The verb forms are skewed in their sharing of such a matrix according to whether they are, in a loose sense, "active" or "static" (not to be confused with "stative", §3.12) and according to their transitivity. Thus we find at least the following situations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VI-static (unpaired):</th>
<th>X ga</th>
<th>i- 'stay', ...; (P o) hasi r- 'run', aruk- 'walk', ...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI-static paired with</td>
<td>A ga</td>
<td>ne- 'sleep': nekas- 'put to sleep', ...; sin- 'die': koros- 'kill', ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT-active</td>
<td>X ga</td>
<td>nokôr- 'remain': nokós- 'leave', otîr- 'fall': otós- 'drop', ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT-active (unpaired):</td>
<td>A ga</td>
<td>yob- 'call', nagûr- 'hit', sawar- 'feel', kik- 'taste to see', 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT-static paired with</td>
<td>X o : X ga</td>
<td>mi-1 'see': mie- 'get seen', kik-1 'hear': kikóe- 'get heard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI-active:</td>
<td>X o</td>
<td>omôw- 'think', kanzi- 'feel', kag- 'smell', mi-2 'look at', kik-2 'listen to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The middle column is merely suggestive. In general where X appears A can also appear—what can happen to things can usually happen to people, too, given the right (or wrong) circumstances; but where A appears it would require personification for X—to be acceptable—it takes a poet to put a tree to sleep.

There follows a skewing matrix, to be interpreted in either of two ways: (1) VI-static sentences lack an adjunct "A". (2) VI-static sentences lack the category DYNAMIC—and "C" (since C is promoted to B, and B to A); but, then, shouldn't we promote CAUSAL to DOUBLE-CAUSAL?

The translations are not exhaustive. And the matrix does not show the passivized causative, since it can be predicted from the forms given.

Another verb like miru is sir-u. Sir-u₁ 'knows' is dynamic and has the inert form sireru₁ 'is known', the adversative passive sirareru₁ 'suffers from someone knowing', and the causal siraseru₁ 'informs' which makes a morphological causative that constitutes a double-causal: sirasaseru 'lets someone inform (someone else)'. Sir-u₂ 'finds out', on the other hand, uses the morphological passive both for its adversative form (sirareru₂ 'suffers from someone finding out') and its inert form (sirareru₃ 'gets found out'); the causal coincides as siraseru₂ 'lets someone find out' but does not permit a double-causal.

There are a number of gaps in the expression of semantic fields; for example, kag- 'smell' is unlike 'see/look' and 'hear/listen' in being only VT-ac and lacking a simple matching partner.

23. O-sake, azi, ... o ~.
### VERB SKEWING MATRIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVERSATIVE PASSIVE</th>
<th>INERT</th>
<th>DYNAMIC</th>
<th>CAUSAL</th>
<th>DOUBLE-CAUSAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **VT-st** | A ga B ni C o mirarérú₁  
'A gets C seen by B' | C ga (B ni) miérú₁  
'C gets seen (by B)' | B ga C o mirú₁  
'B sees C' | A ga B ni C o misérú₁  
'A shows C to B' | D ga A ni B ni C o misesaseru  
'D causes A to show C to B' |
| (*mirarérú) | | | | | |
| **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o mirarérú₂  
'A gets C looked at by B' | C ga B ni mirarérú₂  
'C gets looked at by B' | B ga C o mirú₂  
'B looks at C' | A ga B ni C o misasérú  
'A lets B look at C' | |
| **VT-st** | A ga B ni C o kikarérú₁  
'A gets C heard by B' | C ga (B ni) kikoeru₁  
'C gets heard (by B)' | B ga C o kiku₁  
'B hears C' | A ga B ni C o kikaseru₁  
'A lets B hear C' | |
| (*kikarérú) | | | | | |
| **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o kikarérú₂  
'A gets C listened to by B' | C ga B ni kikarérú₂  
'C gets listened to by B' | B ga C o kiku₂  
'B listens to C' | A ga B ni C o kikaseru₂  
'A lets B listen to C' | |

#### Normal Passive

- **VI-st** | B ga C ni irareru  
'B suffers from C staying' | C ga iru  
'C stays' | | |
- **VI-ac** | B ga C ni hatarakarérú  
'B suffers from C working' | | C ga hataraku  
'C works' | B ga C ni/o hatarakarérú  
'B lets C work' |
- **VI-st** | B ga C ni sinarérú  
'B suffers from C dying' | C ga sinu  
'C dies' | | B ga C o sinaseru  
'B lets C die' |
- **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o korosarérú₁  
'A suffers from B killing C' | C ga B ni korosarérú₁  
'C gets killed by B' | B ga C o korosu  
'B kills C' | A ga B ni C o korosarérú  
'A lets B kill C' |
- **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o yobarérú₁  
'A suffers from B calling C' | C ga (B ni) yobarérú₁  
'C gets called (by B)' | B ga C o yobu  
'B calls C' | A ga B ni C o yobarérú  
'A lets B call C' |
- **VT-st** | A ga B ni C o omowarérú₁  
'A suffers from B thinking of C' | C ga (B ni) omowarérú₁  
'C is thought of (by B)' | B ga C o omóu  
'B thinks of C' | A ga B ni C o omowasérú  
'A lets B think of C' |

### Morphological Passive

- **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o mirarérú  
'A gets C seen by B' | C ga B ni mirarérú  
'C gets seen (by B)' | B ga C o mirú  
'B sees C' | A ga B ni C o misérú  
'A shows C to B' |
- **VT-st** | A ga B ni C o kikarérú  
'A gets C heard by B' | C ga (B ni) kikoeru  
'C gets heard (by B)' | B ga C o kiku  
'B hears C' | A ga B ni C o kikaseru  
'A lets B hear C' |
- **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o kikarérú  
'A gets C listened to by B' | C ga B ni kikarérú  
'C gets listened to by B' | B ga C o kiku  
'B listens to C' | A ga B ni C o kikaseru  
'A lets B listen to C' |

**Neutral**

- **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o mirarérú  
'A gets C seen by B' | C ga B ni mirarérú  
'C gets seen (by B)' | B ga C o mirú  
'B sees C' | A ga B ni C o misérú  
'A shows C to B' |
- **VT-st** | A ga B ni C o kikarérú  
'A gets C heard by B' | C ga (B ni) kikoeru  
'C gets heard (by B)' | B ga C o kiku  
'B hears C' | A ga B ni C o kikaseru  
'A lets B hear C' |
- **VT-ac** | A ga B ni C o kikarérú  
'A gets C listened to by B' | C ga B ni kikarérú  
'C gets listened to by B' | B ga C o kiku  
'B listens to C' | A ga B ni C o kikaseru  
'A lets B listen to C' |
In general, each situation illustrated in the matrix is exemplified by more than one lexical set. Another set like 'die/kill':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADVERSATIVE</th>
<th>INERT</th>
<th>DYNAMIC</th>
<th>CAUSAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI-st</td>
<td>B ga C ni neraru</td>
<td>C ga neru</td>
<td>B ga C o nesaseru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'B suffers from C sleeping'</td>
<td>'C sleeps'</td>
<td>'B lets C sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT-ac</td>
<td>A ga B ni C o nekasareru</td>
<td>C ga B ni nekasareru</td>
<td>B ga C o nekasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'A suffers from B putting C to sleep'</td>
<td>'C is put to sleep by B'</td>
<td>'B puts C to sleep'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 NUCLEAR FOCUS AND RESTRICTION: SPLIT NUCLEI

Although we speak of "splitting" the nucleus to allow the insertion of focus markers and restrictives, that is because we began with the notion of a FINITE simplex sentence. At a more abstract level, the simplex is the INFINITIVE form of the sentence; the finite forms are the result of contractions of infinitive + auxiliary, contractions that are largely obligatory in the colloquial language except when focus or restriction is applied to the nucleus itself. Let us assume, for the moment, that the finite forms are always contracted in both the colloquial and the literary language. (Colloquial exceptions will be found in §5.3; various varieties of the literary language treat the contractions as largely optional.) The finite imperfect forms can be displayed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LITERARY</th>
<th>COLLOQUIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cons. verb</td>
<td>V-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel verb</td>
<td>V-uru KOTO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>A-ki KOTO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>N naru KOTO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Where different, the predicative form is shown with a final period and the attributive with KOTO. The triple dots show the "split" where focus and restrictive elements can be inserted. The literary form N ni ... áru (contracting to N naru when unfocused) represents the objective copula ('it is judged to be N') throughout the history of the language; but N ní-te ári, the ancestor of the modern colloquial predicative form N dé ... áru (contracting to N dá), appears as early as Heian times. The subjective copula N to ... ár- (contracting to N tár-) 'it is felt/sensed/thought to be N', not shown in the chart, appeared sparsely in Heian times and spread during the Kamakura period with the development of the Kambun tradition of reading classical Chinese. (See Satô 1.264-5.)

Without nuclear focus or restriction, the infinitive + auxiliary will normally contract into the various conjugational forms of modern Japanese as shown; but in the written language of the Meiji period and earlier you will often find V-i suru without focus where the modern language would require V-(r)u. Note also the object-exalting conversion with the honorific infinitive as in o-yobi suru 'I will call you'. Moreover, in the modern written style the adjective provisional sometimes appears in an unfocused nuclear split as -ku áreba even though the other forms of -ku ár- are not used without focus or restriction:¹ Zituyoo ni bénri de, míta mé ni utukúsiku áreba yói 'It need be only convenient for use and beautiful to the eye' (Ôno 66.206). In this example, we might interpret the form as an ellipsis of -ku [sae] áreba—perhaps under the influence of the conjoining, which would

¹ There are occasional exceptions: Éiga(-) no baai wa mata gyaku de nê, sémaku áru "békí monó ga hiróku utútyau n desu yô 'With movies it's the opposite again, things that ought to be close are shot wide' (Tk 2.330a).
5.1. Nuclear focus with \( \text{wa} \) and \( \text{mō} \)

then be interpreted as ... běnri de \([\text{saē ōreba}] \) ... utukūsiku \([\text{saē}] \) ōre-eba, with an underlying provisional hidden inside the provisional-marked outer structure.

And, of course, the copula is split even without focus or restriction in the formal written style that characterizes much writing and many public utterances: \( \text{N de āru} \), \( \text{N de arimāsu} \). That is what accounts for the following example (where we would have expected to find ... tāido de saē ōreba, ...): Dēsū kara mondai wa, kanzi to iu monō wa dekiru “dakē sitte ita hō ga yōi to iu tāido \( \text{DE ARI SAE SURÉBA} \), Tooyo-o-kānzi o nān[i]-zi ni surū ka to iu kotō wa samatu na kotō desu ‘Therefore if the question just be an attitude that claims it is better to know as many of these Chinese characters as possible, the matter of deciding which characters are Tōyō Kanji is a trivial matter’ (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.205).

We have seen how focus can be applied to an adjunct in order to subdue it and put it in the background (\( \text{wa} \)) or to highlight it and push it to the foreground (\( \text{mō} \)) ; it is possible to do the same sort of operations to the nucleus itself, by splitting it into its component parts of infinitive + auxiliary and attaching the appropriate marker to the infinitive:

\[
\text{Yōbī wa/ mo suru. Ōokiku wa/ mo āru. Hōn de wa/ mo āru.}
\]

For \( \text{V-ī wa} \) and \( \text{V-ē wa} \) you will also find \( \text{V-ī ya} \) and \( \text{V-ē ya} \); and both (but particularly \( \text{V-ī ya} \)) often contract to \( \text{V-ya[a]} \): Yuugai-syōkūhin to hakkiri wakārya \([\text{= wakāreba}]\), dāre mo kāyā \([\text{= ka i wa}]\) sināi kara ‘For once they discover it is harmful food, nobody’ll buy it’ (SA 2671.26a). Free verbal nouns frequently drop the infinitive si: kenkyuu suru ‘researches’ will yield kenkyuu \( \text{iṣī} \) wa/mo suru. But the ellipsis is optional, and the infinitive often appears, especially when the verbal noun carries a direct object: Dāre mo
§5. Nuclear Focus and Restriction

sono koto o hitei si wa sinai de arou ‘Surely no one will deny that’ (SA 2651.69d); Koosyoukou-bon to iu no wa ryōori no hōn to onaiz da. Yokuboo o sigeki si wa suru ga, kessite ūe wa mitasite kurenai ‘Erotic works are the same as books about cooking. They stimulate desire, all right, but fail to satisfy hunger’ (SA 2685.111d). But the infinitive is not obliged to appear, as we can see from the following example of no VN suru: Naganō-ken Sako soogoo-byōoin kara senmon-isi o maneite, zanryuu-nōoyaku ga zintai ni dōno-yōo na eikyoo o atarēru ka o kumiāi-in ni kooen mo site moratta ‘They invited in a specialist from the Saku general hospital of Nagano Prefecture and had him lecture the guild members on what kind of effects residual pesticides have on the human body’ (SA 2684.63bc).

Mimetic adverbs + suru (§21.7) require that wā or mó be attached directly to the adverb: 1a Tāi-site gakkāri mo sinākatta n desu ‘I wasn’t terribly discouraged’ (SA 2666.44b)—* gakkāri si mo sinākatta ...; ... hantaisei-teki na siten mo hakkiri wa site irú no da ga, ... some [= mó] anti-establishment viewpoints are quite obvious, but ...’ (SA 2685.116b)—* hakkiri si wa site irú ... (It is clear that these are adverbs rather than free verbal nouns because you can not insert ó: *gakkāri o suru.)

In view of the special nature of focus conversions, the expressions are often passed through other operations (for example, they may be made negative) before we see the resulting sentence; or, again, they combine with other elements into larger structures. The subdued nucleus with wā is particularly useful in expressing contrasts of positive with negative; the purpose of the focus is to play up the contrast (‘DID do’ vs. ‘did NOT do’) and that is why the infinitive gets backgrounded. Examples:

V wa Yōmiti o aruite iru toki ni, nani ka déte ki WA si-mai ka to omōtte iru to, mātu-no-ki ga hito ni mietari suru ‘When, walking at night, you wonder whether something is not about to dart out at you, it sometimes turns out to be a pine tree looking like a person’ (Ōno 1966.128); ... aru-hi totuzen ni henkaku ga kanoo na yōo na toki ga ki WA sinai ka ‘Some day won’t there come a time when reform is suddenly possible?’; Nān no syooko mo āri WA sinai ‘There isn’t the least bit of proof’ (SA 2637.103); Kessite Yooroppa ni makē WA sinai ‘It [= American economic power] is in no way inferior to Europe’[s]’ (SA 2664.45c); Densyaa(‘) de ni-zikan to kakāri WA sinai ‘By train it HARDLY takes two hours’ (Kb 34a). Notice that V-i wa (and, less often, V-ē wa) may be contracted to V-ya[a]; kamaya[a] sinai is equivalent to kamāi wa sinai ‘it DOESN’T matter’, from a focusing of kamawanai (or: from a negativization of the focusing of kamāu).

V mo ... yōku Sirius MO sinai hitó ‘people who do not KNOW [or: whom one does not know] very well’ (Ōno 1966.35); irī mo sinai yakkai-mōno(‘) ‘an unwanted nuisance’.

V/N wa Sore mo suitei [si] WA [suru koto ga] dekiru keredo mo, ... ‘That too one CAN assume but ...’ (SA 2650.44b).

V/N mo ... bidoo MO sinai ‘doesn’t move an INCH’; Mī-mūkī MO sinai de (or: seu ni) ... ‘Without even casting a GLANCE ...’; ... gengo o soosaku MO site iru ‘is actually creating a language’ (Y 5).

A wa Tākaku WA āru ga, sina ga yōi ‘It IS expensive, but the quality is good’; Sintāku MO nai no ni sinanakkereba narānai ‘Though we have no desire to die, die we must’ (KKK 25.87b).

A mo Nān to onna-rāsiku MO nai ... sensēi datta ‘She was a teacher who ... was not the least bit feminine-seeming’ (SA 2672.108c).

AN wa Kono hen wa sízuka de WA āru ga, hūben da ‘This area IS quiet, but it’s inconvenient’.

1a. But sāe can be treated either way: hakkiri sae surēba = hakkiri si sāe surēba.
§5.1. Nuclear focus with wa and mó

AN mó ... inú ga suki de MO nái no ni inú o káu hitó ga óóí ... ‘there are lots of people who don’t even like dogs and yet keep them’ (SA 2668.41b).

N wa Nónde míru to sore wa nama-nurúi keredo tášika ni bíru de WA átta ‘Upon drinking it I found it really WAS beer, though lukewarm’ (SA 2669.91a); Tó-ni-kaku insyoo-teki na rasuto-siin de WA átta desu né ‘Anyway, it WAS an impressive last scene, wasn’t it?’ (Tk 2.125b); Kore wa taídán-syuu de WA áru ga, Takeda Táizyyn no búngaku o síru ué ni mi-nogasenai síryoou(\(-\)) to náru daro ‘This is, to be sure, a collection of interviews, but I think it will constitute material that can not be overlooked for the understanding of Taijun Takeda’s literary works’ (SA 2681.101e); [Kono gonén-kan, hákase no “seisan” sitá no wa, san-kágetu “gótó ni dásu zyup-péízi “taráru no syóruí(\(-\))” dákë. Makoto ni yuuyuu táru péesu da.] Móto-mo kono kenkyyuu, supónsa ga séihu de WA áru ‘What the doctor has “produced” during these five years is just a report of under ten pages out every three months. Truly a leisurely pace.’ Of course the sponsor of this research IS the government’ (SA 2661.28d). Notice that dë wa can contract to zya[a]: Soryyaa, omae d’atte moo inmae no onna ZYA aru ga, sore de mó ... ‘Well you yourself ARE a grownup woman, but even so ...’ (Fn). And N zya nái can represent either N de nái (simple negation) or N de mó nái (focused), the latter an equivalent of N zyáa nái; see §8.

N mó Sóó de MO nái desu yó ‘That’s not quite true either’ (SA 2647.24b); Noosângyoo wa watâsí-táti no taisetu na gímu desu ga, íppóó, íti-nen o tuu-zíte tuzuuku tanooí géemu de MO áru n desu yó ‘Agriculture is our grave duty, but on the other hand it is also a pleasant game that goes on through the year, you see’ (SA 2688.40c); Sore wa, kessite zúruku nó. Haží de MO nó ‘That isn’t sly at all. Nor is it shameful’ (SA 2662.32d). The expression wáre ni MO árazu ‘in spite of oneself, involuntarily’ is borrowed from a literary analog of watasi de MO núku ‘not even being me’.

The order of application as shown in Chart 2 makes the voice conversions (passive, causative, etc.), if any, come before the application of nuclear focus (or nuclear restriction); the result is sare WA sinai ‘DOESN’T have it done to one’ rather than *sí wa sarenai, aruke WA sinai ‘CAN’T walk’ rather than *aruki wa *suru kóto ga dekinai: ... sore-hodo moti-ageraráe WA sinákatte desu yó ‘I didn’t get all that much (=didn’t get very much) praise heaped upon me’ (SA 2666.45b); ... kozin-sa to site kangaeráe WA sité mo, ... ‘even if it be regarded as individual variation’ (KKK Ronshú 1.425); Káere ya [= wa] sinái zya nó ‘Can I ever go home again?’ (Kawabata: Saikai 91); ... agameráe MO osoréráe MO sezu, ... ‘[he] is neither revered nor feared ...’; ... zikayó-sya ga ahúreuru yóó na génzai no zyooykovo wa yosoko sare MO sinákatte ‘present-day conditions, overflowing with private cars, were hardly foreseen’ (SA 2652.98a); Sikáshi ikímóno da kara oríi no náka ni ireraráe MO si-máí [= suruí “máí”] sí ... ‘But he’s a living being so we can’t very well put him in a cage ...’ (Ariyoshi 304); Sore wa híihoyo-ka no módé de mo árí, kagákú-sya no mógré de mo árí, syoometú-ka no nógré de mo árú—másité-yá iit-žungéhiyoko no mógré to kagiraráe WA senu ‘That is a quality of the critic, it is a quality of the scientist, it is a quality of the novelist—it is by NO means limited to being a quality of the ordinary literary critic’ (KKK 3.192)—notice the series of three highlighted identifications.

With verbal nouns we find the expected VN saré wa/mó suru, as in the last example above, but we also find VN wa/mó sareru—presumably, in violation of the order of conversion application that we have assumed, to be taken as VN {sí} wa/mó sareru: Sono kóro wa ima no yóó na zyootati ni náru kótó wa, yosoo MO sarenákatta? ‘At that time
you didn’t even imagine that things would come to the sort of situation they are in now?’ (SA 2662.44a).

And the potential of verbal nouns seems to have the form VN wa/mo dekíru = VN [sí] wa/mo [suru koto ga] dekíru as well as the expected VN déki wa/mo suru = VN [suru koto ga] déki wa/mo suru: Sore mo suitei WA déki ru keredo mo, ...

‘That too one CAN assume, but ...’ (SA 2656.44b); Kono toki hodo, akirámé(‘) mo dékizuu, tameiki no déru toki wa nái ‘There is no time like this for sighing with one’s inability to resign oneself’ (SA 2659.33a)—akiráme(‘) is a noun derived from the infinitive akiráme, here used as a free verbal noun.

For a special use of the highlighted infinitive of suru (sí mo) as an equivalent of dé mo (so that dé si mo means dére de mo), see §9.2.2.

Adjectival and conjointly to yield N1 mo N2 mo ‘both N1 and N2’ or, with negative predicate, ‘neither N1 nor N2’; we consider this structure to be a reduction from N1 mo [PREDICATE-reba] N2 mo PREDICATE, with identical predicates.2 Similar uses can be made of highlighted nuclei in pairs (or chains):

VERBAL  Mósi, wá-ga kuni no zinkó o génzai yori heri mo [sinákereba] húe mo sinai yóo ni sítáí nara, húu hu ga is-syóo gai ni ni-ten ití-sán-nin no kodomo o tukuránákereba naránnai ‘If we want to keep our population from either diminishing or growing from [what it is at] the present, [each] couple must produce 2.13 children in their lifetime’ (SA 2640.123b); ... osí mo [sinákereba] osáré mo sinai ití o kizúku made ‘until one builds a position of acknowledged status’ (SA 2649.102c)—the ellipsis is apparently obligatory in order to give the idiomatic meaning (the idiomaticity is here also usually signaled by accent suppression, as shown).

ADJECTIVAL  Kono suuzi wa, betu ni óoku mo [nákereba] sukúnáku mo náku, ...

‘These figures are not particularly large or small, and ...’ (SA 2655.44a); [Sore wa yásuí no desu ka, takái no desu ka?—] Yásuku mo [nákereba] tákaku mo nái desýoo ne ‘[Does that make it cheap, or expensive?—] It seems neither cheap nor expensive, I’d say’ (SA 2685.100d).

NOMINAL  Koko wa Isuraerú-ryoo de mo [nákereba] Arabú-ryoo de mo nái ‘This place is neither Israeli territory nor Arab territory’ (SA 2647.11); Watasi wa kénzi de mo [nákereba] bengó-sí de mo nái. Isya no tatibá kara syóogen site irú no desu ‘I am neither a public prosecutor nor a lawyer; I am testifying from the standpoint of a physician’ (SA 2666.114c); Síma kun no tikágoro kaku monó wa, syooréte dé mo nái, dékí de mo nái, hyooron dé mo [nákereba] zuíhítu dé mo nái to itta yóo na monó ni nátte imášu ‘What Shima is writing lately is something that is not fiction, is not biography, is neither criticism nor essay’ (SA 2835.21a).

Here are examples of the unreduced conjoining: Kusuri wa tukaí-kata “sidái de, dokú ni mo nárba kusuri ni mo nár ‘Depending on how it is used, a drug can turn out to be both poison and medicine’ (SA 2664.33b); Tokoró-ga, Zyóo no mé ni ukánda no wa watasi dé mo nákereba, Ameríka no hahaoa dé mo nárkatta n desu ne ‘But, you see, what floated before Joe’s eyes was neither me nor was it his mother in America’ (SA 2679.39b).

A looser connection can be marked by using gerund or infinitive instead of provisional:

2. O n assuming that what is elipted is the provisional S-reba, see §2.3.2 and §9.3.2. An argument can be made for other conjoinings, as exemplified in the following unreduced example: Zyóookyaku ni hanasi-kaké mo sezu, hanasi-kakéraré mo simásen ‘He [= Mayor Minobe sampling the Tokyo subways] speaks to no passenger, nor does he get spoken to’ (SA 2817.34c). More examples of this type will be found below.
§5.1. Nuclear focus with *wa* and *mō*

Hataraku hitó mo iuzu, asobu hitó mo inai no da ‘There are no people working nor any playing’ (SA 2671.94a–izu is the literary negative infinitive, §8.5). Sēhū ‘gawa wa hōoi o sime mo sezu, yurūme mo sezu, hyōooroo-zeme no genzyoo-izu no hoosin o tōtte ita ‘The government (side) was taking measures to maintain the starvation tactics, neither tightening the siege nor relaxing it’ (SA 2647.86c).

There are three ways to construe the following example, taken from Mikami 1963a.90: Kono zassi wa omosirōku mo āri, tamē ni mo nāri wa sinaï ka? One interpretation would link the first sentence with the second only after the second had undergone nuclear subdual, though the negative question can be taken with the whole and assumed to be rhetorical: ‘Isn’t it true that this magazine is both interesting and DOES prove also of value?’ A second, less likely interpretation would take only the kā with the whole, so that the negative would be given its face value: ‘Is it true that this magazine is both interesting and (yet) does NOT prove of value either?’ But the likeliest interpretation is to take the nuclear subdual as going with the sentence as a whole, so that you are applying both the subdual and the rhetorical question to a sentence Kono zassi wa omosirōku mo āri [=ātte] tamē ni mo nāru ‘This magazine is both interesting and proves also of value’; the translation will be ‘Is it NOT true (= Surely it IS true) that this magazine is both interesting and proves also of value?’ Mikami’s interpretation is essentially that, but he assumes an ellipsis: Kono zassi wa omosirōku mo āri [wa sinaī ka], tamē ni mo nāri wa sinaī ka. The lack of parallelism in highlighting the mutative conversion of the second part (tamē ni mo nāru) to balance the highlighting of the adjective nucleus in the first part (omosirōku mo āru) is an instance of loose reference, discussed in §5.4; I have tried to suggest the looseness in my English versions.

A double identity ‘N is both X and Y’ is expressed by N wa X de mo [ārea] Y de mo āru: Kāre wa isya de mo bungāku-sya de mo āru ‘He is both a physician and a literary scholar’; Ensyutu-ka de mo ārea haiyuu de mo āru tyōsyaa ... ‘The author, who is both a producer and an actor ...’ (SA 2671.98c). (Only the Identifier can be so treated; the Identified can not contain a loose conjoining of this type.) Sometimes the first mó is suppressed: ... Hitotu-basi-dai [no] kōso de bengō-si de mo āru Namiki Tosimori si wa ... ‘Mr Toshimori Namiki who is a lecturer at Hitotsubashi University and also is a lawyer’ (SA 2669.21b). Notice also the expression N₁ “bākari de nāku N₂ de mo āri ‘Is not just N₁ but is also N₂’: Kore wa zibun no tamē “bākari de nāku, o-tagai no tamē de mo āru ‘This is not just for one’s own benefit, but also for mutual benefit’ (SA 2649.97c).

Applying nuclear focus does not hinder the application of focus to larger structures. This example subdues the copula, applies the gerund to the output, and then highlights the gerund to express contrast: “Kiyoshi” ga, toomei de WA ātte MO, isasaka syusei no katati de “nāhi mo nāi” to iu îmi o motte iru ... ‘While “kiyoshi” IS, to be sure, “transparent”, it has in a somewhat defensive form the meaning “having nothing there” ...’ (Ōno 1966.24). For more examples of this sort, see §9.2.2.

And it is possible to reapply focus, though the lack of authentic examples would indi-

3. The following example is not an exception, since the entire conjoining is adnominalized to nō which serves as the Identified for kore ga: Kore ga watāt-tāt seiō zen’in no kibō de mo āri, mata mokuhyō de mo āru no da ‘THIS is what [it is that] both is the desire and is the aim of all us students’ (KKK 25.87b).
cate that one seldom has cause to do so. Yet it seems that the following types are grammatical:

A-ku mo ari wa sinai: Yasuku mo ari wa sinai 'Nor is it cheap, either'.
N de mo ari wa sinai: Isya de mo ari wa sinai 'Nor is he a doctor, either'.

(?)A-ku sae ari wa sinakereba ...

But *A-ku wa ari mo sinai is apparently unacceptable. More research is needed on this subject, including combinations of restrictives, nado, etc.

In the following example, it is unclear just what would be the appropriate filler for the ellipsis: Kessite Oosaka-ben ga da-iiti de mo [ ] yuiitu de mo ari wa sinai ga, ... ‘By no means is the Osaka dialect either foremost or unique but ...’ (Maeda 1961.82). If the conjoining precedes the nuclear focus, the ellipsis is of areba; if the nuclear focus is intended to apply (somewhat loosely) to the second nominal only, the ellipsis is presumably of nákereba.

In the sentence Nani-mo hookoo-nin zya ari ya sinai si, ... ‘You are in no way a SERVANT (or anything) ...’ (Tk 3.146b) there appears to be a double application of subdued nuclear focus (zya = de wa, ya = wa), but the intention may be simply to subdue the negativized copula (N de/zya nai) with the device applied to the auxiliary (nai → ari wa sinai, the negative of ari wa suru) rather than within the copula, d[e]a[r u] → de wa ariu.

On A-ku mo as an abbreviation of -ku mo atte, equivalent to -kutē mo, see §9.2.2.
A-ku mo sometimes represents the highlighting of an adverb: hayaku mo ‘swiftly indeed’, yōku mo ‘nicely indeed’ [often ironic], etc.

A-ku wa is sometimes contracted to A-k’aa or A-k’a as in these examples: Yōk’aa nai wa yō ‘It’s not nice, I tell you’ (Kb 382a); Tittō mo okasīk’aa nai n de ‘It’s not the least bit funny, you see’ (Kb 409a—for the sentence-final gerund, see §9.2.1a); Sāmūk’a arimasēn ka ‘Aren’t you cold?’ (Fn 107b); Wakai monō o, kātte mo makete mo ii yōo na syoogi no aité ni wa sase-tak’a nai ‘I don’t want to have a young person as a partner in a chess game where it doesn’t matter whether I win or lose’ (Tk 3.135b). See also p. 373.

The colloquial yā freely replaces wā, and V-ī ya often contracts to V-ya[a], as we have remarked. In colloquial Tōkyō usage kī wa ya’i sinai ‘does NOT come’ is often said as kō ya sinai, apparently a blend of kōnai with kī ya sinai (cf. Kokugo akusento rōnō 394).

5.2. NUCLEAR FOCUS WITH SÅE AND SIKA

The peripheral focus markers sāe and sīka can also be used to split the nucleus, though the latter seems to be limited to nominal sentences: Seizei, Santa-Kurōosu wa, monō o kureru hitō de SIKA nai n desu nē ‘At most, Santa Claus is only someone who gives things (to them)’ (SA 2658.117d); Tumarānai hōn de SIKA nai (= Tumarānai hōn ni suginai) ‘It is only a worthless book’; Sitagātete(−), Tookyōo ni sumanai kāgiri wa, sono tiiki-kāsya no hoogēn(−) ga kisō ni nātte iru yōo na kyoootuu-go de SIKA nai ‘Accordingly, so long as it does not live in Tōkyō, it is only a ‘common language’ with the dialects of the local area forming the base’; Soo iu monō wa zisyo de wa naku, sakun de SIKA nai ‘Such things are ONLY (=NOTHING but) indexes, not dictionaries’ (Shibata 1966.146); ... taigan no hī de āte wa narānu hazu no monō de wa āru ga, zīzītu wa taigan no hī de SIKA nakkatta no de āru ‘To be sure we would expect it ought not to be a light across the river but actually it could ONLY be a light across the river’ (KK 3.59); Sore wa māda, yuusyoku ga sūnda bākari no zikan de SIKA nakkatta ‘It was still only the time when the hands had just ended’
§5.3. Restricting the nucleus with other elements

(N68); ... hura-dansu no yō ni kankō-kyaku no nagusami-mono de Sika nāku nāru desyoo ’... will become nothing but a tourist attraction like the hula dance’.

Notice that ’N sika de/zya nāi is ungrammatical. For N de sika nāi we might expect to find also (*N)de dake aru with the same meaning, but that is apparently ungrammatical.4

Following are examples of sāe splitting the nucleus; others will be found in §9.3.1-2 (with the provisional surēba, āreba), and in §9.2.4. Since a minor juncture is sometimes inserted before sāe to emphasize the focus even more strongly, optional accentuations are shown: N de sāe is said either as N de sāe or as N de sāe.

**VERBAL** Itīti teitai-gimi no boooki-kānkei no sigoto nādo, tikaku hukkatsu sī SĀE surēba, anta-gāta no tē wa bookeī sinkoo ni nākute wa narānu monō to narimasyōō (= nāru desyōō) ’If jobs such as those relating to the temporarily stagnating trade should soon revive, your hands will be necessary for the development of trade’ (KKK 3.55); Tābe SĀE surēba, hutorimāsū ’If you just eat, you will put on weight’ (SA 2664.106a); ... akire-hāte SĀE sitā no desu ’I am downright bored with it’ (SA 2673.143a).

**VERB-NOMINAL** ... syusyoo no taizin o yookyuū sī SĀE suru ’they even demand the resignation of the prime minister’ (SA 2676.136c); ... gāman si SĀE surēba ’if one just bears with it’.

**ADJECTIVAL** Tuzūri ga tadāsiku SĀE āreba, kaki-kāta no zyoozū hetā wa mondai ni simasē ’If the spelling just be correct, I won’t make an issue over whether the handwriting is good or bad’.

**ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL** Kono hukuzatsu-tāki na zidai ni, noirōoze ni narānai hō ga husigi de SĀE aru ’In these days of complexity and division, it is peculiar NOT to get neurotic’; Kenkoo de sūnāo de SĀE āreba ī ’All they have to do is be healthy and obedient’ (SA 2642.40—the reference is to household help); Anāta ga suki de SĀE āreba, narēru ni turete zyootatsu simasū ’If you just like it you will gain proficiency as you get used to it’ (KKK 3.55).

**NOMINAL** Betonamu de wa, kodomo ya onnā ga sentōo-in de sāe arū baai ga ōoi n desu ’In Vietnam there are many cases where women and children are actually combatants’ (major junctures after each gā, a minor juncture before sāe—see Martin 1970.438:(7.).)

5.3. **RESTRICTING THE NUCLEUS WITH OTHER ELEMENTS**

Nuclei can be split by various focus and restrictive elements in addition to those previously mentioned:

**Kōso:**

**VERBAL** Kuti ni dāsii KOSO sinākatta ga, hu-sānsei na n da yō ’I kept it to myself but I am in disagreement’ (Hozaka 1960.336); Sikāsi sono ryōōri wa yahāri Ahūrika ni todomāru syooosyā-in ka, tobōsii(−) syoku-seikatsu ni nārete simatte iru gakusei-tātī ni yotte hyōoka(−) sāe KOSO sure, ryōōri no senmon-ka no sore tō wa hikaku si-yoo mo nāi de arōō ’But still if that cooking just be criticized by businessmen staying in Africa or by students inured to a life of poor eating, there would be no way to compare it with that of culinary specialists’ (SA 2645.97a—sure is the literary concessive, see §9.3).

4. The only example I have come across of dakē applied to a nucleus is the following sentence, which some speakers are reluctant to accept: Kakāse dake surēba i desyoo ’If you’ll just have them write it that’ll be fine’ (Hozaka 1960.340). Here dakē is functioning as a synonym of sāe.
ADJECTIVAL Yasuku KOSO åre, kessite täkaku wa nái ‘It’s cheap rather than expensive’ (åre is the literary concessive, §9.3).

ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL Kono kimono wa hadé de KOSO åre, zimí de wa nái ‘This kimono isn’t plain, if anything it’s on the flashy side’ (åre is the literary concessive, §9.3).

NOMINAL ... ‘okawari’ to iú no wa hito no zyootai de KOSO åre, kessite hito sono-mônó de wa nái ‘... what is meant by “o-kawari” is more the state of a person rather than the person himself’ (Tsujimura 58—åre is the literary concessive, §9.3); Káre wa seizi-ka dé KOSO åre, gakusya dé wa nái ‘He is more of a politician than a scholar’ (åre is the literary concessive, §9.3); Húzin wa yuúhu de KOSO nákatta ga ... ‘The lady was not exactly married, but ...’ (Fn 55b)—yuúhu is a precopular noun.

Súra:

VERBAL Ríeki no tamé nara, seiteki o korosi SURA suru ‘If it is advantageous, we even kill political enemies’.

ADJECTIVAL ... sore wa itaitásiku SURA áru ‘that is downright pathetic’ (SA 2673.142d—in a letter to the editor from Kóbe, preceded by a heading Ititásiku sura áru koomei-too ‘Downright pathetic—the Kömei-tō [a political party]’).

ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL ... yúumorasu de SURA átta ‘he was even humorous’ (Tk 4.218); Kore wa áru ími de yamu-o-énai kotó de arí, músiro hituyoo dé SURA áru ga, ... ‘This in a certain sense is something unavoidable, or rather even is necessary, but ...’ (Kgg 81.131a).

NOMINAL Naríhuri ni mu-tónzyaku de aru kotó wa, bitoku dé SURA átta ‘That he was careless in his personal appearance was actually (considered) a virtue’ (Tk 4.61); Sore wa sikási, Marukúsízumu de SURA náí to omóú n desu keredo mo ... ‘But that isn’t even Marxism, it seems to me ...’ (Tanígawa 126); ... Séihí wa tóu(−) kotó ga dekinai. Músiro, tóu(−) máde mo nái, to ií-tai kúrú de SURA áru ‘We can not question the (success or failure of the) outcome. Rather, we even might say it is not worth questioning’ (KKK 3.62).

Nanka; nado; nanzo; nante:

VERBAL Denwa o kake NÁDO sinákatta ‘I didn’t phone or anything’; Soko e iki NÁDO sinákatta ‘I didn’t go there or anything’; ... o-kyoo o age, kané o tataki NÁDO site gongyoo(−) suru ‘they have a Buddhist service, chanting scripture and ringing gongs and the like’ (Ono 1966.136); ... kuruma ni tumí, atamá ni nose, báta-báta de hakobi NÁDO site káeté yuku ‘... they leave taking things with them all helter-skelter, loaded on wagons, carried on heads ...’ (Ig 67); Téepu o kai NÁDO(∗‘NÁNKA) site Éigo no naráte íru ga, nakanaka yoozú ni naránai ‘I’ve been studying English by buying tapes and so on, but I’m making slow progress’; Sonna hón wa yómi NÁDO/NÁNKA sinai ‘I wouldn’t read any such book’; Utí(−) no kodomo wa marihwana o suí NÁNKA sinai ‘Our boy wouldn’t do anything like smoke marijuana’; Odokasu dáke de, korosí NÁNKA suru wake wa arimasen ‘There’s no call for anything like killing (him), just intimidating (him)’; Hitó-sama no monó o nusúmi NÁNTE sitará, utí no sikkí wa matagasemasen ‘If you are going to do such things as steal other people’s things I can’t let you cross our threshold’.

VERB-NOMINAL (apparently with obligatory ellipsis of auxiliary infinitive si) Benkýoo ōsi NÁNKA sinákatta ‘I didn’t study or anything’ (SA 2672.61a); Gakkái no warúgutí o insatu ōsi NÁNKA sinai ‘We won’t do any printing or the like of slanders against the [Sooka]-Gakkái’ (SA 2663.18c); ‘Yo-nín wa izure mo, hito “nami” izyoo ni tuyoi ziga no moti-nusi de atte, kessite dakyoo NÁDO sinai ‘Each of the four is the
§5.3. Restricting the nucleus with other elements

possessor of a stronger ego than the average man and never makes compromises’ (SA 2681.108a).

**ADJECTIVAL** Nihon de wa siti-nen -izyoo, mu-ziko desu kara kówaku NANKA arimasen yó ‘In Japan I have been accident-free for seven years, so I am not afraid [of driving abroad] or anything’ (SA 2664.96e); Iki-táku NANKA (or: NÁ[N]DO/NÁ[N]ZO/ NÁNTE) nákatta ‘We did NOT want to go or anything’; Bóku(”) no manga wa títto no muzukásikú NÁNTE nái ‘There’s nothing difficult about my cartoons’ (SA 2640.12); Sono éiga(”) wa títto no yóku NÁDO/NÁNKA ári wa sinai ‘That film hasn’t a thing to recommend it’.

**ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL** Ano gakkoo wa yuumei de NÁDO/NÁNKA ári wa sinai ‘There’s nothing famous about that school’.

**NOMINAL** Náni ga tensai dé NÁNKA áru mon ka ‘No genius HE!’ (Mio 181); Báka o ie, are ga honmono de NÁNZO áru ka i ‘Rubbish—is THAT the real thing?’! (Mio 181); Tonde-mó-nái, doogú de NÁNZO áru monó ka ‘Absurd, how can it [=language] be nothing but a tool?!’ (Fukuda in Óno 1967.218); Káre wa isya dé NÁDO/NÁNKA áru monó ka ‘What kind of a doctor is HE?!’; Anó-híto ga hánnin de NÁNTE áru hazu wa nái ‘There is no likelihood that he is the culprit or anything’.

**VERBAL** Náni ka oisii monó o tábé DE MO sita yóó na kao o site iru ‘You look as if you had eaten something tasty or the like’; O-támi wa uragiráre DE MO sita yóó ni omótta ‘O-tami felt as though she had been betrayed or something’ (Kb 86b); Hanetobásáre DE MO surebá... ‘If I get hit or anything...’; Ása tábé-nágará sinbun nánka yómi DE MO sitára okoráreyau yó ‘If I were, for instance, to read the paper or the like at breakfast, believe you me I’d hear about it!’; Yuubín-butú no kuwaké(”) ‘I knew nothing or any thing’; Kogá dé MO saretú ni tabeta... ‘I’d hear about it!’; Karé wa isya dé NÁDO/NÁNKA áru monó ka ‘What kind of a doctor is HE?!’; Yuubín-butú no kuwaké(”) ‘I knew nothing or any thing’; Hane tobasáre DE MO sbereba... ‘If I get hit or anything...’; Ti ti oya to musúme wa, maru-de tosi ga tyót-to sika hanáréte inai koibito ‘doosí de DE MO áru ka no yóó ni, zyare-túku yóó na mutumázi-sa ga áttá ‘The father and the daughter had a playful intimacy with each other quite as if they were perhaps lovers only slightly apart in age’ (SA 2662.120a);
Tatimati, kāre wa, dönna meizin de DE MO āru ka no yōo ni hyōoka(−) sareta ‘Suddenly he got rated as if he were the utmost expert or something’ (Kb 287a)—dōnna here means ‘(one) to such an extent’ (= dōre-hodo(−)) and has no tie with the DE MO, which can not be replaced by d’ātte.

D’ātte:

VERBAL Kanen no tamē nara, oyā, kyōdai o korosai D’ĀTTE si-kanenai rentyuu dá ‘The gang will be unable to resist even killing parents and brothers if it’s for money’ (epithetic identification).

Māde:

VERBAL Sore o sirābe MADE sita ‘I went so far as to investigate that’; Yōmi, katarī, utai MADE suru ‘They read it, tell it, even sing it’ (Kusakabe 1968.62).

VERBAL NOUN (with obligatory ellipsis of auxiliary infinitive sī) Sore o kenkyuu sīf MADE sita ‘I went so far as to study that’; Sēito no utī(−) o kobetu-hōmon sīf MADE sita sensēi ‘Teachers who had gone so far as to make individual visits to the pupils’ homes …’ (SA 2664.123e); … watashi wa sirai no byōoin ni tēhai sīf MADE sita no de ātta ga, … ‘I went so far as to make arrangements at the hospital of an acquaintance but …’ (SA 2658.123d).

Bakari:

ADJECTIVAL Irō ga siroku BAKARI ātto mo bizin(−) tō wa ienai ‘You can’t be called a beauty just because you have a light complexion’.

NOMINAL Mōhaya tanzyun ni bunpō-teki na monō de BAKARI āru wake de wa nai … ‘It does not mean that it is just a simply grammatical thing …’ (Morishige 3). Māde is not used to split adjectival or nominal nuclei (*A-ku MADE āru, *N de MADE āru); bakari will not split verbal nuclei (*V-i BAKARI suru). The restrictives hodō, -dōkoro, and -kāgiri do not split nuclei, nor doē the comparator yōri. Most speakers reject splitting nuclei with “gūrai and “dakē, though the following examples have been suggested: (?) Iki-tākū “GŪRAI nākatta ‘We did NOT want to go at least’; (?) Ražio(−) o kiki DAKE/GŪRAI sureba i no ni, nāni mo sinai kara nyūusu ga wakaranai n desu ‘I wish I would just listen to the radio at least but I don’t do anything (of the sort) so I don’t keep up with the news’; (?) Kodomo wa syōozikē de DAKE aria, itazura de mo sinpai arimasen ‘If the child just be honest, I don’t worry about pranks or the like’; (?) Seizitu na ningen de DAKE aria hoka ni kiboo wa arimasen ‘If I am just a sincere person that’s all I aspire to’; (?) Yāsuki DAKE aria, hoka no kōto wa kamawānai ‘If it’s just cheap, nothing else matters’. Those who accept the last three are taking dakē as equivalent to sēe.

5.4. LOOSE REFERENCE

Often it will make only a subtle difference whether one applies focus to the nucleus or to one of the adjuncts. As a result, we sometimes run across semantically parallel sentences that seem grammatically incongruous, because the one has chosen to highlight or subdue the nucleus, and the other has chosen to focus an adjunct.

The most obvious cases are conjoined—or juxtaposed—sentences with mō: Ōoi ni tasuke mo sita si, zēni mo mōketa. Tasuketa kara, mookātta na da ‘I both helped a lot and I earned a lot of money. I profited because I had helped’ (SA 2650.00?). The sense is … tasuke mo sita si, zēni o mōoke mo sita ‘I both helped and earned’.

In some instances the conjoined sentences are grammatically incongruous to begin with:
Benkyoo wa suki de mo nakatta si, seiseki mo warukatta ‘She took no delight in her studies, and her grades were poor, too’ (SA 2650.104b)—the sense is ... seiseki ga waruku mo atta; Hae ga tuku sinpai mo nakueiseiki-teki de mo aru ‘Not only are you free of worry that flies may get to it [= the food] but it’s also hygienic’ (SA 2639.98a).

Similar uses of “loose-reference” mo are common with parallel sentences conjoined with the provisional (cf. § 9.3.2), though these do not necessarily reveal nuclear focus: the sentence ... atu-mi mo tarinakereba aziwai(-) mo usu ‘is both inadequate in thickness and is thin in flavor’ (Maeda 1962.214) would seem to be saying something like ... atu-mi ga tariri mo sinakereba aziwai(-) ga usu ‘is both inadequate in thickness and is thin in flavor’ (SA 2672.116b). A similar example: Kotosi mo kurassiku-bumon wa syutuzyoo-nya no kazu mo sukunakereba, situ(-) mo hikukatta ‘This year, too, in the classics both the number of entrants was low and the quality was poor (= not only was the number of entrants low but also the quality was poor)’ (SA 2672.116b).

In the following example, the first mo appears to be serving two functions, one to generalize the indeterminate dare, the other as a loose-reference equivalent of tuki-ai mo sureba; and the second mo is a loose-reference equivalent of sake o nomi mo sita: Ima-made “dooori dare to de mo tukiaeba, ima-made “dooori sake mo hukaku nonda ‘Not only did she continue as before to consort with everybody, but she also continued as before to drink heavily’ (Kb 13b).

It is fairly common to find loose reference in reductions from the provisional conjoining: ... karada mo yowaku gakkoo mo yasumi-gati de ... ‘is both weak in body and apt to skip school’ (SA 2652.120d) = karada ga yowaku mo areba, gakkoo o yasumi-gati de mo aru. Similarly, from other kinds of conjoining: Mesu mo tabenai si, mizu mo seigen sarete iru ... ‘[While in training for a fight] I don’t eat rice and water is restricted too ...’ (SA 2671.46c); Hoka ni kemuri mo miezu, hito mo nai ‘Otherwise neither smoke appeared nor were there any people’ (SA 2664.80b) = kemuri ga mie mo sezu, hito ga ari mo sinai; Isya ni mo misezu, byooin ni mo hairazu, kusuri mo nomaizu, ... ‘Not consulting a doctor, nor going into the hospital, nor taking any medicine ...’ (SA 2659.70c) = Isya ni mise mo sezu, byooin ni hairi mo sezu, kusuri o nomi mo sezu ...; ... basyo mo torazu idoo mo rakui da to i no wa ouchi na riten de ... ‘the big advantage is that it takes no space and is easy to move, too, and ...’ (SA 2662.130) = basyo o tori mo sezu idoo ga rakui de mo aru; Nenpu o haiken simasu to, ... niyisai kara yaku zuuunen-kan, gakkoo mo ikazu, kiboo mo naku busysoo o kakui, to i seikatu o o-tuzuke ni natta to arimasu keredo mo ‘I see by your personal history, sir, that from the age of twenty for a period of about ten years you neither went to school nor had any prospects but just wrote your compositions ...’ (SA 2658.126b) = gakkoo e ikio se zu, kiboo ga ari mo sezu; ... tyototo seebu sinai to ikenai to i kot o o, titi kara mo iwaremasu si, zibun de mo soo oomimasu ‘I get told by my father that I must save some [of the job opportunities for later] and I think so myself, too’ (SA 2654.46b) = ... kot o o titi kara iware mo suru si, zibun de soo omoi mo suru; ... supoo to mo yaranai si, tomotai mo nai ... ‘he neither engages in sports nor has any friends’ (SA 2656.46b) = supoo to o yar i mo sinai si, tomotai ga ari mo sinai; [le o taete uturi-sune zuuuiti-ne ‘m e ni naru.] Sit-i-nen me ni wa kekkon mo si, kono sigat de otokoo-no-ko mo ni-sai ni naru ‘[It’s eleven years since I built the house and moved in to live.] Seven years ago I got married and this April my son will become two’ (SA 2661.138—in English it is hard to capture the effect of the highlighting): Watasi wa suuzutu(-) me, kokkei na kookei o mite, taihen okasiko mo nari, gakkari mo sita ‘A few days ago I saw a funny sight and it both was very amusing and very discouraging,
indeed’ (SA 2689.43ab) = okāsiku nāri mo si, gakkāri † si † mo sita.

The two sentences need not be joined into one: Ninēn no tokī no seiseki mo warūi. Benkyō mo suki de wa nāi ‘His sophomore grades were bad, too. He wasn’t fond of studying, either’ (SA 2652.188b).

You need not even have two sentences in order to detect a loose reference for mō; the meaning will sometimes tell you that an adjunct has been highlighted even though the obvious intention is to play up the nucleus: É mo kāku n desu tte nē ‘I heard you draw pictures, too’ (SA 2666.43b)—the meaning is é o kāki mo suru; Mazime de, katai hitō datta n desu yō. Atamā mo yōkatta si ... ‘He was a serious and steady person. And he had a good head on his shoulders, too; ...’ (SA 2665.118d)—meaning atamā ga yōku mo ātta; ... onsen ga yōku, kaisū-yoku ni mo teki-site iru ... ‘has good hot springs and is suitable also for sea bathing’ (SA 2689.147b).

Loose-reference wā occurs when an adjunct is subdued instead of the nucleus despite the fact that the background is of the simplex as a whole: Kāre-ra wa issei ni, kōe wa dasānakatta keredo waratta ‘They all kept silent but they smiled’ (CK 985.382) = ... kōe o dāsi wa sinākatta—the author is not saying that they put out (dāsu) other things holding back only their voices (at least he is not saying it directly); Terē-syōo no Nōsaka wa, sono sēi ka, zettai ni hito no māe de mēgane wa hazusānakatta ‘Nosaka, who was on the shy side, perhaps for that reason simply wouldn’t take off his glasses in front of other people’ (SA 2642.54b) = ... mēgane o hāsūi wa sinākatta, since after all he didn’t remove anything else, either, we presume; Kuti dē wa kirei-gotō(¬) o iū ga ... ‘says nice things with one’s mouth all right, but ...’ = Kuti de kirei-gotō(¬) o iū wa surū ga; Šikāsi, daigaku wa sātte mo, kyōoiku kara hanserū no de wa arimasēn ‘But even though I’ve quit [teaching in] the university, it doesn’t mean I will be separated from education’ (SA 2671.27c) = ... daigaku o sāi wa sêtē mo ...

Some sentences will allow a tighter interpretation, but it seems likely that the loose reference was intended: Gakkō wa yametā no? = Gakkō o yame wa sita no? ‘DID you quit school?’ (SA); [Hōn mo kāku.] Gakkō o osieru ‘[He writes books.] He teaches school, too’ = Hōn o kāki mo surū si, gakkō o osē mo suru; Hōn wa kakānai. [Zō o zenzen sirānai kara.] ‘He writes no books. [He doesn’t know his letters at all.]’ = Hōn o kāki wa sinai—after all, if he is illiterate, he hardly writes anything that isn’t a book, either. Loose reference is probably to be assumed in Sē[i] wa hikūku huto̤tē ita ‘He was short and fat’ (SA 2642.37b) = Sē[i] ga hikūku wa āri, huto̤tē ita ‘He was SHORT in stature, and he was fat’ (cf. *sē ga huto̤tō).

Similar examples can be found with focus applied to the gerund: Sake o nōnde mo iru ‘He also drinks liquor (as well as doing other things)’ can be loosely said as Sake mo nōnde iru ‘He also drinks liquor (as well as drinking other things)’, though a stricter interpretation of the latter is also possible. The English words ‘only, too, even’ are fairly loose in reference and it is difficult to tighten English constructions to eliminate the ambiguities.

There are examples of loose reference with other focus particles and restrictives:
... gunpuku [ō] kōsō kīte ināi ga ... ‘they avoid wearing military uniforms but ...’ (SA)—if we assume the meaning is equivalent to gunpuku o kīte i koso sināi ga, rather than ‘it is precisely military uniforms they don’t wear’; Kusuri sē nōmebā yōku nāru ‘You’ll get better if you just take the medicine’ = Kusuri o nōmi sae surēbā yōku nāru; [Âme ga hūtte kīta.] Kaze māde hūte kīta ‘[It began to rain.] Even the wind came up’ (Hayashi 64) = Kaze ga hūtte kī made sita.
§5.5. Further remarks on focus and restriction, etc. 329

Hayashi 111 gives three different ways to say 'If we just get the jewels (or balls?) back, the rest doesn't matter', and we can add a fourth:

Tamá sae tori-kaesite kúreba, áto wa íi.
Tamá o tori-kaesité sae kúreba, áto wa íi.
Tamá o tori-kaesité ki sae sureba, áto wa íi.
Tamá o tori-kaesi sae site kúreba, áto wa íi.

A similar kind of loose reference sometimes occurs in place of focused or restricted gerund + auxiliary: N sae/daké/bákari(etc.) V-te AUX = N [... ] V-te sae/daké/bákari(etc.) AUX. Examples: ... Tóokyóo no sínruité te ‘I did nothing but go visit my Tókyó relatives’ (SA 2658.126b) - ... asobi ni itté bákari ite (note that *ikí bákari site ite would apparently not be permitted, see p. 326); Íkite iru kóto no yorokóbí(”) siawase ó sae tuukan surú no desu ‘He is keenly aware of the joy and happiness of just being alive’ (CK 985.363)—if my interpretation is correct, this means Íkite sae iru kóto (or Íkite i sae suru kóto) ... o tuukan surú ... .

5.5. FURTHER REMARKS ON FOCUS AND RESTRICTION, ETC.

It is necessary to treat as a lexical idiom the example ái-mo kawarazu ‘without the least change’ (CK 985.398; SA 2642.30d); we would have expected *ái-kawari mo sezu or *ái-kawarazu mo. An adnominal version of the idiom can be found: senzen to ái-mo kawarunu ... hooken-sei ‘feudalism not the least changed from pre-war days’ (Tsujimura 78). A similar example is tóri-mo náosazu or tori-mo-naóasazu (single lexeme) ‘namely’; we would have expected tori-náosí mo sezu or tori-naosazu mo ‘without even re-taking it’. Also similar are híkí-mo kiránai ‘is uninterrupted’, omóí-mo yoranai ‘is unexpected’ and oyóbi-mo tukanai ‘does not reach’, as explained on p. 441.

It is tempting to treat omóí mo oyóbanákatta ‘no one would have (even) thought’ as similarly related to omóí-oyóbanákatta (i.e. as replacing the expected *omóí-oyóbi mo sinákatta), but the accentuation appears to indicate that the first word is the noun derived from the infinitive so that the underlying sentence is omóí [ga] oyóbu ‘the thought extends’. An example: Mata, tósín(”) no dai-depáato ga yuuuryóo de kono syú no tenrán-kai o hirákú kóto mo omóí mo oyóbanákatta ‘No one would have ever thought of a big department store in the heart of the metropolis opening this sort of exhibit with a charge (for admission)’ (SA 2669.98b)—kóto mo represents kóto [ni/e/made] mo.

For the iterative structure V1-i mo V1-tari ‘actually goes so far as to (do something unlikely or outrageous)’, see §9.1.1b.

Following is a chart that shows the occurrence or nonoccurrence of various particles of focus, restriction, and the like, with respect to various conversions involving predication. Examples will be found separately, listed under each conversion in the appropriate sections.
### PERMITTED APPLICATIONS OF FOCUS, RESTRICTION, ETC. IN VARIOUS CONVERSIONS

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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>nànte</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dé mò1/d'àtte</td>
<td>- - ?</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dé mò2</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gúrai</td>
<td>- ? - ? - ?</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bákàrì</td>
<td>- ? - ? - ?</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
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<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dòkòro ka</td>
<td>+ - -</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. At least for N/AN; see §9.1.11 for examples.
2. In hi-góohoo de sika ikenai 'can go only by illegality' (SA 2677.153d) the instrumental marker might be interpreted as the instrumental use of the copula gerund.
3. As in ima de koso 'precisely (being) now' (SA 2678.112d) and Sore de koso wà-ga ko da 'That's what I expect of my son = That's the boy!' (Kenkyusha).
4. An example will be found in §9.2.
5. An example will be found in §10.
6. As in Sôna ni made suru kòto wà-nài 'There is no need to go so far' (Kenkyusha); or is this mutative (i.e. does this belong one column to the right)? An example of V-tàrì made suru will be found in §9.4.
7. At least for N/AN; I have been unable to elicit A-kù made nàru/suru.
8. At least for N ni; I have been unable to elicit either A-kù d'àtte nàru/suru or AN ni d'àtte nàru/suru.
9. When the gerund is part of a phrasal postposition (§9.7) V-té "dàkè is possible: Sono kawari zibun ni kati-mè no àru monò ni mukatté dàkè bóoryokul(') o hurru 'Instead they display violence only toward those they themselves have the odds on' (SA 2685.118d).
10. An example will be found in KKK 3.179.

The particles hodó, kàgìri, and yóri do not occur in most of the conversions listed above; can they, however, be used after Vté kara, after Adverb, and after Quotative tò?
6 EXALTATION

Among the peculiarities of Japanese there is a set of devices to mark what I call EXALTATION. This is a matter of showing deference, and it works in two ways: (1) when referring to someone other than the speaker, the subject (or the underlying or implied subject) can be exalted by adjusting the predicate—kaku means ‘[someone] writes’ but o-kaki nǐ: náru means ‘[someone esteemed] deigns to write’; (2) one of the adjuncts other than the subject, i.e. one of the objects (or implied objects) can be exalted if it pertains to someone other than the speaker, thereby imputing a HUMBLE or deferential or diffident attitude on the part of the subject, which accordingly must include the speaker—o-kaki suru means ‘[I or we] take the liberty of writing [to or for someone esteemed—often YOU]’.

The deference shown toward subjects and objects (EXALTATION) is independent of deference expressed toward listeners (STYLIZATION—§22), and care should be taken not to confuse the separate devices employed, especially when—as so often—the subject or the object-related person turns out to be the listener (‘you’).

Many of the appropriate verb forms are built around what we will call the HONORIFIC INFINITIVE. This is made by attaching the “honorific” prefix o- to the infinitive, removing any accent the infinitive may have; for verbal nouns of Chinese origin, the prefix go- is sometimes used in a similar way. Both of these honorific prefixes are also used with many ordinary nouns and the resulting forms sometimes take on a tinge of pronominal reference: o-tégami will often mean ‘YOUR letter’, though the expression is as vague as its English translation as to whether the letter is written BY you or TO you (or even FOR you). A woman will often use such forms either as mere politeness (to show she is a well-mannered lady) or as hypercoristic endearments in talking to children. Not all nouns, or even a majority, take the honorific prefixes, and many of the forms are irregular in accentuation; therefore it is necessary to list each form in normal use in a complete lexicon, though no dictionary has yet done so, while allowing (as with many derivational affixes) a certain residual productivity to the prefixes, especially o-.

Accordingly, we will wish to distinguish three or four different uses of the honorific prefix:

1. to form the honorific infinitive o-V-i (or o-/go- + verbal noun) for purposes of exalting the subject or an object-related person; and to attach to adjectives o-A-i (or o-/go- + adjectival noun) for similar purposes.

2. to personalize a noun and show respect to the second person; this is limited to certain nouns: o-tégami ‘your letter (= my letter to you or your letter to me/him)’, o-dénwa ‘your phone call, the phone call for/by you’, ...; Dóo iu go-seikatu désita ka ‘What sort of life was it for you?’ (SA 2658.126d).

1. But NHK 1964.147 says that sixty percent of the nouns take neither o- nor go-; see also Shibata 1957. The prefix go- often, but not inevitably, attaches to Chinese nouns; go-mōtomo ‘proper’ and o-bentoo ‘packed lunch’ are good hybrid examples. A few words contain relics of the old honorific prefix mi- or the combination o-mi- (or its abbreviation on-) as in o-mi-kosi ‘portable shrine’ (= sin’yo) or (slang) ‘one’s loins’; and even o-m-o appears in o-m-o-tuke ‘miso soup’. There are also a few dictionary entries referring to the imperial household which have the variant gyo- for go-, e.g. gyo-en(‘) ‘imperial garden’ and gyo-i(‘) ‘the pleasure of His Highness’ (also ‘your pleasure’); cf. Sat6 2.184-5.
(3) to personalize a noun for reasons of elegance or endearment; this is largely
limited to the speech of women and children, as in o-inu ‘the dog’, o-tyóoku ‘the chalk’,
o-tete ‘the hands’, o-síkko ‘peepee(ing)’, ... . Here perhaps belong such items of kitchen
talk and restaurantese as o-ryóori ‘cooking’, o-bírú ‘the beer’, o-náihu ‘the knife’, etc.

(4) to mark certain everyday nouns in a purely conventional way: o-kane ‘money’,
‘mutually’, ... . The semantically empty o- is optional for most such words, and men
will often decline the option, though it is not necessarily feminine to say the words with the
prefix; and some words occur only with the prefix built in: o-maru ‘chamberpot’, o-síkkái
‘meddlesome(ness)’, o-séti (= oséti-ryóorí) ‘festival cookery (for New Year’s)’; ...

Certain expressions are too colloquial to allow exaltation. The expression soo ii-ii suru
‘says it habitually’ contains a lexical item that permits neither focus (*ii-ii mo/wa suru,
*iíisi mo/wa suru) nor exaltation (*ii-ii itasu or *o-iiiii suru, *ii-ii nasáru or *o-iiiii ni
náru).

Both exaltation and stylization are sometimes used for sarcasm, and that would seem
to be the intention of the honorific prefix in this example: O-erai syakai-hyóronka náo wa ...
‘Our “eminent” social critics and the like ...’ (SA 2661.46a); cf. o-era-gáta ‘a digni-
itary, a VIP’. The slang verb on-déré ‘(I) leave of my own volition [without being kicked
out]’ makes sarcastic use of a variant of the honorific prefix, as in this lively example:
Sono nyóoboo taru ya, ore ga on-déta ié ni dén-to(‘) kosi o oítuke, noonoo to kuráite
íru ‘That “wife” of mine has stuck her bottom down conspicuously in the house that I
walked out of and is leading a much relieved existence’ (SA 2661.112a).

Japanese prefer to avoid direct pronominal reference, so that such words as watasi ‘I’
and especially anáta ‘you’ are heard a good deal less often than their counterparts in English.
(For the second person, the pronoun is typically replaced by a name and/or title; a younger
relative is usually addressed by name without a title, an older relative by the appropriate
kin term. See § 29.) Exaltation is often used where we would expect pronouns. When the
subject is the second person (“you”) the subject-exalting form will normally be stylized if
at the end of a sentence: Mó o-kaerí ni nárimáu ka ‘Are you leaving now?’; But the styl-
ization may be delayed if the sentence is extended: Dóko de go-seítýoo ni náta n desu ka
‘Where did you grow up?’ (Tk 3.211a). And if you want to combine an attitude of respect
with a special friendliness or affection, you can leave the subject-exalting form unstylized
even at the end of a sentence, as in these examples: Yoosyoku wa o-tukuri ni náranái? ‘You
don’t do any Occidental cooking?’ (SA 2689.56—a male interviewing a male chef);
Nakanaka omosirí reki-sáisyaku o site írassyáru ‘You are giving a very interesting historical
explanation’ (SA 2677.117d); Atarasíí hukú ga dekíru to, ožíisamá no tokoró e míse ni
ittári náráu? ‘When you complete a new garment do you sometimes go to your grand-
father to show it off?’ (SA 2663.43a—middle-aged male lizawa to 11-year-old Kózu Kanna,
Nakamura Meiko’s eldest daughter); Óyá, Háttsan ka i, yóku o-ide da né, máa, kotíra e o-
agari ‘Oh it’s you, Hattsan; nice to see you, please come right in’ (Okitsu 1.245).

Below are rules for the accentuation of words when o- is attached. The examples are
listed in groups by shape type (number of syllables and moras); they include some items
that are etymological in nature, and that accounts for the different glosses in certain of
the pairs. (Most of the “exceptions” follow the rules of compound-noun accentuation;
see p. 19.)
§ 6. Exaltation

(1) The general rule is treat the resulting word as ATOMIC, regardless of the input. Attested examples of all shape types will be found at the end of this section.

(2) But PROTOTONIC nouns of more than one syllable usually retain their accent:

(a) déko o-déko 'head', häsi o-šái 'chopsticks', hiyá o-hiá 'drinking water', híme o-híme-sama 'princess', hina o-hina-sama 'doll', húru o-húru 'second-hand thing', kámi o-kámi 'superior (etc.)', kási o-kási 'sweets', misó o-mísó 'bean paste', múku o-múku(-san) 'bridegroom', núsi o-núsi 'you my dear', rúsú o-rúsú 'absence', séki o-séki 'seat', sóba o-sóba 'buckwheat (noodles)', túya o-túya 'wake', túyu o-túyu 'broth', yáu (former 8 o'clock =) midafternoon > o-yáu 'snack'; (b) míkan o-míkan 'tangerine', sán-zi '3 o'clock' > o-sánsi 'midafternoon snack', sénko(o) o-sénko 'incense', ténki o-ténki 'weather', tyóózu o-tyóózu 'hand-washing water', sóósos o-sóosu 'sauce', dáií o-dáií 'saint', káiko o-káiko 'silkworm', nágí o-nágí 'wife, landlady'; (c) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (d) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (e) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (f) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (g) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (h) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (i) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (j) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (k) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (l) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (m) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (n) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (o) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (p) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (q) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (r) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (s) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (t) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (u) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (v) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (w) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (x) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money'; (y) kyúúryúo o-kyúúryúo 'salary', syóózin o-syóózin 'relational absence (from meat)', dáizín o-dáizín 'a big spender', ("sékkai >) o-sékkai 'meddling', téntoo > o-téntoo-sama 'the sun'; (z) híbati o-híbati 'brazier', kágura o-kágura 'sacred dance', kúmotu o-kúmotu 'offering', nímotu o-nímotu 'luggage', súgata o-súgata 'appearance', kózukai o-kózukai 'pocket money';
§6. Exaltation


(5) When o- is attached to a single-morpheme female name, the basic prototonic accent of the name is retained (as in 2): Húmi O-húmi, Haña O-haña. These names are regularly prototonic regardless of the accent of the common nouns from which they derive (Yúki comes from yuki ‘snow’), and the accent remains when -ko is suffixed (Yúki-ko). But verbal unvoicing may shift the accent: O-hísá ← Hisá(-ko) ← *Hisa.

(6) Verbal nouns are treated the same as ordinary nouns. But most, being of Chinese origin, will take go- instead of o-. And go- attaches without disturbing the accent of the

3. Owing to vowel unvoicing.
4. A number of pseudo exceptions are compounds incorporating a regularly derived noun: ohati-ire (from o-hati), omesi-mono (from o-mesi), etc.

(7) When o- is attached to an adjectival noun, the result is usually atonic. But there are prototonic adjectival nouns which retain their accents: gênki-o-gênki ‘healthy’, migoto-o-migoto ‘splendid’, .... For sизuka ‘quiet’, only atonic o-sизuka is reported by K; does o-sизuka also occur? For sиgiyaka ‘bustling’ both tonic and atonic o-sиgiyaka(-) are reported, but for kинôдóku ‘pitiful’ there is only the atonic o-kinodoku. Another irregularity: zyoohin-o-zyoohin ‘elegant’. Many adjectival nouns are from Chinese and these, for the most part, will prefer go- to o-; as mentioned above, go- attaches with no affect on the accent.

(8) When o- is attached to adjective forms, the result is usually atonic. But it is possible that some speakers may retain the accent of finite forms (A'i, A'katta); I lack authentic data.

(9) When o- is attached to verb infinitives the result is regularly atonic. But infinitives under a number of DERIVED NOUNS that appear in the list of noun exceptions above.

Although there is no need to list all the many nouns that yield regularly accentuated (i.e. atonic) nouns when o- is attached, I have assembled attested examples under groups by shape type below. The form with o- is not given, since the reader can make it simply by removing any accents and attaching o-. **Nouns attaching o- with atonic accentuation:**


5. Also ten ‘score, grades’: sensëi no o-ten ga warui kara (Tk 2.97b).
people', kagami 'mirror', kasirá 'head', kotobá 'word', mamorí 'tel esman', nakamá 'companion', sasimí 'raw slices (of fish etc.)', takará 'treasure', tegará 'merit', temotó 'at hand', todoké 'notification', yakusyó 'government office', yasumí 'holiday, rest', zasikí 'room'; (g) kokóró 'heart'; sakazukí(·) 'winecup'; noneórí 'trouble, effort', toshíyóri 'old person', monori(·) 'expenses, outlay', tanosimí(·) 'pleasure'; kokorozasí(·) 'kindness, gift'; (h) sobá-ya 'noodle shop', susi-ya 'sushi shop', komé-ya 'rice dealer'.

### 6. SUBJECT EXALTATION

The normal pattern for exalting the subject is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Yobu.</th>
<th>O-yobi nǐːn náru.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal noun</td>
<td>Soodan suru.</td>
<td>Go-soodan nǐːn náru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Isogasí.</td>
<td>(O-)isogásikute irassyáru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival noun</td>
<td>Génki da.</td>
<td>(O-)génki de irassyáru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precopular noun</td>
<td>Byooki da.</td>
<td>(Go-)byooki de irassyáru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Senséi da.</td>
<td>Senséi de irassyáru.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the forms given here, you will also find such sentences as: ... Sátoo san ga mäda o-tiisai kóró ... 'when you were still small, Mr Sato, ...' (SA 2642.42b); O-tiisai katá to go-issyo ni ... '(See it) with your little ones' (R); O-isogasíi 'Someone esteemed is busy'; Go-byooki dá 'Someone esteemed is ill'; O-génki da 'Someone esteemed is well'; O-tégami da 'It is an esteemed (or someone esteemed's) letter'. These are best regarded as LEXICAL HONORIFICS similar to Tanaka san/sama da 'It is Mr Tanaka', Senséi da 'It is the esteemed teacher', O-tkú da 'It is the esteemed house/family'. Tsujimura 119 notes that such phrases as o-kai-yasuí o-nedan 'a price easy to buy at' and o-motome-yásuku narimásíta 'has become easy to purchase' are advertiser jargon; the more appropriate versions would apply exaltation first to the underlying verb: o-kai ni nari-yasuí, o-motome ni nari-yasuí, o-motome ni nari-yásuku narimasíta, etc. Cf. §9.1.8. Notice that there is no exaltation of the subject in Zitú wa ḷ o-hazukasí n desu ga 'The fact is I’m ashamed (to say it) but' (BJ 2.300); here the o-shows deference toward the listener.

The sentence O-suki dēsu ka 'Do you like it?' might be regarded as either: (1) an equivalent of A ga B o o-suki nǐːn náru from A ga B o súku 'A likes B', a verbal sentence that is commonly replaced by the adjective-nominal sentence; or, (2) lexically related to the adjective-nominal sentence A ga B ga suki da 'A likes B', which will yield the normal A ga B ga suki de irassyáru 'Esteemed A likes B'. But the latter is obviously the proper interpretation for most occurrences; the antonym is O-kirái dēsu ka or O-iya dēsu ka: ... syoozoo-ga nánté o kakasaréró no wa, o-iya desyó ná 'You must dislike being called upon to paint portraits ... and all' (Tk 4.119b). Notice that usually o-suki nǐːn náru—like o-rippa nǐːn náru, o-sizuka nǐːn náru, and other adjectival nouns—is not to be taken as parallel to o-yobi nǐːn náru, but rather to the construction of infinitive + náru/suru called mutative in §9.1.11, with the meaning 'gets to be liked, comes to like', an equivalent of suki ni o-nari nǐːn náru. (Nagano 1966.188 says it is better to use o-suki de irassyáru.)

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6. When you drop the /i/ in go-soodan nǐːn náru, the triple nnn reduces to nn. Many speakers are uncomfortable with go-VN ni náru and prefer go-VN nasarú.
7. When o- is attached, a tonic adjective usually becomes atomic.
Occasionally, you will find, N/AN ni naru ‘gets to be N/AN’ is used as a virtual synonym of ... da ‘is’; examples are usually expressions of age (cf. Ishigaki Kenji 218): Kotosi-o- ikutu ni o-nari desu ka—Kazoe doshi hatizyou yon-sai ‘How old are you this year?—A full 84 years of age’ (Tk 3.22a); Nan-sai ni narimasu ka = Nan-sai desu ka ‘How old are you?’; Nizyuu hais-sai ni naru zyosei desu ‘I am a woman twenty-eight years of age’ (SA 2678.118a); Noooka gozyuu ikutu ka ni naru syu’zin ga byooki de nakunatta ‘The head of a farm family, some fifty-odd years old, died of illness’ (Shibata 1961.70). Compare itsu nii+ nattara = itsu ‘when’, haru nii+ naru to = haru ‘wa’ in spring’; ... to, ato ni natte [= ato de] sita ‘I found out later on that ...’ (SA 2681.93). But suki nii+ naru is used with both the meanings ‘likes’ and ‘comes to like’.

The expansion of an exalted sentence is exactly the same as the unexalted, and later conversions apply as they would to the unexalted sentence; the new sentence O-yobi nii+ naru is treated just like Yobu, except that it is not normally subject to voice conversions—instead, you first change Yobu to Yobaseru, Yobareru, etc., and then change THAT to O-yobase nii+ naru, O-yobare nii+ naru. But sometimes the subject-exalting passive is added, pleonastically, to the exalted sentence: O-yobi nii+ naru=O yobi nii+ naru ‘calls’ or = O-yobi nii+ naru ‘can call’ (cf. §6.4). Unlike the passive and causative, however, the subject-exalting short POTENTIAL is more commonly expressed by first exalting and then making the potential; and a pleonastic double application of the potential is “surprisingly frequent” according to Tsujimura 166:

most common: o-yobi nii+ naréru
less common: o-yobe nii+ naru
frequent: o-yobe nii+ naréru

An example of the most common type is heard in Migite ni wa Huzi-san ga go-ran ni naremasu ‘On the right you can see Mt Fuji’ (R). Notice that o-yobi dekiru which contains an ellipsis, o-yobi [suru koto ga] deki ru, is the potential for OBJECT-exalting, and is to be translated ‘I can call you (or on your behalf)’.

For a possible ellipsis of ... ni natte or nasatte, as in Go-riyoo [ni natte] kudasaimase ‘Please use it’ or O-mati [ni natte] kudasai ‘Please wait’ and Go-riyoo [ni natte] itadakimasu ‘I will receive the favor of your using it’ or O-kiki [ni natte] itadakimasu ‘I will receive the favor of your listening’, see §10. According to a survey by Kurokawa in the summer of 1969 a majority of younger speakers seem to accept such forms as O-mati site kudasai for ‘Please wait’—apparently a blend of O-mati [ni natte OR nasatte] kudasai with Site kudasai ‘Please do it’, though their acceptance presumably would not extend to the use of other forms of o-V-i suru for subject exaltation; the kudasai in the blend precludes the usual object-exaltation ("humble") interpretation called for by o-V-i suru. Note how easy it is to arrive at such a blend when you start with possibilities such as these:

(1) Hanasi o site kudasai ‘Please tell me the story’.
(2) O-hanasi [ni natte, nasatte] kudasai ‘Please talk’.
(3) O-hanasi o site/nasatte kudasai ‘Please tell me your story’.
(4) O-hanasi o site/nasatte kudasai ‘Please tell me your story’.
(5) O-hanasi site (= nasatte) kudasai ‘Please talk’.

Here, o-hanasi can be the honorific infinitive (o- + hanasi ‘talking’) or an honorific prefixation of the noun derived from the infinitive (o- + hanasi ‘story’). Not all verbs, of course, have the derived noun. On the apparently “growing danger” of this substitution of o-V-i suru for the subject-exalting o-V-i nasaru = o-V-i nii+ naru, see Shibata 1965b.58-9.
The honorific infinitive itself optionally drops when a subject-exalting predicate is repeated in a larger structure, such as o-kaeri ni nāte mo ‘whether you leave or not’.

Not every instance of o-V-i ni [i] nārū is subject-exalting. In o-sewa ni nārū ‘I cause you trouble’⁷ and o-tikara ni nārū ‘I lend my strength to yours = I help you’, the subject is humbled. In the sentence Syokuryō-nan no kuni ni kane o agete mo, tābete simāeba sore de o-simai ni narimāsu nē ‘Even if you give money to a country short of food they will eat it up and that will be the end of it right there, you see’ (SA 2671.63d) the word o-simai is the derived noun from the verb infinitive ‘end’ and carries the semantically empty prefix o- (like o-kane ‘money’).

The “subject” to which subject-exaltation refers is the underlying subject—the possessor (A ni/ga) in a possessive sentence (A ni/ga X ga āru) or in a quasi-possessive sentence (A ni/ga X ga wakāru, dekīru, ir-u, etc.). Sometimes the reference will be to a possessor reduced to a genitive (A no X ...); and the possessor may be unexpressed: Sānūjī-sai ‘kūrai nenrei ga o-tigai no yōo desu ga, ... ’Your ages would appear to be some thirty years apart, but ... ’ (SA 2685.43c)—coming from something like Anata-gāta no [= ni āru] nenrei ga o-tigai ni āru ‘Your ages differ’.

Sometimes the reference is less direct: O-wakari ni naranai yōo de irassyaimasu kara, moo i-dō mooi-agemasyō ‘Since it appears you do not understand, I will tell you again’; Soo i wāke de irasshāru kara, ... ‘Since that’s the way things are (for you) ...’. (But not *Soo i wāke de orimasu kara, ... ‘Since that’s the way things are for humble me ...’.)

There seems to be no use of *... wāke ni wā irassyaimasen for the usual ... wāke ni wa ikanai ‘must’ despite the humble (or merely hyperpolite) Damātte iru wāke ni wa mairimasen ‘I have to speak up’.

6.2. CIRCUMLOCUTIONS

The normal way to exalt the subject of a verbal sentence is to change the verb to the honorific infinitive (o- + infinitive minus any accent) and add ni nāru. Instead of ni nāru you will also hear the copula dā: O-kaeri desu ka = O-kaeri ni ni narimāsu ka ‘Are you leaving (for home)?’ (with polite stylization). Although this bears the earmarks of a nominal sentence and will enter into further conversions as other nominal sentences will,⁸ within the sentence itself the expansions (the adjuncts and their markings) are identical with those in the underlying verbal sentence: Watakusi o yōbi desu ka? ‘Are you calling me?’; Nihon-go no seisitu no [→ ga] yōku o-wakari no [← dā] kātā ‘a person who well understands the nature of the Japanese language’; Tyūgoku no hōō yā, donna hito ni o-ai dēsita ka ‘What sort of people did you see (when you were) in China?’ (Tk 2.261a); Sore wa dóo desu ka; sore wa i kodō to o-kangae desu ka ‘What about that; do you think that a good thing?’ (R).

This is one of the very few situations where a “nominal” sentence looks as if it took a direct object; the object belongs, of course, to the underlying sentence

7a. The person troubled is marked as dative or genitive: sensē ni/no o-sewa ni nāru ‘I trouble the teacher’.

8. For example, O-kaeri no katā desu ka ‘Are you the person leaving?’ (with adnominalization replacing dā by nō, § 13); Soo i monō ga o-sukī desu to, turi nānzo ni mo syūmi ga o-ari nā n yā nāi desu ka ‘If you like that sort of thing, surely you must enjoy fishing too?’ (Tk 4.150b). A sign I noticed in a train’s restroom included an example of an adnominalization of go-VN dā, reading Dansei e no o-negai: tōire o go-syoo no sai wa sita no sito o agete kara o-tukai kudasai ‘Gentlemen please lift the seat below before using the toilet’.
from which the nominal sentence is a conversion. We can compare this to the way objects are retained in verbal sentences that have been converted into adjectival sentences, such as the desideratives (§7) and the negatives (§8).

The exalting reference of o-ari dā ‘has’ is to the underlying subject, the possessor A in A ni/ga X ga o-ari dā ‘A has X’, even when that goes unmentioned, as in Inú ga o-ari dēsu ka ‘Do you have a dog?’.

Sometimes the meaning of the honorific infinitive + dā is equivalent to that of V-te iru, as when O-moti dēsu ka means Mōte imāsu ka ‘Do you have it?’, so perhaps we will want to say there are at least two sources for o-V-i dā, one from o-V-i nītā-naru and one from V-te irassyāru. For the meanings of the latter, see §9.2.4; the RESULTATIVE will account for the translation ‘Are you back?’ as one version of O-kaeri dēsu ka. However K 1950 calls our attention to the fact that o-V-i dā can refer to past, present, or future with DURATIVE verbs and to past or future with PUNCTUAL verbs. Perhaps the second derivation should be from o-V-i ni nātta rather than V-te irassyāru, from the simple past rather than the resultative:

Itu o-tati dēsu ka (1) = Itu o-tati ni narimāsu ka ‘When will you depart?’
(2) = Itu o-tati ni narimāsita ka ‘When did you depart?’

For the durative verb we will assume three sources: O-yomi dēsu ka can mean ‘Are you reading?’ (=O-yomi ni nātta irassyaimāsu ka or Yōnde irassyaimāsu ka), ‘Did you read?’ (=O-yomi ni narimāsita ka), or ‘Will you read?’ (=O-yomi ni narimāsu ka)—the last also subject to an iterative interpretation ‘Do you read?’ that is formally undistinguished. The ambiguity remains when a sentence is adnominalized: hōnsyo o o-yomi no katā will be interpreted as ‘persons about to read this book’ if in the foreword (or in a review), as ‘persons (now) reading this book’ if in the middle, and ‘persons who have read this book’ if at the end of the book. In the following examples o-V-i no represents the continuative: O-kiki no hoosoo wa KOHO de gozaimāsu ‘You are listening to [Station] KOHO’ (R); O-mat-i-kane no Kingu-āwaa ... ‘King Hour that you have been eagerly awaiting ...’ (R); Sore de, o-komari ni nātta iru katā ga irassyaimāsu ka, hoka ni mo ... O-komari dēsu ka ‘Are there others [in our audience] who are troubled by that ... Are you [troubled], madam?’ (R). Kindaichi also observes that DURATIVE-STATATIVE verbs (such as sugurēru ‘excels’ and sobiēru ‘towers’) do not usually permit the form at all: *o-sugure da → sugurete irassyāru, *o-sugure dattā/no sensēi → sugurete irassyāru sensēi (since *o-sugure ni nātta sensēi is also rejected). See §3.12.

The negative of o-V-i dā and o/go-VN dā is the expected ... de/zya nai, but for those honorific infinitives (or verbal nouns) used also as nouns—such as o-ide, o-negai, go-zōn(-)zi, go-syoo-ti, etc.—you will find optional ellipsis of the copula [de/zya].

9. Or a variant, V-te o-ide ni nāru, which underlies the V-te o-ide dā that must be the source of the adnominalization in this example: Sekkaku, sikasi, o-hitōri de agatte o-ide no tokorō o ‘But to be drinking here all by yourself ...’ (Kb 132b). And in Anata, Ensyuu-ya o go-zōn-zi de o-ide desyoo? ‘You know the Enshū-ya, I presume?’ (Kb 131a) we have the equivalent of go-zōn-zi de irassyāru desyoo. There are also examples of N de o-ide da = N de irassyāru as in To ossyāru no wa anata ga Edokko de o-ide dā kara de irassyāru ‘You say that because you are a child of Tōkyō’ (Kb 139a) and of A-ku[t]te o-ide da = A-ku[t]te irassyāru as in Sore wa, anata wa, o-wakakutte o-ide dā kara ... ‘But you are still young ...’ (Kb 132b).

10. Occasionally the ellipsis occurs for an honorific infinitive NOT otherwise in use as a noun: Sore o danna wa, watasi no mōsou kotō wa titto mo o-kiikire naku ... ‘Despite that, the master will not accede to a thing I say ...’ (KKK 25.89). But the ellipsis is not possible for most instances of
Exaltation

A. Go-zon(-)zi fde nai kata ... 'persons unaware that ...' (SA 2664.81b); ... sensei wa mada go-zon(-)zi fde nai mën de ... 'you, professor, in areas that you are uninformed on ...' (SA 2671.24c). Although the ellipsis is perhaps more common under adnominalization (as in the examples cited above), it also occurs elsewhere: Go-syoo-ti fde arimasen/gozaimasen ka 'Don't you agree?' Go-zon(-)zi fde nai/arimasen/gozaimasen desyou 'You are probably unaware'. And it can be used where aru ‘māi substitutes for nāi daoro: Tumaki ga boku-ra ni, ‘Onnā ga itiban utukūsiku miēru tokī o, anata-gāta, go-zon(-)zi aru ‘māi' tte iū n desu yō 'Tsumaki says to us 'I wager you gentlemen do not know when a woman looks the most beautiful' (Tk 4.324a).

Although it is possible to say o-V-i datta N (= o-V-i ni natta N) as well as o-V-i no N (thus clearing up ONE ambiguity), and both o-V-i de nākatta N and o-V-i de nāi N are said, for some reason you are not allowed to say *o-V-i de aru/āta N. Nor are the focused forms in use, it would seem, for either the affirmative or the negative: (?*) o-V-i de mo/wa āru N, (?*) o-V-i de mo/wa nai N.

The expressions with o-V-i dá can be stylized not only to polite (o-V-i désu) but even to hyperpolite (o-V-i de gozaimasu/irassayimāsu) as in O-yobi de irassayimāsu ka ‘Are you calling me, sir?’ (Y 426), Ikāga o-sugosī de irassayimāsu ka ‘How are you getting along (these days)?’, and O-sumi de gozaimasu ka ‘Are you finished?’ (Shibata 1961.165—a response to Gotisoo-sama! ‘Thank you for the meal!’).

Another, now somewhat old-fashioned, way to exalt the subject is to follow the honorific infinitive with nasaru, the euphemistic subject-exalting synonym of suru (§6.4), for which elegant ladies (and an occasional old gentleman) will sometimes substitute asobasu—by origin an abbreviated causative ‘lets it play’ but now ‘deigns to do’.

Still another device to exalt the subject is to use the passive conversion of the nuclear sentence (leaving the adjuncts unaffected by the conversion): Watakusi o yobaremāsu ka? ‘Are you calling me?’ (or ‘Can I be called?’)—but not Will I be called? for that would be Watakusi ga yobaremāsu ka, a form that could also have the potential meaning). Here are examples: Dē mo, okosan ga móō ōkikku narātet ... ‘But your son now has become big ...’ (SA 2681.44b); Sore wa, tāsika ni iwareru yō ni omoimāsu ‘I think that is certainly just as you say’ (Taniwaga 157).

In very formal speech or writing you may come across an exalting passive made on the uncontracted copula de āru, equivalent to de irass’yāru:12 Rippa na ryooisiki no hitō de ararēru yō da ‘He seems to be a person with an admirable conscience’ (Tk 2.122—reference is to the Emperor’s brother Takahito); ... masūmasu go-kenkō de ararēru yō inori-ageru ‘I pray that they continue in the best possible health’ (Kgg 78.86a); Saiwai Amerika ‘zidai kara go-sin’yuu no aidagara de ararēru Yano san no go-kōoi mo arimāsīte

11. And ...ri nasaru will sometimes be pronounced ...nnasāru/. ... tyuuhuu (tyuubu[j]) ni o-nan nasutta no wa, ‘that you had become paralyzed’ (Fn 84a)—o-nan = o-nari; Isuke san ni wa, kodomo ga o-an nasāru n desu ka ‘Do you have children, Isuke?’ (Fn 97a)—o-an = o-ari. In dialects you will also find V-i-nasāru, using the simple infinitive instead of the honorific: an-nasāru (Fn 70b) = ari-nasāru = o-ari nasāru = o-ari ni naru ‘deigns to possess’. A contracted version: V-i-nasāru.

12. O’Neill (1966.49, 102) recognizes N de o-ari ni nāru, citing the example O-taku wa kyuūkakari ‘de o-ari ni narimāsu nē ‘Yours is an old family, isn’t it?’ taken “from a modern novel”.

o-V-i; you can not omit de/zya in o-yomi de/zya nāi kāta ‘persons who do not read’ or o-wakari de/zya nāi tokoro ‘places you do not understand’.

... ri nasaru will sometimes be pronounced ...nnasāru/. ... tyuuhuu (tyuubu[j]) ni o-nan nasutta no wa, ‘that you had become paralyzed’ (Fn 84a)—o-nan = o-nari; Isuke san ni wa, kodomo ga o-an nasāru n desu ka ‘Do you have children, Isuke?’ (Fn 97a)—o-an = o-ari. In dialects you will also find V-i-nasāru, using the simple infinitive instead of the honorific: an-nasāru (Fn 70b) = ari-nasāru = o-ari nasāru = o-ari ni naru ‘deigns to possess’. A contracted version: V-i-nasāru.
'Fortunately I enjoyed the goodwill of Mr Yano with whom I had been on friendly terms since the days in America' (Y 118).

According to Tsujimura 189, the exalting passive lacks an imperative—and presumably all command forms: *Yomarete kudasai → O-yomi ni natte kudasai 'Please read it'. (But see p. 287 n. 2, for an exception.) Maeda 1961.181 cites this lack of an imperative for the subject-exalting passive—which had been recommended by the Kokugo Shingi-kai (in Korea no keigo 1952) for its "simplicity and regularity"—as showing its inferiority to the Osaka form V-i-haru, which has the imperative V-i-hare. Tsujimura calls our attention also to the fact that the passivized causative is not much used for subject-exaltation: instead of Oziisan ga okosan ni hon o yomaserareta you would be more likely to say Oziisan ga okosan ni hon o o-yomase ni natta 'Grandfather let the child read the book (or: got the child to read the book)'. In former days both the causative and especially the passivized causative were often used as subject-exalting forms (with no causative meaning) in referring to actions of members of the Imperial Household, but now instead of Heika ga yomaserareta for 'His Majesty deigned to read' you would say Heika ga (or Tennō-sama ga) o-yomi ni natta or (pleonastically) o-yomi ni narareta.

The exalting passive, it should be noted, is not normally used for any of the possessive or quasi-possessive verbs (aru, wakaru, dekiru, ...); cf. NHK 1964.147. But in the uncontracted copula de āru the verb āru is occasionally passivized (N de ararēru) for subject-exaltation, as we have mentioned above, and the passivized causative (N de araserēru) is also occasionally found: ... hokutyyoo no keitō de araserēru ... 'is of the lineage of the northern dynasty' (SA 2670.146). The de is sometimes absent: ... séikyō araserēta 'he [Prince Chichibu] passed away' (Tk 3.182). And, exceptionally, in ... go-ran araremasyōo 'Let the reader observe ...' we even find a polite hortative made on the subject-exalting passive of āru.

The verbs āru 'stays', kūru 'comes', and iku 'goes' traditionally lack their expected honorific infinitives *o-i, *o-ki, and (* )o-iki. (The last is now more widely heard, especially in substandard, rural, or children's speech.) Instead, for all three you use o-ide, the honorific infinitive from the obsolete literary verb ideru/izu (which is the source of the modern déru 'emerges').

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Irú} & \rightarrow \text{O-ide ni jī náru.} \\
\text{Iku} & \rightarrow \text{O-ide dá.} \\
\text{Kúru} & \rightarrow \text{O-ide nasáru.}
\end{align*}
\]

Similar to o-ide is o-demasi as in o-demasi ni náru 'deigns to go out(side)' (an example will be found in Fn 245b), used where we might expect (sōto e) o-de ni náru; the word would appear to be built on the infinitive of de-masū (the polite stylization of déru), though the auxiliary -másu does not ordinarily display an infinitive.

Most verbs other than iru, iku, and kūru make regular honorific infinitives; there is even O-ari désu ka 'Do you have any?' and o-ari ni náru as in this example: Okosan ga tiisái kōro, neru tokí ni o-hanasi o site ageta keiken [ga], o-ari ni náru desyo? 'You must have had the experience of telling stories at bedtime when your children were little' (SA 2688.47). But certain verbs are regularly replaced by euphemistic synonyms (§6.4), so that you might expect not to find the honorific infinitives in the regular subject-exaltation forms. Yet o-oomi ni náru is more common than the formal-sounding obosimēsu for 'thinks'. And although ossyārū is the common replacement for o-ii ni náru (from iu 'says'), the latter form is not rejected by all speakers. Go-zōn(--)zi da or Go-syooti da is usually heard where
one would expect o-siri ni nátte iru for síte iru 'knows' but such forms as o-siri ni nátta
toki 'when you realized' are not uncommon. It has been suggested that monosyllabic in-
finitives can be avoided in the normal construction: instead of o-ki ni náru (for kiru 'puts
on, wears') you can say o-mesi ni náru with the infinitive of a euphemism; instead of o-ne
ni náru (for neru 'sleeps') you can say o-yasumi ni náru; and instead of o-ni ni náru (for
niru 'resembles' or 'cooks') you can say nite irassyáru using the gerund-auxiliary form.
But the only monosyllabic infinitives that are OBLIGATORILY avoided in the normal
construction are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mirú 'looks at, sees; tries'} & \quad *o-mí ni náru & \quad \rightarrow & \quad \text{go-rán} \ \{\text{nítá} \} \ \text{náru}^{13} \\
\text{érú 'gets'} & \quad *\text{o-é ni náru} & \quad \rightarrow & \quad \text{o-motóme nítá} \ \text{náru} \\
\text{súru 'does'} & \quad *\text{o-sí ni náru}^{14} & \quad \rightarrow & \quad \text{násáru}^{15}
\end{align*}
\]

And there seems to be only the regular possibility for déru 'goes out; attends; performs
(on stage)': o-de nítá náru. (But see the remark on o-demasi above.)

The regular honorific infinitives are also used in the object-exalting forms to be dis-
cussed below; but o-ide and other euphemistic forms are limited to the subject-exalting
conversion—other euphemisms are available for the object-exalting form of some of the
same verbs.

A number of the honorific infinitives (and all free verbal nouns) can be used as pure
nouns, e.g.: ... tennó no o-ide o sirazu ni 'not knowing of the Emperor's presence' (Ôno
1966.137); Miná-san no o-ide o o-máti site orímášu 'We await your arrival, gentlemen'.
But the distinction between such pairs as [Sono] o-negá o símášu 'I make [that] humble
request' and [Sore o] o-negá símášu 'I humbly request [that]' is limited to the few verbs
that underly such derived nouns.

Virtually all\(^{16}\) instances of o- + a noun derived from an infinitive (yasumi 'vacation' →
o-yasumi 'your vacation') coincide in accent with the regular honorific infinitive (yasúmi
'resting' → o-yasúmi 'deigning/presuming to rest') so that only context will disambiguate
certain phrases: [Anátà no sono] o-kangáe nára 'If it's your idea' contains a lexical
honorific made by attaching the prefix o- to the noun kangáé that is derived from the
infinitive kangáé, but [Anátà ga soo] o-kangáe nára 'If that's what you think' is a subject-
exaltation with o-V-i dá converted to the provisional.

\[\text{6.3. OBJECT EXALTATION}\]

You can make a verbal sentence exalt the object or indirect object, whether mentioned
or assumed, by following the honorific infinitive with the verb su ru 'does': O-yobi su ru 'I
call someone esteemed (or something that belongs to someone esteemed)', Go-soodan
súru 'I consult with someone esteemed'. Except for certain clichés such as O-negá símášu

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\(^{13}\) When you drop the /i/ in go-rán nítá náru, the triple /nn/ will reduce to /nn.} \\
\text{\(^{14}\) But o-sí, the honorific infinitive of su ru, is sometimes used as a command: \ldots\ \text{ansin o-sí 'put} \\
\text{your mind at rest'} (KB 76a); see §16.2.} \\
\text{\(^{15}\) As in o-kéga o násáru 'an esteemed person has an accident' from kegá o su ru 'has an accident'.} \\
\text{\(^{16}\) A few exceptions will be found in the lists of §6. The most likely to confuse is o-tétrudai 'help'
(from tetudái). O-tétrudai símášyóó ka 'Shall I help you?' (BJ 1.297) is to be taken as a verbal noun;
the subject-exalting form is o-tétrudai násáru 'deigns to help'. It is unclear whether the regular forms o-
tétrudai su ru/itásu and o-tétrudai ni náru are also used.} \\
\end{align*}
'I request it of you' = 'Please', these object-exalting forms are uncommon when the speaker does not feel himself in an inferior status to the addressee. To emphasize the difference in status, a speaker may exalt the object one stage higher by substituting the euphemism itasu for suru; to lower oneself still further from the object it is possible to use o-V-i móosu or moosi-ageru: O-tétudai moosi-agemášu 'Let me assist you'. And there are unusual occasions that call forth the now obsolete form V-i-tatemášuru: Ikeda Daisaku no sinkin y o yasume-tatemášuru tamé ni "Sooka-Gákkai o kírú" o dašánai kótó gá í 'In order to respectfully set Daisaku Ikeda's "majestic heart" at ease it would be better not to let [Hirotatsu Fujiwara's book] "I Denounce the Sóka Gákkai" be published' (SA 2663.18e—sarcasm is indicated by the use of terms appropriate for reference to the Emperor).

Maids and other menials sometimes use these object-exalting forms (or did so in less democratic days!) even when there is no clearly obvious object involved, as a way of showing general humility, especially toward the addressee; that is why these are often called "humble" forms as opposed to the subject-exalting forms which are often called "honorable" forms, though the use of either kind of exaltation is often called "honorific speech", a term reserved here as one way to refer to a particular kind of sentence stylization (the hyperpolite or elegant gozaimášu-style of §22.2). According to O'Neill go-VN suru is used only for those verbal nouns necessarily involving more than one person—such as renraku 'contact', soodan 'consult', kenka 'quarrel', etc. (but not sitúre: 'breach decorum', nor any verbal noun that is inherently object-exalting such as haken 'respectfully look'); the only possibility for object-exaltation is VN itasu, so that where you might feel the urge to say *go-benkyouo suru or *go-tootyaku suru or *go-sanpo suru you will have to say benkyouo itasu 'I take the liberty to study', tootyaku itasu 'I presume to arrive', sanpo itasu 'I make bold to stroll'.

The voice conversions normally precede all exaltations: thus suru first forms saseru and then forms o-sase suru/itasu '[I or we] take the liberty of causing/letting [someone esteemed] do it' or '... [someone] do it [to something pertaining to someone esteemed]'. (But passive and potential, being involuntary, will not be used.)

The specific situations that permit what I am calling object exaltation17 are these:

1. The direct object is an exalted person: Yó-zí kará anáta o o-máti [ita]simášu 'I'll be waiting for you at four o'clock'; Kokóró kará anáta o o-mukae [ita]simášu 'I will welcome you with all my heart'; Yorosikáttára éki made o-okuri simasyóó 'If you don't mind, I'll see you to the station' (ISJ 5.2b.253).

2. Some adjunct other than the subject or the direct object is an exalted person: Konáida anáta no o-níisán ni o-ai simášita 'I met your brother the other day'; Moo sólo miná-san to o-wakare sinákereba narímaséín 'I will have to say good-bye to you all before long'. Senseí ka/ni piano o o-narái itási-táí n desú ga 'I'd like to take piano lessons from you'. Sometimes the adjunct is implied: O-dénwa o o-kake itásimasyóó 'Shall I phone [you]?'; Go-annai itásimášu 'I will show you around'.

3. An embedded genitive, stated or implied, expresses possession by an exalted person: [Anáta no] zidóó-sya' o o-arai itasimasyóó ka 'Shall I wash the [= your] car?' Cf. Tsujimura 53-4, where he says you sometimes hear such sentences as Ano-kátá mo o-uti ga o-yake ni nátta sóó desú 'His house burned down, too, they say'.

17. The notion apparently originated with Matsushita Daisaburó and Kindaichi Kyóusuke (see Tsujimura 111, 114) though I arrived at my version of it independently.
Although unmentioned, an exalted person is the beneficiary of the action—which could be rephrased as a favor: Mádo o o-ake itasimasyōō ka ‘Shall I open the window (for you)?’; Kyōo wa watasi ga o-harai simasyōō ‘I’ll pay (for you) today’; Dēnki o o-tuke simasyōō ka ‘Would you like me to turn on the light?’; O-satoo o o-ire itasimasyōō ka ‘Shall I put sugar in your coffee?’; Māzu ato no hōo no sitomun kara o-kotae simasu ‘I will start by answering your last question first’ (SA 2677.119a); Dé wa ll kākutō no lēnki o l o-tutae simasuu ... Tenki-yōhoo o l owarimāsū ‘Now I will tell you about the weather in local areas. ... This finishes the weather report’ (R)—notice that *ō-owari simasū would not be said. This seems to be the most common type, and some of the earlier examples could be interpreted to belong here; many speakers maintain that benefit to an exalted person is always implied in object exaltation.

Certain verbs would never occur in these situations, and such a verb will never appear in the form o-V-i suru/itasu: āru ‘is, has’, wakāru ‘understands’, dekīru ‘can’, ir-u ‘needs’; nāru ‘becomes’ (contrast suru for which the euphemism itasu exists), sinu ‘dies’, ikīru ‘lives’, dērū ‘goes out’, dekakeru ‘leaves’, kāer-u ‘returns home’, naōru ‘gets better’, nārū ‘gets accustomed’, komāru ‘gets troubled’, akiramēru ‘resigns oneself’, matigāru ‘mistakes’, kan-ziru ‘feels’, kurūsūmu ‘suffers’, mayōu ‘is confused’, awateru ‘is rushed’; as well as verbs that normally do not have human subjects such as (āme ga) hūru ‘rains’, (sigoto ga) sūmu ‘(work) ends’, (zin’koo ga) hue ru ‘(population) increases’, etc. The verb must express a voluntary action.

A potential can be made on an object-exalting verb by ellipsis [suru koto ga] dekīru: o-yobī dekīru ‘I can call you’, go-soodan dekīru ‘I can consult with you’; anāta ni o-ai dekite, ... ‘Having the opportunity to see you ...’ (Kawabata: Saikai 109); sensēi ni o-ai dekī, ... ‘being able to see the doctor’ (SA 2679.124b); Sore de wa o-kasī dekimāsen nā ‘In that case I’m afraid I can’t lend it to you’ (Okitsu 1.175). Less commonly, the potential will be made on itasu: Yōku o-hanasi itasemasēn kara ... ‘Since I am unable to speak (for/to you) very well ...’ 18.

The honorific infinitive optionally drops when an object-exalting predicate is repeated in a larger structure: o-kari site mo [ ] sinākute mo ‘whether I rent it (from you) or not’ (BJ 2.184.31) = karite mo karinākute mo.

Not all instances of o-V-i [o] suru and o-V-i dá are to be regarded as exaltation devices. The following examples show o- + a derived noun used as a verbal noun or the like: ... o-tutome o site ite, sāra ni yōru o-kēiko o site iru hitō ... ‘people who work at a job and then in addition take lessons at night’ (SA 2664.106c); Māiniti(“) o-tutome no ato, ... ‘Every day after work ...’ (SA 2664.106a). In some sentences it would look as though the honorific infinitive can be marked as the object of suru/itasu provided there is no other object mentioned, just like a verbal noun: O-negai [o] itasimāsū ‘I request it of you = Please (do it for me, give it to me, etc.)’; cf. Kudasāru yōo つi o-negai [o] itasimāsū ‘I beg you to give it to me’, Sore o kudasāru kotō o o-negai itasimāsū ‘I ask the favor of your giving it to me’. But this is lexically limited; for the correct interpretation, see p. 339. Subject-

18. But the object-exaltation itself can not be applied to a potential, nor to a passive, since these operations normally leave the verbal marked as INVOLUNTARY, regardless of whether or not it was involuntary to begin with. (A causative, on the other hand, is marked VOLUNTARY regardless of whether the underlying verbal is itself voluntary or not. The reason we seldom hear object-exalted causatives is more sociological than grammatical.)
exaltation can be expressed by substituting nasáru for suru: o-negai [o] nasáru = o-negai ni náru ‘you request’.

### 6.4. EUPHEMISMS

In addition to the regular forms—subject-exalting o-V-i ni náru (etc.) and object-exalting o-V-i suru (etc.)—a number of common verbs have euphemistic synonyms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>SUBJ.-EXALT.</th>
<th>EUPHEMISM</th>
<th>OBJ.-EXALT.</th>
<th>EUPHEMISM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘goes’</td>
<td>Kúru.</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in Kyōto speech and in written Japanese óru is merely an elegant euphemism for the non-exalting iru (somewhat as gozaimásu is for áru, §22.2); from this the subject-exalting passive can be made: Orárérú ‘Someone esteemed stays’. (It can only mean ‘suffers from someone’s staying’ or ‘can stay’. Examples of orárérú and V-te orárérú can be found in Y 119.) Even in Tókyó, óru is also often used for iru after the gerund in reporting weather phenomena: Áme/Yuki ga hútte orímásu ‘It is raining/snowing’; Kumótte/Hárete orímásu ‘It is cloudy/fair’. And the use of óru for mere politeness seems to be spreading: Yátiln wa, ... nanaman-en ni nátte orímásu ga, ... ‘the rent has been set at ¥70 000 ...’ (BJ 182.15; cf. 185 note). Máir-u, too, is often treated as a merely honorific euphemism for the non-exalting verb of movement ikú/kúru, which loses its deictic specification (“thither/hither”).19 This accounts for the use of V-te máir-u as an elegant version of V-te kúru/?iku (gerund + auxiliary ‘gradually’, §9.2.4) regardless of the subject of the gerund. It is interesting to see that the verbal representation of MOTION loses its deictic specification under either kind of exaltation and is not distinguished from STASIS under subject exaltation. Thus Irassyaimásu! means not only ‘Hello; welcome [= Come!]’ but also ‘Good-bye [= Go!]’ and, given the proper situation, even ‘Stay!’

Some people feel that irassyáru has become overused in social intercourse and carries a “Tókyó and feminine” flavor (Y 426). Yamanishi 1972 says the earliest instance of the verb is found in a popular novel published in Edo in 1779, the usage getting generalized “from the everyday conversation of a social class which was credited with elegant use of language at the time” to the point where a shift from o-ide ni náru toward irassyáru is clearly seen in late Meiji times. In a frequency study of 494 subject-exalting forms observed in NHK broadcasts (p. 59), irassyáru accounted for virtually a fourth of all forms found. The other figures reported, converted to rounded percentages are: .25 o-V-i ni náru. .11 V-rarérú. .09 ossyáru. .18 other euphemistic verbs. .04 go-VN ni náru. .04 [go-]VN sarérú. .03 go-VN nasáru. In the common salutation O-kawari mo/ wa irassyaimásen ka ‘Have you had no changes = Is everything all right with you as usual’, irassyaimásen is used illogically; cf. Y 426. Tsujimura 56 suggests that this expression

19. Accordingly, for object exaltation one must resort to other euphemisms, such as agaru (‘ascends’) and ukagau (‘visits’). Cf. Kindaichi Kyōsuke 1959.17.
really "ought" to be O-kawari mo naku irassyaimasu ka 'Are you getting along with no changes?' See also § 30.

As the verb representing motion illustrates, regular forms to express exaltation are lacking for a few common verbs, which offer only the euphemisms; a comprehensive list of these euphemisms will be found at the end of this section. There is no *o-ari suru for aru,20 despite the existence of o-ari ni naru ‘has’. Nor, despite the existence of o-yari suru and o-age suru and o-morai suru, is there any *o-kure ni naru (= kudasaru)—at least in the standard language, though the form is said to occur in dialects. For object-exaltation only the euphemisms are offered by sir-u — *o-siri suru → zon-ziru(‘’); miru — *o-mi suru → haiken suru, but not in use for the auxiliary in V-te miru ‘tries doing’ (§9.2.4) despite the subject-exalting V-te go-ran ni naru; iu — *o-ii suru → móosu or moosi-ageru or circumlocutions o-tutae suru, o-hanasi suru, o-mimi ni ireru = o-kikase suru, etc.; and omōu — *o-omo suru → zon-ziru(‘’), despite the subject-exalting o-omo ni naru that is more common than the formal obosimēsu(‘’). But o-omo suru is AVAILABLE, as we can see from the love-letter cliché in this sentence: ‘Anata no koto o o-omoi site’ ‘yōru mo neraremasen ‘“Pining for you” I find no sleep at night’.

Occasionally a speaker will apply the regular exaltation conversions to a euphemistic verb superfluously—O-mesiari ni naru, O-itadaki suru—but such over-done sentences are best avoided. It is fairly common to hear, especially from television hosts and the like, an exalting passive built on a form that already exalts the subject: ossyaraēru (cf. Y 119), o-mie ni naraēru, o-kaerī ni naraēru, etc. There are also two SUPER-EXALTING EUPHEMISMS for suru: asobasu = nasāru (subject-exalting) and, no longer heard, tukamatūru = tatematūru (cf. p. 1004) = itasu (object-exalting). Compare the use of yarakasū, a vulgar equivalent of yaru = suru, as in this facetious bit (Maeda 1962.98): Zibun ga sóso o yarakasita tokī ni wa “nara”, tanin ga asobasita tokī ni wa yumatte “o-nara” to itta ‘When they [= the court ladies] themselves committed the gaffe [of flatulating] they called it a “crepitation” but when others deigned to do so they respectfully called it an “honorable crepitation”’. Yarakasū demeans the object; typical objects are hēma ‘blunder’, simatū ‘situation attended to’, ....

We find only the euphemism itasu for the object-exalting form of suru (replacing *o-si suru); but itasu is also often used as a merely elegant euphemism for suru—as ōru is for iru and māir-u is for iku/kūru—and that will account for such uses as ... to itisasuīte for ... tō site (§21.4). Tsujimura observes that itadaku is now often used as an elegant euphemism for tabēru—itself originally a euphemism for kūu—and especially for nōru. He also observes that móosu, similarly, is more often merely elegant and thus yields a subject-exalting passive moosawēru (Tsujimura 77 has an example), said by K 1966.130 to be fairly old—dating at least back to Meiji times; the usage is condemned by Kandaichi Kyōsuke (1959.187). There are also such impersonal phrases as to moosamū no wa = ... to iū no wa ‘what is called/means’. As the object-exalting form of iu, at least in the sense of ‘says = conveys information’, móosu is replaced by moosi-ageru. Tsujimura 77 points out that a number of object-exalting euphemisms are now going out of style in favor of regular formations: o-mimi ni ireru = o-kikase suru ‘informs’; o-me ni kakāru = o-ai suru ‘meets, sees’; o-me ni kakēru = o-mise suru ‘shows’.

The paradigmatic forms of the subject-exalting verbs ossyārē ‘says’, kudasārē ‘gives’,

20. Use gozaimasū instead. (Strictly speaking, this is not object-exalting.)
nasáru ‘does’, and irassyáru ‘stays, goes, comes' display several irregularities. The expected
infiniteform occurs when you make verbal compounds—e.g. ossyari-tái ‘wants to say’,
kudasari-sugiru ‘gives us too much’, senseí de irassyári-nágaru ‘although you are a teacher’
—and when you put the infinite into various other constructions such as go-soo dan nasári
ni irassáryáru ‘goes to consult’, but when the auxiliary -masu is attached to represent polite
stylization it is customary to suppress the r: the forms are ossyaimásu, kudasaimásu,
nasaimásu, irassyaimásu. This is why the honorific verb gozaimásu has no r, although it
comes from an older gozari masu which (along with ossyarimásu, kudasarimásu, nasarimásu,
and irassyarimásu) will be heard on the kabuki stage, used for sarcasm by standard speakers,
attempted by dialect speakers, and found in the older literature. You may run across the
expected regular imperatives for the four subject-exalting verbs mentioned, especially in
advertisements or the like (kore o o-erabi kudasáre ‘please select this’), but it is usual to
replace ... are with ... ai, as in ossyái ‘say it!’, kudasái ‘give it to me!’ , nasái ‘do it!’, and
irassyaí ‘stay!’ or ‘go!’ or ‘come!’ (often used to mean ‘welcome!’).

When the endings -tá, -té, -tára, and -tári are attached to the subject-exalting verbs ‘give
(me/us)’ and ‘do’, you may hear the variants kudasa-t- and nasu-t- in place of the expected,
and common, kudasá- and nasá-. My impression is that the variant forms are more com­
mon in the speech of women than of men, but Kundaichi Kyóosuke (1959.171) says forms
like nasuat sound “masculine” and not very pleasant. Both men and women readily use
several variant forms for irassyá-t-, so that in addition to irassayáta you will hear irássita,
irássita, irássita, and irássita. These variants no doubt were gradually developed to simplify
the articulation: the low vowel a is raised to the high vowels u and i so as to become un­
voiced between the voiceless consonants; the double ss and tt are reduced to shorten the
word.

As we have observed in §4, causative and passive forms are not used for ossyáru,
kudasáru, and irassyáru, though the potentials are all acceptable (at least to many speakers):
ossyaréru, kudasaréru, nasaréru, irassyaréru.

Since irassyáru means ‘stays’ or ‘goes’ or ‘comes’ it is not always obvious which mean­
ing is appropriate to a given sentence. With an allative or ablative adjunct (dóko e, dóko
kara) the meaning ‘stays’ will normally be precluded; but the locative marker ni could be
interpreted as substituting for the allative e, so that dóko ni irassáryáru will have three inter­
pretations. The expression irássite irassáryáru can be taken as an equivalent either of kíte iru
‘is here, has come’ (or ‘comes regularly’) or of itte iru ‘is there, has gone’ (or ‘goes regularly’);
but it will not be taken in the other two interpretations we might expect, as an equivalent
of kíte iku ‘comes and goes = comes for a while’ or of itte kúru ‘goes and comes = goes for
a while’. To exalt the subject of those two expressions, you apply the conversion only to
the second of the two verbs: ... Hwirípin e itte rásita wáke desu ga, ... ‘has been to the
Philippines’ (Tk 2.255b) — here itte [i]rásita is a subject-exalting version of itte kita.
There is a special usage of Irássite ‘rasite or Irássite ‘te (optionally followed by kudasái,
tyodáí, or kure—and/or by final é) to mean ‘Stay!’, corresponding to the exceptional ex­
pression heard in Tyót-to koko ni ité ‘te! ‘Stay here a moment!’ O-ide o-ide is not used in
this way; if heard, it will be taken as an iteration, equivalent to Kíte kita ‘Come here, come
here!’

We encounter a number of problems in attempting to apply exaltation to the several
varieties of verbal noun (§14.3). For certain free verbal nouns of Chinese origin such as
soodan suru ‘consults’ and syookai suru ‘introduces’ you will find the expected pattern:
go-soodan ni naru (or: go-soodan nasaru) 'someone esteemed consults, deigns to consult',
go-soodan suru/itasu 'consults someone esteemed, makes bold to consult'. But for denwa
'telephone call' the honorific form is o-denwa, not *go-denwa, and we fail to find *o-
denwa ni naru; there is only o-denwa nasaru 'someone esteemed telephones, deigns to
telephone' and o-denwa suru/itasu 'telephones someone esteemed, makes bold to tele-
phone'.

Those Chinese verbal nouns of one morpheme such as ai-suru 'loves' are treated as if
they were regular native verbs with a consonant base ending in s: o-ai-si ni naru 'deigns to
love' (also o-ai-si nasaru?); o-ai-si suru 'makes bold to love' (also o-ai-si itasu?). The passives
and causatives of such verbs are regularly formed (ai-sarérú, ai-sasérú) and there is even a
short potential (ai-séru 'can love'—not to be confused with the literary perfect-resultative
attributive, §9.6, equivalent to colloquial ai-site iru 'beloved'); the negative is ai-sání, not
*ai-sínai. Examples: yaku-sú[ru] 'promises', o-yaku-si ni naru 'deigns to promise', o-yaku-
si suru 'makes bold to promise' (little used?); ryaku-sú[ru] 'curtails', o-ryaku-si ni naru
'deigns to curtail', *o-ryaku-si suru 'makes bold to curtail': sas-súru(·) 'surmises', o-sas-si
ni naru (o-sas-si nasaru) 'deigns to surmise', o-sas-si suru/itasu 'makes bold to surmise'.

Those one-syllable verbal nouns that voice the auxiliary (...-zíru/-zúru) seldom take
exaltation; o-sin-si ni naru (an example will be found in O'Neill 125) and o-sin-zi nasaru
'someone esteemed believes' are rare. An apparent exception is zon-žíru(·) 'knows' which
appears as go-zón-ží ni naru (etc.) to serve in place of (*o-siri ni naru for the subject-
exalting form of sí-rú 'knows'. But there is no *go-zón-ží suru/itasu. And there appears to
be an etymological convergence with (or misinterpretation of) an old word zonží < zon-"ti, a synonym of syooti 'understanding' that consists of two morphemes of Chinese
origin. For more on the verbal nouns, see §14.3.

LIST OF VERBS WITH EXALTING EUPHEMISMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Subject-exalting</th>
<th>Object-exalting</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assent, obey</td>
<td>wakáru</td>
<td>o-wakári ni naru; o-kíkiire ni náru; [lit.] kikosi-méšu</td>
<td>kasikomáru; syooti suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arise, awake</td>
<td>okíru</td>
<td>o-okí ni náru; o-mezéni náru; ohi[n]-náru (&lt; o-hí ni náru)</td>
<td>? o-okí suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>[o-]húro ni háíru</td>
<td>o-húro/o-yu o méšu (o-mesi ni náru)</td>
<td>? –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be A</td>
<td>A-i</td>
<td>[o-]A-kute irassyáru; [o-]A-kute o-ide ni náru</td>
<td>– (A-[k]u gozaimásu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be N (or AN)</td>
<td>N dá (= de áru)</td>
<td>N de irassyáru; N de o-ide ni náru</td>
<td>– (N de gozaimásu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be V-ing</td>
<td>V-te iru</td>
<td>V-te irassyáru; V-te o-ide ni náru; V-te oráre; o-V-i dá (etc.)</td>
<td>V-te óru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. There is also a euphemism haisatu suru 'humbly surmises/sympathizes'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English tag</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Subject-exalting</th>
<th>Object-exalting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>borrow</td>
<td>kariru</td>
<td>o-kari ni nāru</td>
<td>haisyaku suru; o-kari suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>kau; motomérur</td>
<td>mēsu, o-mesu ni nāru; o-motome ni nāru; o-kai ni nāru; o-kaiage ni nāru</td>
<td>o-kai suru; ? o-motome suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catch cold</td>
<td>kaze o hiku</td>
<td>o-kaze o mēsu (o-mesu ni nāru)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>kūru</td>
<td>irassyāru; o-ide ni nāru; o-kosō ni nāru; ('puts in an appearance') miēru, o-mie ni nāru</td>
<td>mair-u; agaru [old-fashioned] san-ziru(〜)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>sinu</td>
<td>naku-naru, o-nakunari ni nāru</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>suru;</td>
<td>nasāru; sareru;</td>
<td>itasu;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yaru;</td>
<td>asobasu;</td>
<td>mōosu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>nómu</td>
<td>o-nomi ni nāru; o-mesu-jagaru, o-agari ni nāru;</td>
<td>itadaku</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[lit. or sarcastic] kikosi-mēsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>tabēru;</td>
<td>o-tabe ni nāru; o-mesu, o-mesu ni nāru; o-mesu-jagaru, o-agari ni nāru;</td>
<td>itadaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kūu</td>
<td></td>
<td>[lit. or sarcastic] kikosi-mēsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exc...</td>
<td>yurusu</td>
<td>o-yurusui ni nāru; go-men nasāru/kudasāru</td>
<td>— ? o-yurusi suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel, think</td>
<td>omōu</td>
<td>o-omoi ni nāru; o-bosomesu</td>
<td>zon-ziru(〜); zonzi-agaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get, gain</td>
<td>N o ukēru</td>
<td>? N o uke ni nāru</td>
<td>N o koomūru: go-on o koomūru 'gains favor', go-men o koomūru 'gains forgiveness' N ni azukāru: o-home ni azukāru 'gets praised', go-hiiki ni azukāru 'gets patronized', o-maneki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. O-nakunari n[i] narimāsita no wa zyūūgo-nen 〜gūrai mae de gozaimasu ka '[(Your mother) she passed away] some fifteen years ago?' (R). There are various literary verbal nouns for 'die', e.g. sīkyō = siboo, sēkyō, ..., And for the death of august personages such as emperors, o-kakure ni nāru is a euphemism for hōogyo suru.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English tag</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Subject-exalting</th>
<th>Object-exalting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>give (me/us)</td>
<td>kureru</td>
<td>kudasaru</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give (you/him)</td>
<td>yaru; (ageru)</td>
<td>o-age ni naru</td>
<td>ageru; sasi-ageru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>iku</td>
<td>irassyaru;</td>
<td>o-age suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-ide ni naru;</td>
<td>mair-u;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-kosi ni naru;</td>
<td>agaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(o-iki ni naru)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have (got)</td>
<td>aru</td>
<td>o-ari ni naru;</td>
<td>(gozaimasu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear; listen</td>
<td>kiku</td>
<td>o-kiki ni naru;</td>
<td>o-kiki suru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[lit.] kikosi-mesu;</td>
<td>uketamawaru(−);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[archaic] kikosu</td>
<td>uka; haityoo suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>help</td>
<td>tetudau</td>
<td>o-tetudai [o] nasaru</td>
<td>o-tetudai [o] suru,24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-tikara ni naru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invite, summon</td>
<td>yobu, manéku</td>
<td>mésu, o-mesi ni naru;</td>
<td>? o-yobi suru, ? o-maneki suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>? o-yobi ni naru,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>? o-maneki ni naru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>sár-u24a</td>
<td>go-zón-zi ni naru;</td>
<td>zon-ziru(−);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-siri ni naru ('find out')</td>
<td>zonzi-ageru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>suki da;</td>
<td>o-ki ni i-ru?irareru;</td>
<td>(suki de gozaimasu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki ni ir-u</td>
<td>o-ki ni mésu;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-me ni tomaru;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-suki ni naru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meet, see</td>
<td>áu</td>
<td>o-ai ni naru</td>
<td>o-ai suru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(people)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-me ni kakáru,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>receive</td>
<td>morau;</td>
<td>o-morai ni naru;</td>
<td>o-morai suru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uke-toru</td>
<td>o-uketori ni naru</td>
<td>itadaku;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>read</td>
<td>yómú</td>
<td>o-yomu ni naru</td>
<td>o-yomi suru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>haidoku suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ride, mount</td>
<td>noru</td>
<td>o-nori ni naru;</td>
<td>? o-nori suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mésu, o-mesi ni naru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>iu</td>
<td>ossyaru;</td>
<td>moosu;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o-ii ni naru;</td>
<td>moosi-ageru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>moosaréru;</td>
<td>o-mimi ni ireru = o-kikaše suru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[archaic] kikosu</td>
<td>o-tutae suru etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. Also: Go-seityoo o kansya [ita]simashū ‘Thank you for listening to me’, at the end of a speech.
24. BJ 1.297.
24a. For sitte iru: sitte irassyaru or go-zón-zi de irassyaru (*go-zón-zi ni nátte iru is not used); zón-ziter(‘) oru.
25. As in o-me ni kakarásite kudasai = avássete kudasai ‘let me see you’ Fn 408a. In letters women also use o-memózi suru.

§ 6. Exaltation
§6.5. Exaltation in Dialects

In western Japan there are a number of ways to exalt the subject by attaching an auxiliary to the verb infinitive. The auxiliary is nasaru (which, as we have mentioned, comes from an old passivization of násu = suru 'does') but it often appears in a variant form naharu and with various reductions in shape, which—together with an epenthetic -y- after the front vowel of the infinitive—leads to forms like these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English tag</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Subject-exalting</th>
<th>Object-exalting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see, look at</td>
<td>míru</td>
<td>go-ran ni náru; o-me ni tomaru; [obsolete, Tsujimura 118] goró-zi: &lt;*go-ran-zi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>show</td>
<td>miséru</td>
<td>o-mise ni náru</td>
<td>o-mise suru; o-me ni kakérú; go-ran ni ireru26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep; go to bed</td>
<td>neru</td>
<td>yasumú, o-yasumi ni náru; oyon-náru (&lt; o-yori ni náru &lt; oyóru [obs.]); gesi-náru [archaic] = gosin fni náru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solicit, seek</td>
<td>motoméru</td>
<td>o-motome ni náru</td>
<td>aógu (Mio 332); ? o-motome suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stay</td>
<td>iru</td>
<td>irassyárú; o-ide ni náru; oraréru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>try V-ing</td>
<td>V-te míru</td>
<td>V-te go-ran ni náru</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visit</td>
<td>tazunéru; asobu; hoomon suru</td>
<td>o-tazune ni náru; o-asobi ni náru; go-hoomon nasáru</td>
<td>ukaagau; sanzyoo suru; o-tazune suru; ? o-asobi suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wear</td>
<td>kirú27</td>
<td>mésu, o-mesi ni náru</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The euphemism mésu (o-mesi ni náru) occasionally turns up in other expressions: tosí o mésu, o-tosi o méso = tosí o tóru 'ages' (o-tosimesi no o-kata 'the honorable agéd'); o-hara o mésu = hará o kirú 'disembowels oneself (in a ritual suicide)'; kása o mésu = kása o sásu 'opens an umbrella (over one), carries an open umbrella'; ....

6.5. EXALTATION IN DIALECTS

In western Japan there are a number of ways to exalt the subject by attaching an auxiliary to the verb infinitive. The auxiliary is nasaru (which, as we have mentioned, comes from an old passivization of násu = suru 'does') but it often appears in a variant form naharu and with various reductions in shape, which—together with an epenthetic -y- after the front vowel of the infinitive—leads to forms like these:

26. As in: Ryoo-héika ni mo go-ran ni iremásita keredo mo, o-simai mãde go-ran ni nátte itadakimásita 'We showed it to their Majesties and they were kind enough to watch it [the film] all the way through' (Tk 2.265a).
27. And various specific verbs haku (on feet or legs), kabúru (on head), hamérú (on fingers or hands), simérú (by tying—as a necktie or a belt), and sometimes tukéru (by attaching); but mésu is not used for kakérú 'wears (by hanging—as glasses or necklaces, etc.)'. The specific verbs will occasionally be heard with the regular forms o-V-i ni náru; and even o-ki ni náru is not unheard of.
These forms are cited from Maeda 1961.180; he notes (181) that the V-'aharu form is old-fashioned, the new fashion being just to add -haru to the infinitive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iki-haru} & \quad \text{ki-haru} \\
\text{ki-haru} & \quad \text{i-aharu}
\end{align*}
\]

But in Osaka (Zhs 4.16) these are often further reduced (to iki-'aru and kii-'aru) and appear, with intrusive -y-, as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iki-yaru} & \quad \text{kii-yaru}
\end{align*}
\]

According to Zhs 4.20 the appropriate Osaka forms for 'write' would be kaki-haru and the appropriate Kyōto form is kak-'aharu.\(^29\) (In Zhs 4.191 there is an example of yarahare no wa < yar-'aharu no wa.) In the northern Kinki area (Tango) -naharu contracts to -na'ru: kaki-na'ru (Zhs 4.26).

But some dialect versions o-V-i aru are regarded as containing the auxiliary aru (rather than being reductions from naharu). Tōjō 1954 lists for Morioka the form o-kageru, i.e. o-kaki-ye ru < o-kaki aru. He also mentions the Sendai use for subject-exaltation of a contraction of the passivized causative -(a)s[er]-r[are-te]: kakasanaru 'deigns to write'.

According to Maeda (1961.180) in Osaka the infinitive + -haru, -naharu, and -nasaru are now used both for subject-exaltation and for mere politeness (like V-i-'masu), though -naharu is said to remain more exalting.

In Kyōto the form o-V-i yasu is widely used for both imperfect (nonpast) and perfect (past) and especially for the imperative: O-ide yasu is the Kyōto version of Irassyāi 'Welcome', and O-yasumi yasu is the Kyōto way to say O-yasumi nasai 'Good night'. O-kasyō yasu corresponds to Kudasai 'Please (give it to me)!', and favors are asked with V-t[e] o-kure yasu = V-te kudasai. The Kyōto expression O-kosi yasu (Zhs 4.18) means 'stay', 'come', or 'go'—in the nonpast (= O-kosi nasaruno haharuno), the past (= O-kosi nasatta/nahatte), or the imperative (= O-kosi nahare, O-kosi yahare). I presume that yasu is an abbreviation of [n]as[ar]u with the intrusive -y- after the front vowel of the infinitive, though that will not quite explain Go-men yasu for Go-men nasai 'Excuse me'; perhaps it is from Go-men [s]i [n]as[ar]u. Yoshida (488) derives the form from (V-i) asu [base], a variant of asobase, observing that V-i yasu occurs without the epenthetic -y- in Aichi and Toyama, where the corresponding forms are V-i-asu.

### 6.6. DONATORY VERBS

The verbs for "giving" cause difficulty primarily because of their lexical meaning. Two directional components are involved: yaru\(^30\) or ageru means 'gives to the out-group' and

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28. Monosyllabic infinitives are automatically lengthened in western Japan. See p. 393 (§9.11).
29. Interestingly enough, the labial -w- is retained in such forms as iw-'aharu or yuw-'aharu from i[w]-naharuno. Cf. Inokuchi 254. (We need not, however, impute great antiquity to the contractions; they may have been morphophonemically remodeled by analogy with the negative forms.)
30. But yaru is largely replaced by ageru in Tōkyō speech; Alfonso follows this usage. Several observers have suggested that yaru/ageru is being replaced by ageru/sasi-ageru. According to Tsujimura
§ 6.6. Donatory verbs

Kureru or kudasaru means ‘gives to the in-group’. The in-group always includes ‘me’; the inclusion of ‘you’ or ‘him’ (etc.) in the in-group depends on the situation. The verb set yaru/ageru (or ageru/sasi-ageru) is appropriate whenever it is I who give YOU or HIM. The set kureru/kudasaru is appropriate whenever YOU give ME. For other situations (YOU give HIM, HE gives YOU, and HE gives HIM) the choice of verb depends on whether HE is thought of as closer to ME or to YOU. In what we might call the unmarked, or unspecified, situation YOU will be included with ME as against HIM: thus YOU will give HIM with yaru/ageru (or ageru/sasi-ageru) and HE will give YOU with kureru/kudasaru unless we know that HE is closely associated with ME. (The unspecified case of HE gives HIM will also be yaru/ageru.) So it seems that the unmarked verb for “giving” is yaru/ageru—and for many Tōkyō speakers, as we have observed, ageru alone (or ageru/sasi-ageru); kureru/kudasaru is semantically marked as directed toward the first person or those associated with the first person. Similar remarks will probably apply to iku (unmarked) vs. kuru (marked) and to yaru2 ‘sends’ (unmarked) vs. yokosu (marked); perhaps also to sore (unmarked) vs. kore and other such deictics.\(^{31}\) (Cf. EJ 354-5 and Kuno 1973.127-35, where a number of subtleties are explored.) Since the out-group never includes ‘me’, there is no object-exalting form for kureru (*o-kure suru) and in place of the expected *o-kure ni nárú we usually find the euphemism kudasaru used to exalt the subject—although o-kure ni nárú is said to occur at least in dialects. The in-group includes ‘me’ and others temporarily grouped with ‘me’ so that we would not expect to exalt the subject, yet we find such examples as these: Sensei ga gakusei ni F [= éhu] o o-yari ni nárta (kotó) ‘(The fact that) the teacher gave the student an F’; Sono onná ni o-kane o o-yari ni narái ni n desu tté ně, densetu ni yoreba ‘It is said that you wouldn’t give the lady any money—according to rumor’ (Tk 3.101b).

To exalt the object the euphemism ageru (or sasi-ageru) is used in place of the expected *o-yari suru. But since many Tōkyō speakers substitute ageru for yaru (in the meaning ‘gives’ only, not ‘sends’), it is not surprising to find o-age suru/itasu used for object-exaltation. And it is possible to say o-age ni nárú in order to exalt the subject: œkusan ga sensēi ni okurimono o o-age ni nárta (kotó) ‘(The fact that) the teacher’s wife gave him a present’. In this usage ageru is functioning not as an object-exalting verb but rather as an equivalent of yaru.

All remarks apply also to the donatory verbs when they are used in the favor conversions of § 10. Notice that, although the choice of forms for the in-group (marked) or the out-group (unmarked) has parallels in the verbs of movement (kuru/iku) and sending (yokosu/yaru2), the distinction is lacking for ‘receives’ so that morau means either ‘I receive (from you etc.)’ or ‘you receive (from someone)’ (the someone is usually not me, for in that case the sentence would be recast as a ‘giving’ sentence). The situation can be specified by exaltation: itadaku ‘(I/we) are honored to receive’ versus o-morai ni nár ‘(an exalted person—such as you) deigns to receive’.

In Kyūshū the distinction between kureru and yaru does not obtain; only the unmarked

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\(^{31}\) Perhaps this helps explain the fact that the second-person pronouns are avoided more often than those pronouns referring to the first person.
form yaru is used (Zhs 6.16). It is said that eastern Japan originally lacked the distinction, too, using the marked form kureru (Zhs 2.19) both for in-giving and out-giving.

The verbs yarū2 ‘sends (out)’ and yokōsu ‘sends (in)’—as in kodomo o tukai ni yaru/yokōsu ‘sends a child on an errand’—are also used as auxiliaries after a very few gerunds. The prime examples are (... to) itte yaru/yokōsu ‘sends word (that ...)’, kāite yaru/yokōsu ‘writes (to inform)’, and kotozukete yaru/yokōsu ‘sends a message (saying)’; some speakers will also accept okutte yaru/yokōsu ‘sends’ and watasite yaru/yokōsu ‘hands over, transmits’. Yoshida suggests that V-te yokōsu is more or less equivalent to a causative version of V-te kūru, i.e. that kāite yokōsu approaches the meaning of kāite kosasēru and sirasete yokōsu approaches the meaning of sirasete kosasēru (Y 546). He provides examples from modern fiction of ... watakusi ni mawasite yokōsu ... ‘turns it over to me’, ... hāha no sō o sirasete yōkōsita ... ‘informed us of mother’s death’, and ... hōn o tōtte o-yokosi ‘bring me the book’.

Speakers generally reject combining donatory verb + yaru/yokōsu, though you may hear kurete yaru in nonstandard speech, where it means yaru ‘gives’ (Fn 9a.7). In nagūte yaru ‘gives a thrashing to, beats up’, the ‘favor’ would seem to be more of a disfavor; perhaps the phrase is to be taken as an example of the somewhat slangy use of V-te yaru3 to add vividness to a verb (‘does it vigorously’ or the like) as in the example hayaku okite yaru ‘bounces out of bed early’ (MKZ 856c). Yaru1 ‘gives’, yaru2 ‘sends’, and yaru3 ‘does’ are etymologically identical; I separate them according to the divergent meanings, assuming that the vivid auxiliary belongs with the meaning ‘does’. For some speakers, at least, all three kinds of yaru will permit a subject-exalting conversion to o-yari ni nāru, the third kind being equivalent to nasāru ‘deigns to do’; but apparently there is no *o-yari suru/itasu in any of the meanings, not even ‘sends (out)’, nor are there such forms as *o-yokosi suru/itasu (perhaps because inbound sending could hardly exalt the object?), despite the acceptability of the subject-exalting forms o-yokosi ni nāru and yokosarēru.
7 DESIDERATIVES

Verbal sentences (meaning 'does it') can be converted into desideratives (meaning 'wants to do it, would like to do it') by adding -ta-i to the infinitive; the resulting sentence is an adjectival that is subject to further conversions in the same way as other adjectivals. Desideratives made on tonic verbs are tonic; those made on atonic verbs are atonic, but some speakers treat ALL desideratives as tonic.

Nuclear focus can be applied to yield V-i-tákut (moderately) as in this adnominalized example: Sore dé mo ikite iku tamé ni wa, SI-TÁKÚ MO NÁI ãkogí(“) na kyoosoo mo sinákute wa naránai ‘In order to go on living nonetheless, you have to engage in the most cruel competition which you haven’t the least desire to do’ (SA 2668.117c).

The desiderative meaning of certain sentences is not always immediately obvious from the English translation: Hotondo mi zo to YOBI-TAI YÓO NA ogawa ga, bokuzyoo no nákó o nagárete iuru ‘Through the pasture flows a stream you’d almost [want to] call a ditch’ (SA 2671.93c). And sometimes the translator does well to put the desire as a purpose: ... dakare-tai to nakú n da yó ‘they cry [wanting] to be picked up’ (SA 2655.43c). The perfect V-i-tákut ‘I wanted’ can sometimes be translated as ‘I wish I had done’ (=V-tára yókutta no ni): Tisaa na kodomo to mazime ni zyanken suru tokoró o, nozoite mi-tákutta desu né. Dótti ga káttta n desu ‘I wish I had been there to see you earnestly playing the stone-scissors-paper game with the little child [as I have just learned about from you]. Which of you won?’ (SA 2677.55c).

Any verbal sentence will, it seems, form a desiderative. Even Aru ‘It exists; We have it’ occurs in somewhat abstract situations such as ... yóo ni ari-tai ‘We would like to have it so that ...’: Goká no nái yóo ni ari-tai monó da ‘Of course we want to have it so there are no misunderstandings’. And S kótó ga ari-tai ‘We want S to happen’ will often be seen in print. In written Japanese you will also see N dé [wa/mo] ari-tai ‘we want it to be N’ or ‘one wants to be N’ as in these examples:2 Bóiku(“) wa sono nákó no hagúrúma no zyunkatú-yul(“) de ari-tai ‘I want to be the lubricant that oils the gears between them’ (SA 2655.113b); Wareware no seikatu wa, goori-teki de ari-tai to iú no ga, kono issyo zenpén(“) o turánuku watakusé no nénkán(“) de áru ‘Wishing for our life to be logical is my desire throughout the whole of this volume’ (Maeda 1962.1); Oýá to iu monó wa kodomo nítóte “ái-su ‘békí oya-baka’ de ari-tai monó de áru ‘It is only natural for a parent to want to be a “lovable doting father” toward his child’ (Nagano 10); ... hitóri no zyosei de ari-tai ‘I want to be just another woman’ (SA 2831.131c). The spoken language, however, will not make a desiderative on the nominal sentence without first converting it into the mutative N ni nárú ‘becomes N’ (§ 9.1.11); Greta Garbo’s famous plea ‘I want to be alone’ is quoted in Japanese as Hitóri ni nári-tai wa. And in place of (*) ari-tai ‘wants to have it’, the spoken language prefers hosii, originally a contraction of (*) horasii, an adjectival made from an old verb hor- ‘desire’ (cf. the intransitive hor- ‘be infatuated’), now found only in a reduced form of the infinitive hori in the verb hos-suru(“) ‘desire’s. Wákari-t’ai ‘I want to understand it’ or ‘It is desirable to understand’ is written and sometimes heard (e.g.

1. In Ōsaka one-syllable infinitives are lengthened: siii-tai, kii-tai, mii-tai, nee-tai, ... . But the length is said to disappear in the provisional form -takerea (Y 299). Cf. §9.1.
2. And even A-ku ari-tai from adjectival sentences (A-ku ... áru, §51), as in this example from a TV commercial: Yori utukúsiku ari-tai ‘I want to be more beautiful’ (R).

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§7. Desideratives

from children), as is sare-tai in the meaning 'I want to get it done', e.g. Yóku benkyoo sare-tai 'I want you to study [this material] well'. Cf. site morai-tai and site hosii (p. 598) 'I want to have the favor of getting it done'. But *deki-tai 'I want to be able (to do it)' and *iri-tai 'I want to need it' have not made the grade.

As a complete sentence the desiderative is usually limited to statements about one's own desires, or to questions directed to close friends about their desires—anticipating the reply, as it were. Even in those cases, it is common to turn the sentence into a nominal sentence V-i-tai n[ō] da (§14.2), or to quote it as a thought or feeling (V-i-tai to omō 'I think/feel I would like to V', §21—cf. the quoted hortative V-[y]ōo to omō ‘I think I will V’), or to adnominalize it in some such fashion as V-i-tai [yōo na] ki [moti] ga suru 'feel like doing V' as in: Sore o iwareta toki wa naki-tai yoo na ki [moti] ga sita 'When told that, I felt like crying'. Japanese are typically hesitant to come right out and state their emotions; that is why a desiderative sentence will often trail off with V-i-tai n desu ga [nee/nāa] ‘(it is that) I want to ... but (you see)’. Other people’s desires—or emotional states—are usually referred to obliquely, as direct quotation or as hearsay (V-i-tai sóo da, §18) or by adnominalization to yōo da (§13.2). But desires and other emotions can be stated directly about third persons, provided the sentence is buffered in some fashion; Teramura notes these conditions: (1) in a quotation, (2) in nominalizations, (3) in adnominalizations, (4) in some adverbializations (e.g. S kara ‘because S’), (5) with ‘containers’ that express the judgment, assertion, or conjecture of the speaker (... nō da, ...) darō, ... yōo da, ... rasi, ... sóo da, ...-sōo da), (6) when the sentence is perfect (V-i-takkatta). Sometimes the unexpressed source of the desire is general or vague: ... sorezore no gakkoo ni makase-tai ‘it is desirable to leave them [= new student uniforms] to the design of the individual schools’ (SA 2674.102c).

A statement of desire, like a request, may be intensified by an introductory adverb ze-hi ‘by all means’ or doo-mo ‘ever so much’. An adverb may refer to the verb underlying the desiderative rather than to the desire, which can take separate adverbial modification of its own; it is possible (if a bit unusual) to say Íma wa rainen iki-taku nai kedo ... ‘Right now I have no desire to go next year but ...’. Often a desire (with or without ze-hi) is introduced by the expression I-ti-dō de Íi kara ‘Once (at least) =Sometimes [I would like to ...]’.

For other notes on the desiderative, see also p. 598 (§10). On the question of making evidentials on the desiderative (V-i-tai-woo, V-i-tai-ge), see §20. There are two adjectives derived from desideratives: zire-tai ‘is irritating’ comes from zire-tai ‘wants to fret’ (zirérú ‘frets’), and kusugut-tai ‘is ticklish’ comes from kusuguri-tai ‘wants to tickle’ (kusugúru ‘tickles’).

The form -takú wa nai sometimes is contracted to -tak[a]tai nai, and in western Japan -tá[k]ú mo nai often shortens to -tó[o] mo nai; examples from print will be found in Y 293, where there are also examples of -tákerya[a], -tókya[a], and (Kyöto) -takeru, all contractions from -tákereba ‘if one desire’, and of -tei and -tee from -tai.

The desiderative marker -ta- comes from an auxiliary use of a truncated form of the adjective itá-i ‘painful’ or ‘extreme’ (cf. ‘tantalizing’). Heian examples are rare, but the form became more widespread in Kamakura days and flourished in Muromachi times.

3. As in Kodomo mo iki-tai kara, turete itte kudasai ‘Since the child wants to go, too, take him along’.
§7.1. Desiderative adjuncts

(Y 301, cf. Satô 1.282). Another kind of desiderative was common in Heian and Kamakura days with various forms V-a-masi-, V-a-mausi-, and V-a-mahosi that are contractions from V-a-m[u] a[ku] hosî- (? < por-asi-); see p. 943.

Throughout the Ryûkyûs the common desiderative is made by attaching to the verb infinitive something like -bushy- (Okinawa and Amami) or -busa- (Yaeyama). These forms are nigoried contractions from pus[y]a-, now husya- in Shuri and in Amami, which is cognate with standard Japanese hôi-sa ‘desirèdness’. But in Yaeyama there also occur forms deriving from V-i-ta-sa.

7.1. DESIDERATIVE ADJUNCTS

Two different traditions determine the marking of adjuncts in desiderative sentences. One tradition applies the desiderative conversion to the fully expanded sentence, allowing the object to stand with its basic specification:

A ga B o yôbu ‘A calls B’ → A ga B o yobi-tai ‘A wants to call B’. 4

The second tradition applies the desiderative only to the nuclear sentence and treats the resulting form as a double-subject adjective, marking the object as if it were also a subject:

(A ga B o) yobu ‘(A) calls (B)’ → A ga B ga yobi-tai ‘A wants to call B’.

With quasi-intransitive verbs, the former treatment is more usual: Dôko o aruki-tai is said more often than Dôko ga aruki-tai for ‘Where do you want to walk?’. It is awkward to have adjuncts intervene between N gâ (converted from N ô) and V-i-tai, and even more awkward when N gâ is further converted to N nô (see § 13.1.6); but N ô can readily be separated from the desiderativized verb by other material (Y 299).

In the following example the object is left marked with ô before a desiderative made on an adversative passive: ‘Mazime na kaisya’ to iu kigyoo-îméézi o kowasare-tâku nai, to iu kotô ka ‘Perhaps it means that they do not want to have their corporate image as a “sincere company” shattered’ (SA 2663.33e).

Traversal objects can be subjectified: kaidan o noboru ‘climbs the stairs’ will become kaidan o/ga nobori-tai ‘I want to climb the stairs’. But kî ni noboru ‘climbs [in/on] the tree’ will become only kî ni nobori-tai ‘I want to climb the tree’, not (*)kî ga nobori-tai.

You are not allowed to subjectify an object marked with an ô that is merely an alternative to the ablative marking with karâ: dênsya(”) o/kara orîru ‘leaves the train’ becomes dênsya(”) o/kara ori-tai ‘I want to leave the train’ and not *dênsya(”) ga ori-tai. Some verbs have two meanings, depending on whether the ablative option is available: gakkoo o/kara dêru ‘leaves (goes out of) the school’ will convert to the desiderative gakkoo o/kara de-tai ‘I want to leave the school’ but gakkoo o dêru as a synonym of sotugyoo suru ‘graduates’ will desiderativize to gakkoo o/ga de-tâi ‘I want to graduate from the school’. In general, ô-marked objects are permitted the option of subjectification (gà-marking) provided the ô-marking is not itself an optional substitute for some other, more basic, marking. Thus gakkoo o yasûmu ‘skips school’ will convert to gakkoo o/ga yasumi-tâi ‘I want to skip school’.

Examples of desiderative sentences (from KKK 3.258-9): ... nan-to-nâku hutari ‘dakê de hanasi-tâku nàtta no de ... ‘somehow we got so we wanted to talk just the two of us,

4. This tradition goes back to the Muromachi period, at least, and was the common form in the Edo period (K 1966.123-4).
Desiderative verbals are made from the (expanded) desiderative sentence by attaching 
-gäru, using a suffix -gär- that derives verbs from certain adjectives and adjectival nouns
§ 7.3) but here is attachable to ANY desiderative from ANY underlying verbal except
Aru; we find Ari-taï (in written Japanese, at least) but not * Ari-ta-gäru.\(^4\) The accent
pattern of -ta-gäru is optionally (1) always tonic, or (2) tonic only when the underlying verb
is tonic; in this book we choose the latter option, since it is maximally differentiating.
(The accent pattern of the desiderative adjectives V-i-taï is similar, having the option of
being always tonic or being tonic only when the underlying verb is tonic, and we have
chosen the latter option in this book.)

The verbalized desideratives have a strong meaning ‘desires, is eager to’ and in sentences
of straightforward reference they are seldom—if ever—used of one’s own desires: Tookyoo
ni uturi-taï kimoti wa âtta si, uti no ó-ku-san mo uturi-ta-gâte itâ n desu ‘I was in the mood
to move to Tôkyô and my missus wanted to move, too’ (SA 2671.30c—notice the unex­
pected use of uti no ó-ku-san for kânaï ‘my wife’); Sigoto no owari “gôro, kâno-zyo wa
watasi no módêru o yame-ta-gâte ita ‘At the end of the job, she wanted to quit as my
model’ (SA 2658.133b). But in sentences that imply a shift of viewpoint—so that from
YOUR point of view, say, ”I” temporarily become “you”—the first person can take the
verbalization: Watasi ga sonnâ koto o si-ta-gâte iru, mon da kara turete itte kur emasitâ ‘See in­
ging how badly I wanted to go, he took me with him’.

The sentence often appears in the continuous aspect -ta-gatte iru, §9.2.4.(1); the desiderative
verbalization would seem to be used as a durative-stative verb like sugurérû ‘exolls’
§3.12), but see p. 360 (§7.3) for a more precise characterization. It is possible to add the
structure -ta-gatte iru to a sentence that has already undergone an auxiliary conversion to
V-te iru, and then it is unclear whether the “desire” has reference to the entire phrase, to
the auxiliary, or to the underlying verb: Æsa karâ ban mäde sake o nônde i-ta-gatte iru ‘He
keeps wanting to drink (or: He wants to keep drinking) liquor from morning till night’.

Notice the chain VERBAL (as INFINITIVE §9.1) → ADJECTIVAL (-ta-i) → VERBAL
(-ta-gäru). The new verbal retains some of the grammatical properties of the immediately
underlying desiderative adjectival: it can not be turned into a command, a request, or an
exhortation, for desires are involuntary, and not subject to human control.

The object of the underlying verb will always retain its ó-marking. Compare Ano hôn o
yomi-ta-gâte iru ‘He is eager to read that book’ with Ano hôn o/î ga yomi-taï n desu ‘I want
to read that book’ . The transitivity or intransitivity of the underlying verb is not affected

\(^4\) But Peter N. Dale calls my attention to the fact that N de ari-ta-gäru is sometimes encountered:
hitori de ari-ta-gäru onna ‘a woman who desires to remain single’; Dôo site Nihon-zîn wa ‘Nihon-zîn’
de ari-ta-gâru no ka ‘Why is it that Japanese want to be “Japanese”?’ (Tada Dôtarô in Nihon-bunka no
§7.3. Verbalization of affective adjectives

by the verbalization of the desiderative: (uti e) kaeri-ta-garu ‘is eager to go (home)’ remains as intransitive as kae‘u ‘goes (home)’.

Examples (from KKK 3.259-60): ... Ano musumé ga, omoté kara hairi-ta-garánakatta kara desu ‘It is because that girl did not want to enter from the front way’; ... yatara ni hue o huki-ta-garu ‘... they [= certain referees] are overly eager to blow their whistles’; Hakkiri monó no mieta hitó da to omoimášu ga, hizyoo ni manabi-ta-gari, siri-ta-gatta, soo iu imi de tankyúu-sin no áttá hitó da to omoimášu ‘He is a man of clear discernment, I believe, and—extremely desirous of learning and desirous of knowing—he is in that sense a person possessed of the spirit of inquiry, I believe’; Motíron Sakámkai no yóó na, gyosyóka de tóotte iru otókó ga mi-ta-gáru sibai nára, ooyosó kentóo wa túku ‘Of course if it’s a play that a man like Sakamaki, known as a lecher, is eager to see, I can pretty well guess [the content]’; Sonna ni tabe-tá-gáreba, dóonna hahayó o d’átte tabasasézu ni wa irarenai to omoimášu ‘When they are so eager to eat, it seems to me that hardly any mother can resist feeding them’.

More examples: Tokoró-ga syoogákúse ni musumé1 hutan1 wa tèrèbi wa kážiri-túíté(°) sèkí(°) o hanare-ta-garáni ‘But my two daughters who are in primary school sit glued to the television set and don’t want to leave their seats’ (SA 2666.108c); Ningen to iu monó wa saki o siri-ta-gáru doobutú de átte, sono o-kage de yógen-sya nádo wa syókúgyóo to site seiritú site kíta ‘Man is a creature who desires to know the future, and thanks to that such things as the prognosticator have gradually come into existence as vocations’ (SA 2680.40a); ... sore de setúmei si-ta-garú katamúkí(°) ga áru ‘there is a tendency to want to explain it by that’ (SA 2666.36a).

The V-i-ta-garú formation originated in Kamakura times; through the Muromachi period the negative version was usually made by applying the verbalization to the negative auxiliary: V-i-tai → V-i-ta[ k]u ná → V-i-ta’u na-gáru. The modern negativization (V-i-tai → V-i-tagáru → V-i-tagaráru or -tagaránu) dates from the Edo period. Cf. Y 304.

7.3. VERBALIZATION OF AFFECTIVE AND CATHETIC ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVAL NOUNS

There are some 70 adjectives and around 30 adjectival nouns that can be verbalized with -gáru, a kind of bound auxiliary thought to be derived from -ge ‘appearance (etc.)’ (§20) + áru. These are all words that refer to emotional affect or reaction. A number of the verbs produced are intransitive, with a meaning something like ‘displays symptoms of being ...’, as exemplified by nemu-gáru ‘feels drowsy’ and iki-gáru ‘puts on the dog (= pretends to swank)’. But dictionaries are unreliable on the question of transitivity for many of these words; the decision is not always easy. Sabisi-gáru ‘feels lonely’ is commonly used as an intransitive, but you can say hitóri-tabi o sabisi-gáru ‘feels lonely on an unaccompanied trip’. Only body-parts can serve as the direct object for such verbs as ita-gáru ‘feels pain’, kayu-gáru ‘feels itchy’, kurusi-gáru ‘feels distressed’, and kusugutta-gáru ‘feels ticklish’; speakers will sometimes allow the body-part to be marked with gá instead of ó, a variation which occasionally turns up for other N o A-“gáru sentences.

Those adjectives and adjectival nouns that will make transitive verbs are CATHETIC. They have a grammar that not only calls for a subject who is the source of the emotion, always marked by gá (unless focused with wá/mó or the like), but also will allow a CATHETIC OBJECT—the externalized person or thing toward which the emotion is
directed—also marked by が. The fact that, in general, word order is free can lead to ambiguity: Kodomo ga inu ga kowai may mean ‘The child is afraid of the dog’ but it may also mean ‘The dog is afraid of the child’, though under neutral circumstances the former interpretation is more likely. The verbalization with -garu requires that the cathectic object be marked with お, thus disambiguating the sentences: Kodomo ga inu お kowa-gatte iru ‘The child is afraid of the dog’, Kodomo お inu ga [or: Inu ga kodomo お] kowa-gatte iru ‘The dog is afraid of the child’. These facts have led to the notion that perhaps something verbal lurks beneath (or hovers above) the cathectic adjectives. It has even been suggested that we take the verbalization, despite its morphological complexity, as syntactically basic, with the simple adjective or adjectival noun to be derived (by something like truncation and ambiguation) from the -garu form. It would be less contrived to think of the lurking verbal character as something more abstract (CATHEXIS) that underlies the simple adjective or adjectival noun, asserting itself unambiguously only when the verbalization is applied, though present in the simple forms, as well, by virtue of the double surface-subject.

There are a few verbs made by attaching -garu to other elements, such as kyoo-garu = omosiro-garu ‘enjoys’ (kyoo ‘amusement, fun’, kyoo-ziru ‘amuses oneself’), tuu-garu ‘makes a show of one’s knowledge’ (tuu ‘an expert’), and the examples found in the following sentences: ... koto ni Edokko-garu ningen wa kirai desu ne ‘I especially hate people who put on “Yedo” (traditional-Tōkyō) airs’ (Tk 2.290b); ... bīzin(-) de mo nai no ga beppin-gatte ‘ru kara, ... ‘because those who are no beauties go around acting as if they were real dolls’ (Tk 3.145a); šinpo-syūgi -zura no yarō-dōmo ga iyā ni šinposyugi-garu to, bōku(-) wa mūka-muka sityaū n da ‘When those so-and-sos with a front of progressivism go around parading their progressivism so unpleasantly I get disgusted’ (Tk 3.144b).

In §3.12 we examined verbal aspect and Isami’s subcategorization of verbs. Where do our -garu verbs fit in that scheme? According to Takaki the “emotive” verbs made with -garu resemble the categories of verb of EMOTION (such as nayamu or nikumu) and verb of CONTINUITY (or durative-static, such as sugureru); these two categories differ from each other primarily in that the verb of emotion will permit favor conversions, as will some of the -garu verbs that have favorable meanings, such as kawai-garu. They are also terminable, for emotions are temporary things that can come to an end, and thus the perfect form is past in meaning even when adnominalized: nayānda hitō ‘the man who suffered’ differs in meaning from nayamu hitō ‘the man who suffers’ and nayānde iru hitō ‘the man who is suffering’ but sugureta hitō means the same thing as sugurete iru hitō ‘a surpassing person’. Since nomi-ta-gatta hitō ‘the man who wanted to drink’ differs in meaning from nomi-ta-gatte iru hitō ‘the man who wants to drink’, we conclude that the verbalized desideratives (and probably the other -garu verbs, as well) belong, not surprisingly, with Isami’s verbs of emotion. But Takaki says that they differ from both of Isami’s classes in permitting cooccurrence with adverbs of frequency and time. (Both classes cooccur with adverbs of duration, as do our verbalized desideratives.)

On p. 358 we observed that V-i-ta-garu resembles the durative-static verbs (sugureru ‘surpasses’, sobiēru ‘towers’, etc.). But according to Takaki they differ in that V-i-ta-gatte iru has the repetitive meaning of V-te iru and is thus not semantically empty; that there is a difference in meaning between V-i-ta-gatta N and V-i-ta-gatte iru N; that *V-i-tagatte

5. Not the continuative; emotions pulsate.
kurú ‘gradually comes to want to V’ can not be used; and that V-i-ta-gari-doosi da ‘keeps on wanting to V’ is possible.

Takaki made a survey to check the acceptability of -gáru verbs made from various adjectives and adjectival nouns. She found a correlation between the relative frequency of the underlying word and the acceptability of the derived form; not surprisingly, adjectives of lower frequency are less likely to be accepted with -gáru than those of higher frequency. Moreover, she found that verbs with -gáru are generally used to express something unpleasant or uncomfortable, though some are neutral and a few are pleasant. We find samu-gáru ‘is sensitive to cold, feels the cold’ and atu-gáru ‘is sensitive to heat, feels the heat’, both matters to be complained about, but no *atataka-gáru ‘feels the warmth’ or *suzusigáru ‘feels the cool’. The lists which follow are based on Takaki’s work, supplemented by data I have found elsewhere. Before each entry you will find two columns of information.

The first column roughly shows the ratio of acceptability according to Takaki’s survey:

A 100 percent (40 adjectives, 7 adjectival nouns)
B 75-100 percent (15 adjectives, 6 adjectival nouns)
C 50-75 percent (10 adjectives, 8 adjectival nouns)
? not in Takaki’s list (7 adjectives, 9 adjectival nouns)

The second column has a minus (−) for those words which are NEVER cathectic, producing -gáru forms that are always intransitive; there are at least 5 such adjectives, and 6 adjectival nouns.

The ratio refers to the acceptability of the A-gáru verb as checked with a number of speakers, not to the cathectic grammar. Some speakers will be reluctant to allow the transitivity of a few verbs made from entries not marked with a minus, such as (?)isogasigáru ‘feels busy with one’s work’. Most of the transitive verbs can also be used as intransitives. Instead of the direct object, a cause (marked by de or ni or no tamé ni) can sometimes be used with the intransitive version; the example under ikigurusi below could replace seikatu o with seikatu de, seikatu ni, or seikatu no tamé ni. The translations given are tags, at best, and misleading in many cases; each word should be given closer study.

LIST OF ADJECTIVES THAT VERBALIZE

A abunai ‘is dangerous’: Watasi ga/wa sono atarasii keikaku o abuna-gátte iru
1 am wary of that new plan.’
A arigatai ‘is welcome’: arigata-gáru ‘appreciates’
C atarasii ‘is new, fresh’: atarasi-gáru ‘is fond of novelty’, atarasigari-ya ‘a novelty-seeker’.
A atuí ‘is hot’: Ameriká-zin wa Nihón no natú o atu-gáru ‘Americans find Japan’s summers hot’.
B ayasii ‘is doubtful’
? erái ‘is eminent’: era-gáru ‘gives oneself airs, is self-important’.
C hagayuí ‘is vexed, impatient’
A hazukasii ‘is ashamed; is shy’: Káre ga/wa zibun no hu-bénkyoo o hazukasi-gátte iru ‘He is ashamed of his own lack of diligence’.
B himozii ‘is hungry’
A hosii ‘is desirous’
ikigurusi is suffocating, stuffy: Gendai no wakamono(−) wa seizon-kyōsoo no seikatu o ikigurusi-gāru ‘Young people of today find the competitive life stifling’.

C

imaisi is annoying, vexatious

A

itai is painful: Kodomo ga/wa asī o ita-gātte iru ‘The child feels his leg hurting’.

? itosii is beloved

A

kanasii is sad

A

cwaii is lovable

A

kawaii is itchy: Watasi ga/wa senaka o kawai-gāru ‘I feel my back itching’.

A kemutai ‘feels awkward’

A

kitanai is dirty; is mean, stingy: Háha ga néko o kitana-gāru ‘The mother finds the cat dirty (feels the cat is dirty)’.

A

kitana-rasii is squalid, disgusting

A

koisii is beloved

B

kokorososo is downhearted, depressed: Káre ga/wa zibun no syóoorai o kokorososo-gātte iru ‘He is depressed over his future’.

C
kokorozuyoi is heartened

A

cwaii is afraid

A

curusii is distressed

A

cusuguttai is ticklish

? kutosii is regrettable

A

kuyasii is vexing, regrettable: Anó-hito wa hito ni warawareta kotó o kuyasi-gātte, naita ‘Chagrined at being laughed at by people, he wept’.

A mabusi is dazzling; is abashed: Káre ga asahi o mabusi-gātte, iro-mégane o kāketa ‘Dazzled by the morning sun, he put on his dark glasses’.

B matidoosi is impatiently awaited

A

mendokusai is troublesome, tiresome

A

mezurasi is rare, precious: S to mezurasi-gāru ‘marvels that S’ (SA 2672.60); ... kago-nori no kyaku o mezurasi-gātte, ‘... marveling at the guest in the palanquin’ (Y 255).

A

modokasii is fretful

B

moosikakenai is apologetic

B

mottai-nai is unworthy, impious: ... mottainaga-rimásu wá, kit-to ‘he doesn’t deserve it, surely’ (Fn 62b).

B

muzukasii is difficult; is fastidious

A

namagusai is fishy

A

natukasii is nostalgic

? nemui is sleepy

6. For Hamako Chaplin isogasi-gāru is always intransitive. In Japanese a time, a place, an activity (sigoto), or a person can be isogasi ‘busy’.

7. But sometimes said with así GA.

8. But sometimes said with senaka GA.

9. But sometimes said with néko GA.

10. But sometimes said with asahi GA.
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A nemutai ‘is sleepy’

? netamasii ‘is envious’: Mazusii hitó ga/wa kanemotsi(‘) no seikatu o netamasi-garú ‘The poor man envies the rich man’s life (or: envies the rich man his life)’.

C nigai ‘is bitter, trying’

A nikurasii ‘is hateful’

B nomi-nikui ‘is hard to swallow/drink’

? oisii ‘is delicious’: Ryoohoo ‘tomo mainiti(‘) oisi-gatte tabete iru ‘syokuhin’ da kara da ‘It’s because both of them [cyclomates and monosodium glutamate] are “foodstuffs” that we relish eating every day’ (SA 2651.16).

A okasii ‘is funny; is suspicious’: Ano zyuuna(‘) no izoku mo iru n da kara, kono taidan de anmari okasi-gatty a ikenai daroo ná ‘That policeman’s family are still alive, so I guess we better not make too much fun of him in this interview’ (Tk 3.34a).

A omosoroi ‘is interesting, fun’: Kono kumiawase o omosiro-gáru hitó ga iru ‘There are those who will enjoy this combination’ (SA 2658.61a).

A omotai ‘is heavy’

B oshi ‘is regretted, begrudged, valuable’: Isogasii hitó wa zikan o osi-gáru ‘The busy man values his time’.11

A osorosii ‘is dreadful’: kázi o osorosi-gáru ‘dreads fires’.

A sabisii ‘is lonely’

A samui ‘is cold’: Watasi ga kaze ni samu-gätte nekoze ni náru no ni ... ‘I feel the cold from the wind and hunch my shoulders against it, but [he] ...’ (SA 2666.85c).

C setunai ‘is oppressive, painful’

A sewasinai = sewasii ‘is busy, restless’

C sibui ‘is astringent, puckery; is austere’

B suppai ‘is sour’: Kodomo ga natu-mikan o suppa-gáru ‘Children find the citron too sour for them’.

B tanomosii ‘is dependable’

B tanosii ‘is pleasant’

C tayori-nai ‘is helpless; is unreliable’

B terekusai ‘is embarrassed, shy’: Kono ... sikumi o, isásaka mo terekusa-gáru koto nashi ni ... ‘Without the slightest embarrassment at this device ...’ (SA 2688.90e).

B tumaranai ‘is dull, worthless’: ... kyaku ga tumaranaga-gätte ‘ru to ... ‘when the guests are bored’ (Tk 2.17a); Gakusei ga kono syoosetu o tumaranaga-gáru ‘Students will find this novel boring’.

A ? tumetai ‘is cold (to the touch); is cold-hearted’

B turai ‘is trying, cruel’

A — tuyoi ‘is strong’

? umai ‘is delicious’

C uramesii ‘is reproachful’

A urayamasii ‘is enviable’

11. But sometimes said with zikan GA.
A uresii 'is delightful, joyful'
A urusai 'is annoying': ... urusagâtte suwîtti o kiru ga ... ‘feeling annoyed, I switched it off but’ (K 1966.232).
B uttoosii 'is gloomy'
C wazurawasii 'is troublesome'
A yakamasii 'is noisy; troublesome; fastidious'
? yói 'is good': yo-gâru 'exults; (a woman) is sexually gratified'
A zirettâi 'is irritating': ... omô yôô ni hakobanai têkubi o ziretta-gâatta 'was irritated at his wrist which would not move as he wanted [in writing with the brush]...’ (Fn 172a).

LIST OF ADJECTIVAL NOUNS THAT VERBALIZE

? aware ‘pathetic, touching’
? daizî ‘important, valuable’: Butai-sôoti nânka, soo daizi-garanai yôô na kanzi dâtta ‘I got the feeling that they don’t care so much about the stage sets and all’ (Tk 2.117a).
C – haikara ‘classy’
A huan ‘uneasy’: ... ninko o huan-gâtte iru ‘are uneasy over their popularity’ (SA 2665.114e).
B hûbin ‘pitiful’
? huhei ‘discontent’: Syâin(−) ga taiguu o huhei-gâru ‘The employee is unhappy with his treatment’ ← Syâin(−) ga/wa taiguu ga/ni huhei da.
? hukâi ‘uncomfortable; displeased’: ... hukai-garasêru dakê de aru ‘it is enough to make one displeased’ (SA 2655.29d).
? huketu ‘filthy’: Ōoku no hitôbito ga koosyu-bênzyo o huketu-gâru ‘Most people find public restrooms unclean’.
A husigi ‘odd’
C – hu-yûkai ‘unhappy’
A – iki ‘stylish’
? iyá ‘disliked’
C kawaisôo ‘pitiful’¹³
A kinodôku ‘sorry, wretched’: Minnâ ga giséi-sya o kinodoku-gâru ‘Everyone feels sorry for the victim’.
? kityyoo ‘valuable’
A meîwaku ‘troublesome’: Isogasii hitô ga/wa syóotai o meîwaku-gâru ‘The busy person finds invitations a nuisance’.
A mendôo ‘troublesome’: Sukôsi da kara to mendoo-gâtte nokore-bi o somatu ni suru kotô wa môtomo hu-keizai desu ‘It is most uneconomical to neglect the embers fussing about there being so little left of the fire’ (KKK 3.39).
(A another example appears in Nagano 1970.202.)
C munen ‘resentful’
A okkûu ‘bothersome’

12. Whence (by way of a derived noun?) the adjectival noun hitori-yôgari ‘self-satisfied, complacent’.
13. But kawai-soo-gâru sounds a bit childish, being commonly replaced by aware-gâru.
§7.3. Verbalization of affective adjectives

A — okubyō ‘cowardly’
B — sinkoku ‘poignant’
B tāigi ‘irksome, wearisome’
B tokū(−) ‘exultant’
C — tuukai ‘thrilling’

? tyoohoo ‘convenient, handy; of use/value’: ... dāre kara mo tyoohoo-garāreta ‘was found of value by everyone’ (Kb 113a).
A yakkai ‘troublesome, awkward’; ... tūma no byooki o yakkai-gatte ‘finding his wife’s illness troublesome’ (KKK 44.24).
? yūkai ‘cheerful, happy’
? — yuu’tu ‘melancholy, gloomy’
A — zannén ‘regrettable, disappointing’
C — zyama ‘cumbersome, burdensome’

You may run across additional items in texts or dictionaries: bukimi-garāreta (SA 2793.129b); bakabakasi-gatte bākari ite (Okitsu 1.245); ibukasi-gāru (Hokama 1971.5); usukimiwaru-gatte (Ariyoshi 74); sema-gāru (Shimmura); iyarasi-gāru, kimariwaru-gāru, kimi-gāru, medata-gāru, namagusa-gāru, nasakena-gāru, nayamasi-gāru, niku-gāru, omo-gāru, sumana-gāru (cf. p. 384), tanomosi-gāru, uramesi-gāru, wabisi-gāru, waru-gāru, yukasi-gāru (all MK2); daru-gāru (KKK 44.22); ... The earliest example of -gāru seems to be afare-gare-do-mo (= aware-gatte mo) in Tosa-Nikki (935 A.D.).

14. Hamako Chaplin has not heard okubyoo-gāru.
8 NEGATION

Virtually any Japanese predicate can be made negative to deny the assertion made in a statement. Negative commands (prohibitions) are described in §16.3; for V-ru -maĩ ֊ýō = V-(a)nai daroo ֊ýō, see §12.1, §12.3; for other uses of V-ru -maĩ, see §15.12a. For the negative with stylizations, see §22; for S zya nai ka and V-{y}oo zya nai ka, see §15.16 and §12.2 respectively.

In a conjoined sentence, the meaning conveyed by the final negative may or may not carry through the earlier sentence(s); see the discussion under §9. Certain kinds of sentence—for example, rhetorical questions—express semantic negation without the formal markings that are here treated as “negation”. And a few expressions which are formally marked as negative may function in other ways semantically; for example, Ikimasen ka may be used either as a negatively put question ‘Will you not go?’ (expecting a yes-or-no answer directed to the content, §8.2) or as an invitation ‘Won’t you go = Please (I invite you to) go/come’, to which the appropriate answer is an expression of thanks or regrets.

8.1. NEGATING THE ADJUNCTS

To negate an adjunct (‘Not I but someone else was here’, ‘He gave it not to me but to my brother’) the adjunct must first be predicated as a nominal: watasi → watasi da → watasi de/zya nai ‘it isn’t me’; watasi ni → watasi ni da → watasi ni de/zya nai ‘it isn’t to me’ (but through propredication the ni can drop, leaving the expression homonymous with the preceding). The negated nominalized sentence is then adverbialized and conjoined: Watasi zya naku-te ... ‘Not I but ...’; Watasi ni zya naku-te ... ‘Not to me but ...’. In place of N (...) zya naku-te you may hear N (...) -tigate, sometimes abbreviated to N to-ty’atte; this is especially common in western Japan. Examples: Tekiira de nakte, uisukii o nomi-naga ha nasita n desu keredo mo ... ‘We talked while drinking whiskey rather than tequila, but ...’ (SA 2662.110d); Ningen no honsit u wa, roodo de naku asobi ni aru to iu ‘It [= the theory of homo ludens] claims that the essence of man lies in play, not work’ (SA 2673.41c).

Instead of zya naku you will often see (and sometimes hear) de wa naku: ... nado no seikoo wa, zyosei no miryouku(") ga mun ni de wa naku me ya koe ya sunnari sita sırüetto nado ni âru kotô o simésite(") irú no desu ‘... the success of such [actresses] as ... shows that a woman’s charm is not in her bust but in her eyes and voice and graceful silhouette’ (SA 2665.106c); Takéuti Yosimi wa kono hõn o, senmon-ka no tamé ni de wa naku, sîranâi ga siri-tai to negâtte iru òoku no hitobito no tamé ni kâite iru ‘Yoshimi Takeuchi has written this book [‘Tyûugoku o siru tamé’ ‘‘In order to know China’’] not for specialists but for the many people who do not know [China] but are pleading that they want to know [it]’ (SA 2680.104c). As a result of propredication, various elements in sentence conversions can also be denied by de wa naku: ... Yasûmî ni de wa naku hõn o yômi ni kâetta n desu ‘I went home not to rest but to do some reading’ (§9.1.1); Nâgaku de wa naku mizîkaku kâte kudasî ‘Cut it short, not long’ (§9.1.11); Tokai-bûnka o mane surû no de wa naku, rîkai(“) saseru kyooiku to iu monô ga huzai na
§8.1. Negating the adjuncts

She said ‘It is not that they [= rural youth] are imitating the big-city culture but that they lack anything in the way of education to let them understand it’ (SA 2647.119c). These are negations of propredications, as found also in such expressions as nagaku nā (‘if it is cutting it long’), nagaku da to ‘when it is cutting it long’, nagaku de mo ‘even if it’s cutting it long’, etc.

Similar in meaning are N₁ wa ōroka/motiron つでつ N₂ ‘N₂ to say nothing of N₁,’ as in:... gusyuua ga hodoo wa ōroka, syadoo ippai ni ahūrete iru ‘the crowds flood the street, to say nothing of the sidewalks’ (Gd 1969/9.107b). By adnominalization S + koto wa can be used in these expressions, and S koto wa ōroka ‘not only S but’ will sometimes be equivalent to S dokoro ka (see p. 930). Another expression of this sort is N wa tō-mokuaku つでつ ‘be the N as it may’ as in Rikutu wa tō-mo-kaku, ... ‘Theory aside’ or ‘Whatever the theory/reason’.

To say ‘(DOES/IS) not only ... but also (DOES/IS)’ you can adnominalize a sentence to the postadnominal bākari (or dake) + つでつ [wa] naku[て]te; examples will be found in KKK 3.202. An additional example: Sosite hōnryo wa, tāda omosirōi hanasi o narabeta dake de nāku, sorē-ra o tōosite, amari ni sizen o hanärete simatta gendai-būnmei e no hitōto no hīhan(・) o katatte iru no de aru ‘So this book not only has lined up merely interesting stories, but through them tells a (specific) criticism directed at modern civilization which has removed itself too far from nature’ (SA 2679.105d).

To express ‘not only N₁ but also N₂’ you can say N₁ bākari/dake de [wa] naku[て]te N₂ mo—or N₂ dē mo, as in these examples: Gyoomu-tōkō suru hitō dake de nāku zyunsui ni asobi no hitō mo hūete iru ‘It’s not just people going abroad on business, those [going] for pure pleasure are increasing in number, too’ (SA 2664.97—asobi no is adnominalized propredication for something like asobi ni tokō suru ‘goes abroad to enjoy oneself’); Tokorō-ga, sooba wa kai bākari de nāku, urī mo nākereba seiritu sinai ‘But to make a market you have to have buying as well as selling’ (SA 2666.17e—kai and urī are nouns derived from transitive verb infinitives); Ŝōna bākari de wa nāku, hutuu no o-hūro de mo, atu-sugiru no wa ikemasen ‘Not only the sauna but even ordinary baths should not be [ones that are] too hot’ (SA 2668.106b). In place of dake/bākari de naku[て]te you may find dake/bākari [da] ka, a rhetorical question ‘is it just ...?!’ used to mean ‘not just’; sometimes this is followed by gyaku ni ‘but on the contrary’: Motiron seihū-setu o ura-zukēru kakusyōo wa ima-no-tokoro nā bākari ka, gyaku ni ikutu ka no hansyōo mo ageru kōtō ga dekīru ‘Of course not only is there lack of evidence to substantiate the government’s theory but on the contrary a number of pieces of counter-evidence even can be offered’ (SA 2673.131c); X mo wakarānai bākari ka Y mo yōku wakarānai daroo ‘Not only is X unclear, but Y isn’t very well understood, either’. For dake ka you will also find nōmi ka (examples in Terase 168). In place of ... dake de naku[て]te you may see the literary cliché ... nōmi-narazu (preceded by a minor juncture).

These devices can be used not only after simple nouns but also after a variety of other constructions: Kikai-tekii ni [surū no] dake de nāku, nīnyōo o kāmi site kudasai ‘Don’t just do it mechanically, but add a touch of human feeling’; Nihon e i korārete karida dake de nāku つお-κuni ni irassyyāru tokī mo lonazi dēsu ka ‘Is it the same not only since you are here in Japan but also when you are in your country’ (SA 2647.126).

Sometimes the expression will be anticipated by an adverb; an example of tān ni ... dake de nāku ‘not just merely ... but’ will be found in SA 2674.92d. All the expressions with ... nāku[て]te are sentence-connecting conversions from sentences ending in ... nāi:
§8. Negation

Very similar to dakē de/zya nai ‘it is not just limited to ...’ (cf. p. 1009); and ni kagirazu (cf. §14.6.4) means ‘not only ... but’ (= dakē de nāku): Bōku("") ni kagirazu, dāre d’atte sōo desu kedo ‘Not just me, but everyone is like that’ (TK 3.49b).

In place of de {wa} nāku{te} in these expressions you can also use the more literary de {wa} nāku{mo}. See §15.6 for (S/N) dōkoro zya nai ‘it is unthinkable (out of the question)’, (S/N) dōkoro {da} ka ‘far from being; anything but’, and (S/N) bākari {da} ka ‘not only (S/N) but’.

A somewhat literary equivalent of de nāku{mo} ‘even if it isn’t’ is de nāzu {mo}, and that is used to mean ‘others beside (in addition to) ...’ synonymous with dakē de nāku: Kore de wa A sensēi nāruz to mo ... to iu kotō ni nari-sōo da ‘Now it appears to be the case that others besides Dr. A are saying ...’ (SA 2664.27c).

Though normally you expect some sort of noun expression in front of the copula da or its negative de/zya nai, sometimes an ellipsis (of something like sōo ‘that way’) leaves the copula standing alone: Kōzima sensei no tam{l} ni ?-zya nai n desu ‘For Dr Kōzima?—No’ (SA 2685.44c).

8.2. ANSWERING NEGATIVE QUESTIONS

When a question is put negatively, the speaker of standard Japanese usually replies to the FORM of the question rather than the CONTENT. Accordingly, the answers to Banana wa nai ka ‘Don’t we have any bananas?’ (= ‘Do we lack bananas?’) are Hai [or Èe or Ñn] banana wa nai ‘No, we haven’t’ (= ‘Yes, we lack them’) and lie [or Iya] banana wa āru ‘Yes, we have’ (= ‘No, we don’t lack them’). In place of Hai and lie people often use the more explicit Sōo da ‘That’s correct’ and Sōo zya nai (in western Japan more often Tīgau) ‘That’s mistaken’; or, they repeat the predicate: Nai ‘Yes, we haven’t’, Āru ‘No, we have’. But if the Japanese negative is just a formal device—as in the rhetorical question S zya nai ka (§15.16) and the invitational V-{y}oo zya nai ka as well as other invitations that are put negatively just to be polite (Kōre o yonde kudasaima sen kā or Yomimasēn ka ‘Won’t you kindly read this?’)—the underlying CONTENT is answered: Hai ‘Yes (I’m in agreement, I’m willing)’; lie ‘No’, or Tyōt-to ‘Well ... (I am doubtful or unwilling)’, or Iya desu ‘I don’t want to’.

Here is a dialog (SA 2671.50a) which nicely brings out the form-answering nature of Japanese ‘yes’:

-Anāta, o-sake wa? ‘[What about] you and liquor?’
-Zenzen, oboënakkata desu ‘I’ve never indulged’.
-Kore karō mo oboēru tumori wa nāi desu ka? ‘You have no intention of indulging in the future, either?’
-Èe. Sake wa oboënai tumori nā desu ‘That’s right. I intend not to indulge in liquor’.

In the northern Ryūkyū the use of ‘yes’ and ‘no’ follows the English pattern of responding to the content rather than the form; see Martin 1970.139. According to Zhs 6.16 this is true also of Kyūshū speech.

8.3. MULTIPLE NEGATIVES

Multiple negatives cancel each other out. It is not uncommon for a Japanese to indulge in what strikes the foreigner as a game of ping-pong by piling up negations within complex
§8.3. Multiple negatives

Strings of embedded sentences, as in Dōo ni mo si-kata ga nāi baai ga nāi de mo nāi ga, kessite ī monō de wa nāi ‘It isn’t the case that there are never situations when there’s just nothing can be done (= To be sure it sometimes happens that you are up against it), but it certainly isn’t ever very pleasant’. An ODD number of negatives lets the import of the sentence as a whole remain negative, an EVEN number shifts it to the affirmative; but in either case the device has attenuated the assertiveness of the speaker much as can be done by the oblique negative devices of English, as in sentences like ‘It is not unwise to avoid running out of unambiguous questions’. Cf. V-(a)nai wāke ni [wa] ikanai ‘it is impossible not to = must’ (§13.2), V-(a)zu ni [wa] irarenai (p. 520), V-(a)zāru o énai (p. 896), and expressions of obligation such as V-(a)nākereba narānai (p. 559); V-rū yori hoka [wa], sika, si-kata ga nāi (p. 386). See also the examples of negatives with kotō in §14.1.1.

Examples of multiple negatives: Sore o, Nihôn ni mo moti-konđa no de wa nāi ka to mo kangaerānai kotō wa nāi ‘There is no reason for it not to be thought that they might not have been brought into Japan, too’ (Ōno 1966.199)—read with juncture before or after to mo; Kono yōo na kanga-kāta wa, ... nādo ni mo ukagaenai wāke de wa arimasen ga, ... ‘There is no reason not to (= We can of course) study this sort of thinking in ... and other works, but ...’ (Tsujimura 101): Sono ten, tasyoo mono-tarināi(−) to ienāku wa nāi ga, ... ‘With respect to that (point), it isn’t that it can’t be said to be to some extent unsatisfactory, but ...’ (SA 2677.112c)—mono-tarināi(−) ‘is inadequate’ is a lexical negative, an adjective derived from the negative tarinai of the intransitive verb tariru ‘suffices’; Tokorō-ga ikū tām ni kāku mo l nāi no l sā ‘But they are NOT exactly innocent (of wrong-doing)’ (Fn 200b—reference is to the preceding tūmi mo nāi sīmīn o odokasu ‘threatening innocent civilians’).

Frequently a double negative is made by negativizing a direct nominalization of the negative (cf. §14.6, §15.16) with a form like V-(a)nāi zya/de nāi or, with focus, V-(a)nāi de mo/wa nāi: ... seikoo sināi de mo l nāi ‘We may succeed all right ...’; Noosān-butu no l hāiki(−) wa l gaikoku ni l ērī ga l nāi de wa l nāi ‘The discard of agricultural products is not without precedent in foreign countries’ (SA 2689.145d); Minnā wa hu-to damātte, kāre o miru de mo nāku, mināi de mo nāku, seki no yamu māde māte yaru ‘Everyone suddenly stops talking and, without quite looking at him nor quite looking away from him, they wait for the coughing to stop’ (SA 2659.69a); ... nāni yā ikamesi kanjī ga sināi de mo nāi ga ... ‘you don’t entirely lack the feeling of something solemn, but ...’ (SA 2663.134).

For nāi itself, and for A-kū nāi and N de zya nāi, a more straightforward double negative can be made in the form nāku nāi as in these examples: Sizuka zya nāku nāi n da ga ‘It’s quiet all right, but ...’; Hanasi-tāku nāku nāi kedo ‘I do want to talk, but ...’; Yomi-yāsku nāku nāi n da ga ‘It’s easy enough to read, but ...’. Cf. V-(a)nāku wa nāi = V-(a)nāi kotō wa nāi, §14.1.1.

Focus can be applied: ... ippan no dōkusya(−) ni tōtte tasyoo wakari-nikūi ten mo nāku wa nāi ‘There ARE points that for the general reader are more or less hard to understand’ (SA 2655.123b); ... tōkusya(−) no kusuri ya syōtī wa, satei de mitomerarenai kotō mo nāi de wa nāi, sikāi, ... ‘special medicines and treatments do not go totally unrecognized in the assessments; however, ...’ (SA 2660.54c); Marē(−) ni wa, il sono yōo na l ērī mo l nāku wa l nāi no de ēru ‘On rare occasions we come across an example of that sort’ (SA 2662.107b).

In principle, this sort of multiple negation is recursive and could be reapplied any number of times with or without minor variations: Nāku wa nāi zya nāi; Nāku wa nāi
§8. Negation

dó wa nái; Nái dó wa nái zya nái. These all mean something like 'It isn't that it isn't that there isn't any' = 'There really aren't any to speak of'.

And one step further: Nái dó wa nái dó wa nái zya nái; Nái dó wa nái dó wa nái.

These say 'It isn't that it isn't that it ISN'T that there isn't any' = 'There really ARE some'.

But, as with the literal translations, what is grammatical is not necessarily comfortable; you will meet such sentences rarely, if ever. Notice, however, that sentences like Sukunáku dó wa nái contain only two negatives ('it isn't that it isn't little' = 'it isn't very much, there aren't very many') since the first word is not a negative but a simple adjective infinitive.

Some sentences will contain lexical or embedded negatives and/or interrogatives that will add an earlier ping to the ping-pong game of the double negative found at the end:

... mósí ka sitára misúgi-yóshugi("") no zyoyuu-kágoyo yori, móno-kákí no hóó ga yuuboo zya nái ka to omowásénai de mo nái '... it almost makes one wonder whether writing might not be more promising than a career as an actress for a livelihood' (SA 2685.104b).

8.4. NEGATING THE PREDICATE

Our several kinds of nuclear sentences are made negative according to the pattern illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFIRMATIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERBAL</td>
<td>Yobu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-NOMINAL</td>
<td>Kenkyuu suru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJECTIVAL</td>
<td>Ookíi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ.-NOMINAL</td>
<td>Sízuka da.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMINAL</td>
<td>Hón da.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verb forms divide into two groups (or "conjugations"): CONSONANT verbs attach the negative suffix in the shape -ana-i and VOWEL verbs attach it in the shape -na-i. From this we see that our nuclear verbal sentences contain a suffix -ú for consonant verbs, -ru for vowel verbs; that is the IMPERFECT finite ending (in contrast with the PERFECT -tá of §11), which we have taken as a convenient starting point. We can list subtypes of verb by shape, showing how the imperfect is made negative:

CONSONANT VERBS

- kák-u 'writes'    kak-ána-i
- kag-u 'smells it' kag-ana-i
- kás-u 'lends it'  kás-ana-i
- káta 'wins'       kat-ána-i
- kár-u 'mows it'   kar-ána-i
- ká-u ² 'raises animals' kaw-ána-i

1. Or in western Japan: Hón to tigau/ty'au 'It differs from being a book'. In central and southern Japan this will often be /tigoo/ and /tyoo/, as is true in general for the dialect pronunciation of -a' u, whether from an earlier -a[k]u as in aka' u > ako' o 'being red' or from an earlier -a[p]u as in wara' u > wároo 'laughs'. In standard Japanese the same development is found in the hortative-tentative ending -oo < -a' u < -a[m]u; cf. daróo < ni-te arámu.

2. Pronounced /koo/ in some dialects. Historically, the development is káp-u > káw-u > ká-u (> kóo in western Japan). The gerund (§9.2) is ká-te in eastern Japan, ká-u-te/kóote/ in western Japan.
§8.4. Negating the predicate

Negatives made from tonic verbs are tonic, with the accent one syllable earlier than that of ordinary adjectives in the imperfect (cf. sukunai 'does not like' with sukunai 'are few'). Negatives from atonic verbs are tonic before a basic juncture but have an accent on -nai- in the imperfect before a particle or before desu, when these are attached without juncture.

All verbs make regular negatives except for aru, which substitutes nai where we would expect to find "aranai." For special problems of the negative shapes in further conversions, see the later sections. In Kansai speech, and in written Japanese, -(a)nai optionally abbreviates to -(a)n, sometimes spelled -(a)nu and occasionally so pronounced; the form corresponding to sinai 'does not', however, is not *sin or *sinu but irregularly sen/senu. You will sometimes run across these forms in print: Tokorogagi, llenzi o yokosan no desu l yó 'But they sent me no reply' (SA 2660-48a—speaking is Ichikawa Fusae, born in Aichi prefecture 1893); Bokuga) wa benkai sen desu. Tada iwan koto 0 kakaretara komaru 'I don't make excuses. It's just that it is embarrassing to have things written as if I had said them when I haven't' (SA 2652.44a—speaking is TV producer Hosono Kunihiko, born in Kyoto 1934). And you may find sen de kudasai where you expect sinai de kudasai 'don't do it'.

It has been observed (Y 170-1) that writers tend to differentiate the casually abbreviated -(a)n from the more formal -(a)nu, using kana NU for the latter and N for the former. In written Japanese the -(a)nu version of the negative is particularly common with adnominalized negatives (as in iranu mon 'an unneeded thing', cf. §13.5:2h). In Literary Japanese -(a)nu is used only as an attributive, and the literary infinitive -(a)zuru (or extensions with the auxiliary är-) serves as the predicative; but -(a)zaru is also found for the attributive (see §8.6). A typical written example using -(a)nu for the attributive but -(a)nai for the predicative is:

3. Certain Kantō dialects regularize sin- to sin( or even to sig- (with velar nasal only); see Kgg 82.111-2, Zhs 1.296 n. 3.
4. But si- and ki- are regularized in many dialects of eastern Japan (Zhs 2.18). In Chiba you will hear kinair for kōnai (Miyara 154). For suru certain dialects (e.g. Aichi, Zhs 3.458) use seru, a contraction of si[-i] wōru, not to be confused with the literary perfect-resultative sēri/sēru, which is an abbreviation of si[-i]á-ri/-u, §9.6. For the Tōkyō usage kō ya sinai = ki ya/wa sinai, see §5.1.
5. But aranai is (quite rarely) found in print; Y 179 cites a 1909 example ... Honma ni úso DE wa ARANAI to iú no zya ná. For aranu, see p. 374.
6. But sin[u] does turn up in certain dialects: sin ka = senu ka (Inokuchi 335). The forms senai = sinai and senkereba = sinakereba (etc.) are Edo-period relics (Y 179). And sanai occurs in Aomori.
7. The oldest examples showing V-(a)nai rather than V-(a)nu/-alzu are from the 16th century (Y 200).
8. The set phrase siranu zon-zenu 'complete ignorance' is directly nominalized and predicated: ≈ dé, ≈ to bákari de, ≈ dā kara, ≈ no ittenbari("") etc.
cative is this: Gaikō-ken o motānū Okinawa wa Amerika to koosyoo suru kotó mo dekinai ‘Okinawa, lacking control over her foreign relations, can not negotiate with America’ (SA 2664.17d).

In negative verb forms ...ranai is optionally pronounced ...nai in very relaxed speech, so that Wakarānai comes out Wakan nai ‘I dunno’. This sometimes is reported in print: Hitōri zya kuēnee [= kuēnai] kara, kāzoku ōo de hatarakanākyā nānnee [= hatarakanākereba narānai] ‘The whole family has to work since they can’t eat with just one member [working]’ (SA 2679.47c). You may also hear ...nai for ...nai or ...nai: Osi ete kunnai de ne = Osiete kurenai de [su] né ‘They don’t [show =] help me, you see’ (SA 2680.47). But ...nno is an optional variant of ...ru no, especially common in ...-tēnno for ...-te iru no, § 9.2.4.(1), as in Nāni ittē n no ka sappāri wakānai ‘I dunno whatcha sayin’ at all’.

Further conjugation of the negative is like that of adjectives: the INFINITIVE is -(a)naku with the Kansai variant -(a)na’u pronounced -(a)nnoo, though it is often replaced by the literary infinitive -(a)zu (§ 9.5); the GERUND is -(a)nākute with the Kansai variant -(a)na’ute pronounced -(a)nooto, but -(a)nai de is often used instead (§ 9.2); the PROVISIONAL is -(a)nākereba with abbreviated variants -(a)nākerya and -(a)nākya, but in Kansai -(a)nēba, -(a)nya, and -(a)na are heard and -(a)nēreba is also reported (Y 174); the PERFECT is -(a)nākatta, the CONDITIONAL -(a)nākattara, and the REPRESENTATIVE -(a)nākattari, but you will sometimes find these forms reduced to -(a)nākatta, -(a)nōkattara, and -(a)nōkattari (said to be dialect variants by MKZ “dialekt and Meiji usage” by Y 174) as in this example: ... to omōtt’ orānkatta keredo mo ... ‘I didn’t think that but ...’ (SA 2653.42d—equivalent to omōtte orānkatta/inākatta keredo mo). And a number of dialects (e.g. east and central Kinki area, Zhs 4.22) use -(a)nānda, -(a)nándara, -(a)nándari for -(a)nākatta, -(a)nākattara, and -(a)nākattari, respectively.

Some examples of these forms: ... sukoshi mo hosigāri wa nasaimasenanda [= nasaimasēn desita] ‘hadn’t the least desire for it’ (Fn 53a); Wakare-kkiri de kao mīnandara [= minakattara], yappāri osimu desyyo né ‘It’s really too bad to have split up so I don’t even see him (any more)’ (SA 2657.44c—a Kansai actress speaking); ... konna myōō na katen ni narānanda desyyo [= narānakatta desyyo] ‘things would not have got into such a curious shape’ (SA 2663.22c—speaking is critic Nakano Yoshio, evidently from Kansai). The forms such as -(a)nanda are also found in eastern Shikoku and in part of the Chūgoku area (Okayama and east); in the western parts of Shikoku and west from Okayama in the Chūgoku area, the corresponding forms are -(a)zatta etc. though the -z- shifts to -d- or -r- in Yamaguchi so that we find -(a)datta or -(a)ratta there and it drops altogether in Kagawa, where the forms are -(a)aatta etc. (Zhs 5.15, 19, 21). These forms derive from a contraction of -(a)zu ár-, the negative infinitive (§ 8.5) + the auxiliary ‘be’.

Adjectival sentences are made negative by putting the adjective into the infinitive -ku (§ 9.1) and adding the negative adjective nāi; between -ku and nāi you may put wā, mó, or sā to apply nuclear focus, corresponding to the affirmative forms -kū wa/mó/sā árū (§ 5). One reason for treating -ku nāi as something fundamentally different from a shortening of -kū wa nāi (as has often been suggested) is that in modern Japanese the form ‘*-ku árū does not normally occur unfocused. Exceptionally we find such sentences as ōoku árū ‘has lots’

9. Similar forms are reported (Y 206) as early Meiji literary usages: V-(a)nandare[=do]; V-(a)ndara = V-(a)nandara. Collado’s 1632 grammar has an example of agenandari to mo ‘if he had not raised it’.
where はる is functioning as nucleus and ひと is a quantity noun derived from an adjective infinitive, here used adverbially. More telling examples are あくをargeba = あべkeruba (p. 316) and あくをari-tāi (p. 355). Notice also that 一wa suru does not, in modern Japanese, regress to 一(o) suru.

The form yoka-nai, cited by Mio 363, seems to be yōk’ "a nai, a contraction of yōk[u wa]nai. Cf. ... osomisok’ a nai nai ‘it wasn’t any fun’ (Tk 4.311a). The vowel may lengthen in the contracted form: ... tyō-to yōwak’ aa nai desu ka nē ... ‘I wonder if it isn’t a bit weak’ (Tk 4.209b). For more examples, see p. 322. This is not to be confused with the Kyūshū adjective imperfect ending -ka as in yō-ka = yōi, ná-ka = nai; the Kyūshū formation probably comes from a contraction of A-k[u]á[r[i].

Nominal sentences are made negative by using zya+nai; zya10 is historically an abbreviation from で wa, and alongside zya nai you will occasionally find simply de nai—as in Kyoosan-too d’atte Marukusu, Réenin no sínzya de nai desu ka (= sínzya zya arimasen ka §22.1) ‘Aren’t the Communists themselves believers in Marx and Lenin?’ (SA 2671.19a) —but the form with zya is so common as to constitute a new pattern.11 At least one Tókyō speaker has suggested that his current abbreviation of de wa nai—with subbed nuclear focus—is zyā nai in contrast with zya nai de nai, with no nuclear focus felt. (N de mo nai also occurs, of course, with the nucleus highlighted.) But not all speakers will lengthen the vowel in the contraction of de wa; our statement can be improved by putting it this way: zyā = (for some speakers) zyā = de wa, in all uses of de wa including de wa nai; zyā = dé in de nai. For those speakers who do not lengthen the vowel a sentence like Kore zya nai is ambiguous, for it can be equivalent either to Kore de wa nai ‘It ISN’T this’ parallel to Kore de wa はる ‘It IS this’ or to Kore de nai ‘It isn’t this (= THIS)’ parallel to Kore de はる = Kore ‘It’s this’. The expression kotō zya nai optionally contracts to kōtýa nai as in Káre ga dōo sì-yoo to sitta kōtýa nai ‘It’s none of my business (= I couldn’t care less) what he does’; see §14.1.

A few nominals that are conversions from other sentences, while not necessarily lacking the zya/de nai form, often substitute either ní wa/mo nai or just nai: e.g., the evidential -soo da → -soo mo nai, -soo ní wa/mo nai or -soo de wa/mo nai (§20); cf. the uses of hazu (§13.2.7). Notice the synchronic evidence that V-i-soo ní wa/mo nai provides for the historical origin of the copula from ní-te あ[r-i]. On the optional ellipsis in go-zon-zí {de} nai and a few other honorific verbal nouns, see §6.2.

The negative of the literary copula nári < ní (wa/mo) ári is nárazu = ní (wa/mo) árazu as in ... ware ní mo árazu inú ni kásu no de はる ‘I am no longer myself but turn into a

10. A Kansai variant 時 sometimes appears in the popular press: に nai = に zya nai, に nai = に zya nai ka. Both はる and はる are also dialect variants of de itself (cf. remarks on pp. 934, 938), and they find their way into print fairly often: に zya is equivalent to に de, whether sentence-final or followed by て, くあ, が, か? si, etc. (§171), or by nē, nā, か? go, か, etc. (§15). Do not confuse these two dialect uses of ya (for zya and はる with the question particle はる (§15.6a) or the noun-conjoining use of that particle (§28), nor with the はる that is a variant of the focus particle wa (§2.3.4). Some dialects (e.g. Niigata use はる instead of はる nai, but this is not to be taken as the affirmative はる, for it is a contraction of はる < de [w]a nai. These figures can not be automatically applied to spoken Japanese, since what is pronounced はる may get written either as はる or as はる. に nai = に zya nai is also reported (Hōgengaku-kōza 3.180).

11. In written Japanese (KKK 25.92) はる de wa nai is about eight times as frequent as はる de nai when predicative; but when adnominalized はる de nai has the same frequency as はる de wa nai. In non-final position, はる de wa náku is twice as frequent as はる de náku.
dog’ (SA 2659.135b); cf. nōmi-nārazu = dake zya naku-te ‘not only’. The attributive (= adnominal) form is nara-zaru = nī (wa/mo) ara-zaru but nara-nu = nī (wa/mo) ara-nu is often used instead. Do not confuse this with N nī (mo/wa) nara-nu nī = N nī (mo/wa) nara-nai de ‘not becoming N’.

Verbal, adjectival, and nominal sentences alike become ADJECTIVAL SENTENCES once they are made negative, and further conversions are applied as they would be applied to nuclear adjectival sentences. But the underlying sentence that has been negativized carries with it the original adjuncts, intact with their markings: A ga B o yobu → A ga B o yobanai. In view of the natural desire to emphasize a negation—in order to contrast it with the contrary affirmation—some part of the build-up is usually subduced with the particle wa: A wa B o yobanai or B wa A ga yobanai (with the order usually shifted so that the element with less emphasis comes earlier) or even A wa B wa yobanai, in which we can not be sure what is subject and what is object.

The REFERENCE of the negation usually includes the immediate adjuncts to the predicate. In Motiōn kuruma de kōnai kyaku mo āru ‘Of course there are also guests who do not come by car’ (SA 2659.131c) the implication is that the guests arrive somehow other than by car; cf. Kōnai kyaku ga āru ‘There are unarrived guests’ or ‘There are guests who will not come’.

Mio (134 ff) observes that naku itself (the infinitive of the negative conversion of āru), -ku naku (infinitive of the negativized adjective), and de/zya naku (infinitive of the negativized copula) often occur when we would expect the gerund. There is another device to avoid conjoining the gerund of a negativized adjective with another adjective in an adnominalized adjectival phrase: independent adnominalization, viz. A1-ku nai A2-i N rather than A1-ku naku-te A2-i N. Thus (Mio 135) a young lady faced with the compliment Ānta wa naru-hodo wakakute utukuisi hito da wa ‘You are, I see, a young and beautiful girl’ would perhaps choose the denial Wākaku nai minikū hito da wa ‘No, I am an ugly girl and not young’; and to deny O-niisan wa otoko-rāsikute yuukan na katā nē ‘Your brother is a manly and brave person, isn’t he’ the form might be Oto-ko-rūsiku mo nai hikyōō na hito nē ‘He’s an unmanly, cowardly person’. Mio also observes that there are a number of quasiidiomatic uses of naku that have led to derived adverbs, such as these: ma-mō-naku = hodō-naku ‘before long’,13 nan-to-naku ‘somehow or other’, sikata-naku (or sikata-nā ni) ‘reluctantly’, nukeme-naku ‘shrewdly’, kuma-naku ‘in every nook and corner’, nibē-mo-naku ‘bluntly’, kū-mo-naku ‘with no difficulty’, ōtakata-mo-naku ‘without a trace’; titai-naku ‘without delay, forthwith’, manben-naku ‘uniformly, thoroughly’ (manben being a bound noun—originally a Chinese binom); etc. It is not always clear that such cases need be treated as derived adverbs rather than as syntactic constructions: saigēn [mo] naku ‘without limit’; kotowāri(‘mo naku = kotowāri(‘) nā ni ‘without notice/permission’; kurabe-yoo mo naku bon’yoo na ... ‘the incredibly mediocre ... ’ (SA 2670.110c—followed by names); suki

12. If you wonder why this is kōnai rather than kōnakatta or kīte inai, see §11 on negative imperatives that answer questions put in the perfect.

13. Ma-mō-naku seems to be a predicative adverb, to judge from this adnominalized example: ... gakusei ga Kooti-si de gesyuku-seikatu o suru yōo ni nāte ma-mō-naku no kotō de āru ‘It (is an event that) happened shortly after a student had taken up boarding-house life in Kōchi city’ (Shibata 1961.183). From the example aisatsu suru MAMONAKU, ... ‘shortly after saying hello’ (Shibata 1961.62), we might think ma-mō-naku was a kind of time noun; but the example is perhaps to be read aisatsu āru suru ma mo naku, an adverbialization of aisatsu āru suru ma mo nā ‘there isn’t even an interval at the saying of hello’ (see next footnote). An alternative explanation is ellipsis: aisatsu suru [to] ma-mō-naku.
naku naranda ‘lined up close with no gaps (= close together)’, kitan naku ‘frankly’ (cf. kitan no nai iken ‘a frank opinion’). In most of the examples that I have examined, the accent is of no help in deciding, for the first noun is either atonic (monday naku → /mondainaku/ ‘with no problems/difficulty’) or oxytonic (yasum[n] naku → /yasuminaku/ ‘with no respite’). But /wakenaku/ ← wake naku ‘with no difficulty, easily’ seems to show a reduced PHRASAL accent, and that is also true of the other paradigmatic forms: /wakenai/ ← wake nai. For ‘without omission’ both /morénaku/ = more[n]aku and /more’naku/ = more’n aku are reported (NHK). MKZ lists kuma-nai (← kuma [ga] nai), sikata-nai (← si-kata [ga] l nai), and nibé-mo-nai, but not *ma-mo-nai (= ma mo nai). Moreover the kumá of kuma-náku can serve as epitheme (i.e. be modified):14 Monó o nokóru kuma(-) náku zibun no monó ní suru to wa ... ‘What is meant by obtaining things for oneself with no nook or cranny unexplored’ (Ōno 1966.173) [sic, not nokósu]; ... sóto wa, móo, toppúri to, nokóru kuma(-) náku kurete ita ‘... outside it was now completely dark everywhere’ (Kb 90a). The expression dánzyo no betu náku ‘without differentiation by sex = regardless of sex’ (SA 2679.37b) also has a modified noun before náku, as does ... hotóndo gíron no yóti(-) náku, ... ‘with virtually no room for discussion’ (Tk 4.212a). The accent of oti(-)náku ‘without omission’ would seem to be preserved from the underlying phrase oti ga náku / with the derived noun oti ‘omission (etc.)’ coming from the intransitive verb infinitive oti ‘falling (etc.)’. Unless the following example is a blend or a mistake of some sort, the -náku seems to preserve its adjectival nature: ... sikata-náku náku, sassok[... ‘with no reluctance, right away ...’ (SA 2642.54d).

Mio (135-6) cites examples where a phrase-final de wa/mo nái can only be interpreted as ... náku ‘is not and’ since the polite or honorific stylization at the end of the complex sentence means the negative can not be taken as a separate sentence, as it could if it were arimasé or gozaimasé. Similar cases with the literary predicative nái at the end of a nonfinal phrase are not to be misinterpreted as an abbreviation of nái si, even when that would seem to be acceptable in some of the examples (Mio 136-7).

Hayashi 172 reminds us that there are several polite phrases where náku means something like nái yóö [ni] (o-negai simásu) ‘(I request that) it not happen’: Go-sinpái náku ‘Don’t worry’, Go-enryó náku ‘Don’t stand on ceremony’, O-kamái náku ‘Don’t go to any trouble’, ... BJ 2.326-7 compares the use of Dóó-zo yórosíkú (o-negai simásu) ‘Please treat me with favor’. Like most other adjectivals, including the desideratives (§ 7), verbal negatives can underlyingly derive an abstract noun, made by adding the suffix -sa as in this example: ziko no tikarâ(-) no oyobana-sa ‘the inadequacy of one’s own strength’; see § 14.7. On the insertion of the suffix -sa in the formation of excessive (-sugiru) and evidentials (-sou) from verbal negatives, see § 9.1.9 and § 20 respectively.

The polite negatives are discussed in § 22.1: N de/zya arimasé or N de/zya nái desu, A-ku arimasé or A-ku nái desu, V-i-ma sen or V-(a) nái desu, etc.

In the dialects of western Japan (notably Ōsaka and Kyōto) some of the negative forms in common use are the result of contractions from a phrase V-i wa senu, corresponding in form to the standard V-i wa sainai, a negativization of the subdued nucleus. Taking a hint from Maeda 1961.20 we can see how the forms for the negative of aru ‘exists’ (correspond-

14. As can the ma of ma mo nái: ... mé o hanáu ma mo nái háya-sa de kumi-ageru ‘they assemble them with a speed that does not allow you to take your eyes away’ (SA 2680.85).
ing in usage to standard nai or arimasen) have developed by a series of changes from a literary model:

(1) model
ari wa senu 'does not exist'

(2) delabialization and epenthesis
ari (y)a senu

(3) deapicalization ("swallowing")
of sibilant
ari (y)a henu

(4) nasal assimilation of final
high vowel
ari (y)a hen

(5) desyllabification of i
aryahen

(6) dispalatalization of r
arahen

(7) assimilation of 2d vowel
to last vowel
araken

An alternative series would assume that the Osaka form is the result of mutual vowel assimilation and crasis (ia > ee > e), but the changes postulated above will better account for these forms (Maeda 1961.30):

si wa senu 'does not do' > siyahen
ori wa senu 'does not stay' > oriyahen

In these verbs, and also miyahen 'does not see' (Zhs 4.16), Kyoto has stopped at Stage 4 in the series of changes and Osaka has gone directly to Stage 7.

Notice that the Osaka form kakehen (Zhs 4.20) does not correspond to the Tōkyō negative potential kakehai/kakemasen 'can't write' but to kakânaïi/kakimasen 'doesn't write'—by way of the model kaki wa senu, as shown by the corresponding Kyoto form kakahen. The negative potential in western Japan is made by prefixing yo[O] < yo[k]u 'well, easily' to the plain negative (§4.4): 'can't write' is said as yo(o) kakehen in Osaka, as yo[o] kakasan in Kyōto.

In popular writings the various negative forms here described turn up as quotations from Kansai speakers: ... kyuusyoku dekihen no ya [= dekinai no da] 'can't find a job' (SA 2672.137e—we might have expected dekehen, since the verb deke- is deke- in many of these dialects); Máda, i is kōto mo, warui koto nai mo site 'hen no ni ... [= site inai no ni] 'Even though we are not even doing anything, good or bad, ...' (SA 2672.137b).

As the last example shows, V-te 'hen based on the model V-te i wa senu corresponds to V-te inai/imasen of the standard language. But V-te 'han nai is an assimilated version of V-te 'haru nai < V-te i-[na]hâru, equivalent to standard V-te irassayâru (§6.4a): Yō'u obōete 'han nai 'You have a good memory!' (Tk 4.72a—Osaka whiskey mogul Torii).

8.5. THE NEGATIVE PRECOPULAR NOUN: V-(A)ZU
(= THE LITERARY NEGATIVE INFINITIVE)

Literary Japanese has a negative verb form that ends in -(a)zu. This is the negative infinitive, but it is also used (as is the infinitive ari) in most of the predicative positions where we would expect a finite form;15 and it combines with the auxiliary ar- to make

14a. A form arahin is also reported (Inokuchi 269): this may reflect a variant sinu = senu. Cf. sin ka = sen[u] ka (Id. 271), kin ka = kon[u] ka (= kônai ka) (Id. 280).

15. Sentence-final examples: Nusûmi wa surê-do, hidoo(-)wa sezu [= sinai] 'Though I may steal, I commit no atrocities' (SA 2642.104d); Keizaigâku-sya, kanazaru-simo kanemôto nera [z de (wa) nai] 'An economist is not necessarily a rich man' (Tsujimura 8); rokugyô ni nizyu nitt-nitt "Rikkooho sezu" to happyoo sita Suzuki-si 'Mr. Suzuki who announced "I will not be a candidate" on June 27th' (SA 2687.141—picture caption).
§8.5. The negative precopular noun: -(a)zu

various other forms: -(a)zu ár- > -(a)z[u] ár- = -(a)zár-. As borrowed into the standard colloquial language, the form is best treated as a regularly derived precopular noun (§13.8) of a special subtype. This form can underlie a nominal sentence (when followed by the copula da) to mean ‘does not, gets along without doing’: Hitókoto mo wakarazu desu ‘I fail to understand a word’; maru-de yaku-dáta zu na no yó ‘I’m totally useless (unhelpful)’ (Ariyoshi 32); Iti-dó mo yakú ni tátazu desu ‘It isn’t effective even once’; Motiiron saidai no kari-te wa zentai no yonzip-paasento o Bitte iru Americika de ári, Nihón wa háruka ni oyobazu de áru ga, dái ni-i de áru (roku-paasento “kýóó’) ‘Of course the largest borrower [of Euro-dollars] is America which takes up to 40 percent of the total; Japan is far from equaling that but is in second place (over 6 percent)’ (SA 2677.52c). But it is usually followed by the copula infinitive ni—a literary touch where we would expect the gerund de—to mean ‘does not do and/or (instead)’ or ‘instead of doing’ or ‘without doing’; it is possible to draw a distinction between coordinate and subordinate conjoining by using Tábezu de neta to mean ‘I did not eat, I slept’ and Tábezu ni neta ‘I slept without eating = I went to bed hungry’. The ni is optionally omittable (cf. §9.1.12, §14.6); that is unusual for a precopular or an adjectival noun (though yóo and mitai are similar) except for those that are also adverbs. In this use, the V-(a)zu forms are more often written than spoken; speakers prefer the more relaxed V-(a)nái de or V-(a)nákute to carry the same meaning, that of a negative gerund. But in Kansai speech V-(a)zu is still used for V-(a)naku [te] = V-(a)nái de as in: Áme mo húruazu kaze mo hukán[u] ‘It does not rain, nor does the wind blow’ (= Áme mo huránái de kaze mo hukánai); Áme to kaze ga hidókute, kawara ni wa dăre mo izu, kawá wa aré ni areta ‘The rain and wind were so terrible there was no one along the riverbed, and the river raged and raged’ (SA 2663.48a). For such dialects, we will say that V-(a)zu is an alternant way of making the negative infinitive, the other way being V-(a)naku, in these dialects usually rendered as V-(a)ná’u = V-(a)nōo. (And the use of the infinitive for the gerund is more general; see p. 395.) In standard Japanese, too, the V-(a)zu [ni] form will sometimes be preferred to the more colloquial negative gerunds, especially in stereotyped adverbial expressions such as osimázu [ni] (kane o tukau) ‘(spends money) unstintingly, generously’, and that in the following sentence: “Éé, ñi benkyoó ni narimáṣitá” to Siodá-kun(“) wa WARUBÍREZU NI iu ‘‘Yes, it was a good lesson to me’”, says young Shioda undaunted (= with good grace)’ (SA 2669.61d).

These negative forms can be made from every verb but áru; árazu does not occur except in written Japanese. There we even find a form for the copula, based on ni áru, in Sá ni árazu ‘It is not the case. That is not it’ (= Sóo zya ni)16 and in the expression ... ni árazu site (músiro ... de áru) as in Hito wa pán nomi nite ikiru monó ni árazu site, músiro ... ‘Man does not live by bread alone, but rather is ... ’; the form sometimes contracts to nárazu just as ni ári contracts to nári. In literary Japanese V-(a)zu site is often used where the colloquial would have V-(a)zu ni or V-(a)náí de; in otherwise colloquial writings you will run across such expressions as these: takúmázu site ‘easily, with no great effort’; kísezu site (.. . suru) ‘(does) by chance, unexpectedly; chances to do’; Zyúu-nen tátazu site ... ‘In less than ten years ... ’ (SA 2661.104a): Kore o hwássyo to iwazu site, nání o hwássyo to iú ka ‘If this is not to be called fascism, then what IS to be called fascism?!’ (SA 2663.18e).

16. An example occurs in SA 2679.116c. The expression pops up as a spoken cliche in Kore ga sá ni árazu da ‘THIS it is not’ (Okitsu 1.298).
Notice the irregularities of kúru and suru:

Kúru → Kónai → Kózu
Suru → Sinai → Šezu

Similar to suru are bound verbal nouns in -su[r] and -zu[r/-ziru: ryaku-sú[r] → ryaku-šézu ‘not abbreviating’ (Cf. ryaku-sána[i]-šinai ‘does not abbreviate’), oo-zú[r/-ziru(“) → oo-žézu(“) as in N ni oo-zézu(ni) ‘not in accord with N’. But you may run across semi-colloquialized forms in -zízu (and -sízu) or -sazu: yooi ni sin-zízu(“) ‘does not easily trust/believe’ (SA 2674.94c); zoku-sázu ‘not belonging’ (SA 2680.101b). And sizu (= sezu) itself turns up in downtown Tōkyō speech: ... bisyoo sizu ni wa irarenai ‘can’t help smiling’ (Fn 459a).17

Sentences with V-(a)zu da are a bit stiff in any form other than adverbial (with or without ni); but in quasi-quotations and clichés you can find various forms of the copula, e.g. the gerund in ... oya no kokoro ko si razu de, ‘... what with “son not knowing father’s heart” ...’ (SA 2658.135d). And you will hear V1-(a)zu V2-(a)zu in various forms: Nómazu kúwazu da (→ da kara, da to, nara, dattara, etc.) ‘goes without drinking or eating’. In place of V-(a)zu de mo/wa you may hear V-(a)zu {ñi} ite mo: Nómazu kúwazu ni ite mo ‘Even going without drinking or eating’. All the following are possible: V-(a)zu ite mo, V-(a)zu ite mo, V-(a)zu de mo, V-(a)zu sité mo, as well as V-(a)zu to {mo} for which see §21.1.(9). The V1-(a)zu V2-(a)zu da sentence can be adnominalized: Nómazu kúwazu no haza da ‘He must be going without drinking or eating’. But these expressions are often reduced to a lexical derivative: Nómazu kúwazu → nómazu-kúwazu no ryokoo ‘a trip without sustenance’. Similar are dézu-irazu (ni natta) ‘accounts being squared; moderation’, nakazu-tobazu (de iru) ‘(neither crying nor flying =) being inactive’, atarazu-sawarazu no hanasi = atari sawari no nái hanasi ‘harmless and inoffensive remarks’, iwazu-katarazu (no mokkei ‘a tacit agreement’, no uti ‘tactily’), mízu-sirazu (no otokó) ‘completely unknown (man)’, though the accentual clues are less obvious. But the phrasing of some examples forces us to treat them as idioms: ómezu oku-sézu ‘without flinching or faltering = fearlessly’ is said with a minor juncture between the two words. Other examples include úmazu tayúmazu ‘tirelessly’, tükázu hanárezu ‘neither too close nor too far apart’, and oya-sirazu ko-sírazu ‘(a case of) everyone for himself’.

A single -(a)zu da sentence can sometimes be adnominalized: Ítteki no mizu mo Nómazu no zyootai ga is-syúukan tuzuitara sinde simau ‘If a condition of not drinking a drop of water should continue for a week you would die’; Issui mo sezu no haza da ‘He is unlikely to have slept a wink’. But nezu-nó-bán ‘watch, vigil’ is usually treated as a lexical item. A few place names contain V-azu no N: Nakazu-no-Taki, Sinobazu-no-Iké, ... .

An expression often heard is N ni mo kakawárazu(“) (or, with direct nominalization §14.6, S ni mo kakawárazu(“)) ‘in spite of, regardless of (its being)’. The literary expression V-(a)žaru o énai, which might be regarded as an abbreviation of V-(a)zu [ni] áru [no] o énai (direct nominalization being the rule in Literary Japanese), means ‘cannot help doing’ and is equivalent to the colloquial V-(a)žaku(na)žerabara nararáni and synonyms (§9.3): ... tasyoo no ‘usirometá-sa’ wa kan-zezaró o énai ‘... can not help feeling more or less “guilty”’ (SA 2665.30a). Another way to say the same thing is V-(a)zu ni ōwa oraráni/irarenai ‘can’t exist without doing’: Kono égá(“) o míta hitó wa, ningen ni tüte, hanzai ni tüte, sosite sikéi(“) ni tüte hukáku kángárezu ni wa irarenai daroo ‘A person who has seen this

17. Yoshida cites examples of sizu ni from Meiji and early Taishó days which indicate a wider usage (Y 176). Sizu is said to date from Edo times; cf. Gekkan-Bumpó 1/8.64 (1969).
film will surely be bound to think deeply about human beings, about crime, and about capital punishment’ (SA 2647.112b). Cf. V-(a)zu ni wa inai ‘does not fail to (do); can not help but (do)’ as in … muru no hitobito wa kii no kan ni utarezu ni wa inakatta ‘the village folk could not help being struck by an odd feeling’ (KKK 3.120) and examples below. An example of V-(a)zu ni wa okanai ‘is bound to do’ will be found in §9.2.4.(3), p. 530. I presume that these several expressions could be said with -(a)nai de wa in place of V-(a)zu ni wa, but I lack examples. For V-(a)zu to {mo} = V-(a)naku to mo = V-(a)nakute mo, see §21.1.(9).

The expressions with V-(a)zu ni, like the equivalent expressions with V-(a)nai de, are subject to the several sentence-linking interpretations of the gerund (§9.2). Thus while the sentence Yume o mitu ni nemutta would likely be taken as ‘I slept without dreaming’ (the dreamlessness continuing through the sleep) we can not exclude such an interpretation as ‘After not dreaming I slept [perhaps with dreams]’, though it would require considerable context to make that interpretation plausible. But Sinbun o mitu ni terebi o mita can be taken either as ‘I watched the television while not reading the newspaper (as I often do)’—cf. Sinbun o ni-nagara terebi o mita ‘I watched television while reading the paper’—or as ‘I watched television instead of reading the newspaper’ and even as ‘(After not =) Without reading the newspaper I went ahead and watched television [perhaps with no idea what the programs might be]’.

In written Japanese there are a number of set expressions with V-(a)zu, e.g. nani-goto ni yozu ‘with no basis, without foundation’, wakimemo hokazan ‘without a side glance; wholeheartedly’, No towazu ni ‘irrespective/ regardless of N, without distinction of N’.

The forms in V-(a)zu ni can be used in place of V-(a)nai de with certain auxiliaries, e.g. Hutoo kubetu sarezu ni iru (= sarenaide de iru) ‘They are usually not distinguished from each other’. (But Wasurenai de kudasai ‘Don’t forget’ will not be put as ‘Wasurenzi kudasai.’) It seems to be possible to apply focus. I lack an example of V-(a)zu ni mo, but an example of V-(a)zu ni wa ‘unless’ occurs in Òono 1966.189: Sore no zizyou o hukaku rikai(=) sezu ni wa … tadasku kangaeru koto ga dekimaru dero ‘Unless we have a deep understanding of these considerations we will not be able to think correctly about …’. Another example, with an Ôsaka flavor about it: Aono kizyoo wa Suitedo o tóorazu ni wa, ikên (= ikenai) no desu wa ‘That site [of Expo 70] can’t be gotten to without passing through Suita City’ (SA 2670.21e). Here V-(a)zu ni wa is equivalent in meaning to V-(a)nai koto ni wa or V-ru koto ni wa (see §9.1, p. 396), as ways to state a negative condition that could be expressed less formally with V-(a)nai nara or V-(a)nákeru by its equivalents V-(a)nai to, V-(a)nai baai, etc. But other uses of V-(a)zu ni are equivalent to V-(a)nai de wa: … kansin o yobi-okosazu ni wa inakatta = yobi-okosanai de wa inakatta ‘[Teika’s popularity] did not fail to arouse interest [in his kana spelling]’ (Ôono 1966.214); … sezu ni wa (= sinai de wa) sumanakatta ‘did not get by without doing it’; … Edo wa, koré ra Kyodo Osaka no takai bûnka bûngaku o mukae-irezu ni wa seityoo o tógeru koto ga dekinakatta ‘Edo could not have achieved its growth without welcoming in the higher culture and literature of these other places Kyoto and Ôsaka’ (Ôono 1966.228).

Like other precopular nouns the -(a)zu da forms adnominalize with da → no, as in the cliché yarazu no âme ‘a rain you don’t send one off in = a rain that provides a welcome excuse for detaining a guest’ (Okitu 1.231). There are also some derived adjectival and/or precopular nouns, as in dotti-tukazu no taido ‘a noncommittal attitude’ and hazi-sirazu.
na hitó ‘a shameless person’ from hazó sira zu no (= siranu = siranai) hitó ‘a person who knows no shame’; similar examples are on-sirazu (na hitó) ‘ungrateful (person)’ and seken-sirazu (no hitó) ‘naive person’. In fact N-sirazu ‘ignorant of N’ from N o sirazu ‘does not know N’ is quite productive: manga-sirazu no otoná-táti ni ‘to grownups ignorant of cartoons’ (SA 2685.115d); keizai-sirazu no syúhu ‘the housewife ignorant of economy’; ... There is an idiomatic usage ... wa/nárá íza sirazu ‘apart from ..., except for ...’ as in: Sensoo ‘tyuu nárá íza sirazu ‘except during wartime’, Hito wa íza sirazu wakakusi wa ‘(I don’t know about others but) for my part ...’.

On the other hand ‘tárazu (= tarinái de ‘not sufficient’) attaches to numbers as a quasi-restrictive to form a precopular-noun phrase meaning ‘less than; under’: sen-en ‘tárazu no kane ‘a sum of under a thousand yen’, hitó-tuki ‘tárazu de ‘in less than a month’; ... sánzíppun ‘tárazu de syokuzi o owatte sóto ni tobi-dási, ... ‘finished eating in less than thirty minutes and dashed outside ...’ (SA 2673.36c). (The antonym of ‘tárazu is the quasi-restrictive ‘ámari ‘more than, over’.) And mukóo-mizu ‘rash’ (from mukóo o mízu ‘not looking across’) can be either adjectival or precopular (ná/nó). The V-(a)zu form sometimes enters into other derivations, e.g. kuwazu-gíra (na) ‘hating without tasting = prejudiced’ from kuwazu kirai da ‘dislikes without tasting’ and makezu-gíra, an illogical compound that means make-gíra ‘hating to lose’; tuki-tárazu (no kodomo) ‘premature (baby)’, tarazu-gáti (na) ‘unable to make ends meet’, iwázu-mó-gana (no koto) ‘better unsaid’, tarazu-máe(‘) ‘deficit’, towa knockout ‘volunteered remarks’, wakarazu-ya ‘a blockhead’, narazu- (mono) ‘a rogue, a nogoodnik’, nezumi-írazu ‘a cupboard’, oyobazunágaru(‘) ‘inadequate though I am’. A number of the -(a)zu forms are perhaps well treated within the modern colloquial as derived adverbs: nokorazu ‘all, entirely’, táezu ‘constantly’, ai-kawarazu ‘as usual’, toriazu ‘immediately; for the time being; first’, hakaráru {mo} ‘by accident’, habakaráru ‘frankly, without reserve’, sirazu-sirazu(‘) (also ~ ni, ~ no uti ni) ‘unknowingly, unconsciously’, wáre-sirazu(‘) ‘unconsciously’, omówazu-sirazu ‘unintentionally’, obóezu ‘involuntarily; unwittingly’, mizú-írazu (de/no) ‘[‘unwatered’ =] without outsiders, privately), with just family, itidó-nárazu ‘more than once, repeatedly’, hínárazu (site) ‘in a few days, shortly’, hitokata-nárazu ‘unusually, no little’, kokoro-nárazu mo ‘in spite of oneself, reluctantly’, tokoro-kirawazu(‘) ‘irrespective of place, anywhere and everywhere’, yamu-o-ézu ‘inevitably’, ... The accentuation of certain expressions forces us to treat them as adverbial idioms: sáidai(‘) morásazu ‘to the smallest details; in full’. And kanarazu ‘for sure’ is generally assumed to come from ka[ri] nárazu < kari ni árazu ‘not being temporary’. The noun sítatárazu ‘lisping; one who lisps’ [inadequate translation] comes from sitá ga tarazu ‘the tongue is inadequate’ and has been used as an adjectival noun: sitárazu na hanasi-káta ‘a lisping way of talking’.

The idiom iwazu to sireta ‘(that is) clear without mentioning it’ uses the subjective essive tó (cf. §21.7) instead of the objective essive ni (= copula infinitive): Sore wa móó, iwazu to sireta kotó de aru ‘That is now too obvious to mention’.

For the sentence conversion V-azu - žimái datta = V-anái de simatta ‘ended up not V-ing’ see §9.1.7. On the literary forms V-(a)zu-mí = V-(a)nákkattari, see p. 571.

The form V-(á)zu-óba, with the nigoried version of the focus particle wá, is sometimes written as an equivalent of V-(a)nái de wa or V-(a)nákute wa—and those can be used as equivalent to V-(a)nákerera ‘unless’ so that sézu-ba nárazu means sinákereba naráinai ‘must do it’, as in this example: ... yamézú-ba náru ~mai ‘will surely have to resign’ (Fn 114b) = yamenákerera naráinai daroo. Another example will be found under -(á)zi to, §8.6. An /n/ is sometimes inserted: V-(a)zúnba. (This reflects an older pronunciation of -b-.)
8.6. Other negative forms borrowed from the literary language

With the same meaning, you will find the more colloquial -(a)zu wa, usually contracted to -(a)z’a: ... mikaesite yaraz’aa narűnée ‘I’ll hafta try to get ahead of him (= triumph over him)’ (Fn 131a—spelled hiragana “za”, katakana “a”); Dâl de d’attê omeê (= omaê), zyüu-nee ‘izyoo, yuke ga sirez’aa, sindâ mo doozên dâ ‘Anybody, you see, whose whereabouts are unknown for more than ten years is the same as [= might as well be] dead’ (Fn 161a); Tyokkûra, Âso san tokê e kao o dâsíte, Oookame no henchi o site koz’aa narűnée (= koz’u wa narãé = konakûreba narãéi) ‘I’ll just have to go show up at Aso’s and give an answer to Ôkame’ (Fn 209b).

There are dialects in which -(a)zu represents something other than a negative form. In Shinshû (= Shinano, part of Nagano prefecture) ikazu means iku ‘goes’; the form comes, it is said (Tk 2.221a), from an ancient iki-nasu ‘does the going’ (cf. iki-nasûru, iki-nasâi), made up of infinitive + nasu, a literary equivalent of suru (cf. iki mo/wa suru, §5).

In the modern orthography there is a graphic confusion between the spelling of (sôto ni) ï-’zu ‘goes out’ and DE-’zu ‘does not go out’ since the part given in capital letters in the romanized forms are written with the same Chinese character (SYUTU/[i]de-), as deplored in Tk 2.219b; of course, izu is a literary form (equivalent to modern déru in predicative position), but the negative of that is ÍDE-zu, so the complaint is justified. It would be better to write I-du for ‘goes out’; there is good morphophonemic reason to use the kana symbol for du (= “tu”) in this form, since the infinitive is ide.

There appears to be considerable fluctuation in accentuating the V-(a)zu forms (cf. BJ 2.79 n. 2). I have normalized the forms cited in this book according to the patterns given in K: for tonic verbs the accent is the same as that of the infinitive (wakâri, wakârzazu; tâbe, tâbezuru) and there is no accent for the atonic verbs (hatarakazu, tukawâzu, irezu, etc.). But an alternative accentuation pattern (favored by Hamako Chaplin) places the accent on the syllable before -zu, regardless of the tonicity of the verb: wakârazu, tâbezu, hatarakâzu, tukawâzu, irezu. Thus with verbal nouns you may run across sézu as well as sezu (kenkyûu sezu ni = kenkyûu seu ni ‘without researching’) though after a tonic verbal noun the accent will usually be lost in any event, so you will probably hear only annâi seu ni ‘without guiding one’.

8.6. OTHER NEGATIVE FORMS BORROWED FROM THE LITERARY LANGUAGE

We have seen that V-(a)zu is the literary form of the negative verb infinitive and that, like âri (and derivatives), it is often used in predicative positions where we would expect a finite form. In attributive (= adnominal) positions it is common to find V-(a)nu, which in the colloquial can also be used predicatively; this is usually pronounced -(a)n and is often regarded as a mere abbreviation of V-(a)nuai: iwan[u] koto = iwanai koto ‘what is unsaid’, Sôo iwan[u] = Sôo iwanai ‘I don’t/won’t say that’. But you will also find the attributive form V-(a)zu, a contraction of V-(a)z[u] áru, as in manekarezaru kyaku ‘uninvited guests’, motazâru kuni ‘have-not countries’ (versus motêru kuni ‘have countries’ with the literary perfect-resultative form of motû), irazâru koto o itta ‘said something uncalled-for’ (Kb 278b), konomazaru sensoo ‘the disliked (= unpopular) war’ (SA 2676.110d), Sirarezâru Okinawa ‘Unknown Okinawa’ (title of a TV program), sirarezâru sentorâru-hit’ingu ... ‘Unfamiliar central heating ...’ (SA 2659.118b); other examples will be found in KKK 3.247. (Cf. also remarks on tarazâru, p. 383.)
Similar contractions will yield various other forms, such as V-(a)zàreba from V-(a)z[à] \( \text{àreba as in the saying} \) Katarazàreba uré násì ‘If you don’t talk you’ll have no grief = Silence is golden’ (SA 2666.85b). There is also the literary negative hortiative V-(a)zaràn \( < \) V-(a)zaràmu \( < \) V-(a)z[à] aràmu, which is equivalent to V-rù ‘mài ‘not about to’, or to -a(nai yòó ni ‘so as not to’ or to V-(a)zi ‘intending not to’: Kikazaràn to sité mo rinsitu no hanasi-gòe ga mìmì ni tûite hanarénu ‘Despite efforts not to listen, voices from the next room persistently reach one’s ears’ (KKK 3.247).

Below are listed a few other negative forms borrowed from the literary language; you will seldom hear these but you may run across them in print.

-\( \text{kàrazù < -k[ù] àrazu, adjective negative infinitive—also used for imperfect predicative (§13.8a)} \): nagakàrazù mizikàrazù no tasùki ‘an obi-tie that is neither too long nor too short’. Asikàrazù is such a form from a literary adjective a-sí- (resembling in structure wàrùku nàku) and has the meaning ‘not taking it badly/amiss’ = ‘being understanding’; Dóo-kà asikàrazù o-yûrusi kud&sà ‘Please understand and forgive me’. And the adverb sukunàkàrazù ‘in no small measure/number’ is from a construction that parallels sukúnàku nàku ‘not being little/few’.

-\( \text{karàzù < -k[ù] aràzu, adjective imperfect negative attributive (§13.8a)} \): ... syuusyyu si-u ‘bekaràzùro zyootaï ... ‘a situation out of control’ (Fn 26a-si-u = si-ùru ‘can do’, literary predicative).

-\( \text{karànù < -k[ù] àrànù, adjective imperfect negative attributive (§13.8a)} \): ... tookarànù utï(\( n \)) ni ‘in the not-too-distant future’ (SA 2689.43a); ... kono hôn zîtai, hitôto no tisakàranù tokutëyoo o mòtte inù no de ... ‘this book itself, having one far-from-small feature ...’ (SA 2660.118e). The word kesikàran[ù] ‘scandalous, outrageous’ is used both as attributive (kesikàran koodoo ‘scandalous conduct’) and as predicative (koodoo ga kesikàran ‘conduct is scandalous’); it comes from a shortening of kesiku-àr-i, formed on the literary adjective KE-sî ‘suspect’. Cf. the anomalously formed adnoun muri-kàrànû, §13.5,(2h).

-(a)zî to (1) ‘not wanting to, so as not to; let’s not’ = V-rù ‘mài to, -(a)naí yòó ni (§12.2); (2) ‘thinking it/one will not’ = V-(a)naí deròo. The resulting forms are optionally atonic when made on atonic bases; Hamako Chaplin uses the atonic version: makézî(\( n \)), okurézî(\( n \)), ... (1) ... makézî(\( n \)) to odori-dàsîta ‘started dancing to keep up with the others’ (SA 2660.136d); ... makëtë wa naràzî to ... ‘in never-say-die manner; unwilling to face defeat; not to be bested’; ... okure toràzî to ... (= okure o torànà yòó ni, okure o tòru ‘mài to) ‘in order not to be outdone (left behind)’ (SA 2659.56c); ... Papa no asinamî ni okurezî(\( n \)) to, tyôko-tôyôko to isßyo ni hasûru no da ‘trying not to fall behind papa’s pace I would trot right along with him’ (SA 2650.58c); Sënsyu-taï wa kànô no kôe ni okurarete, katazù-ba [= katànai de wa = katànàkereba, p. 380] ikite kaeràzî to iu iki de de te kîte ‘tu wâkë desu kara, òtûru to nakû desû yò ‘The athletes, sent off by the cheering voices, appear with a spirit of ’I shall not return alive unless I am victorious’, so they weep when they lose’ (Tk 2.309b). (2) Kâku-te wa naràzî to kangaeta syuu-seïhu wa ... ‘The state government which thought that this would not do ...’ (SA 2659.111a—here narànà means ikenai ‘is unsatisfactory, won’t do’).

-\( \text{ru ñ màzî = -ru ñ bekàrazù ‘should not, ought not’ (predicative)} \): Kara-tëgata yûrûsu ‘màzî ‘Empty promises should not be forgiven’ (SA 2660.122a—heading); Kâtûte wa ‘Aâ yûrusu ‘màzî genbaku Ò ‘ga yûumei dàtta ‘At one time [the protest song] ‘Ah we can’t allow it—the atom bomb’ was well-known’ (SA 2664.42a).

-\( \text{ru ñ màzî-ki = -ru ñ bekaràzarù ‘should not, ought not’ (attributive)} \): Kyûossi to site hanàsù ñmàzî-ki kotô made hanàsîte simatta ‘I ended up saying things I shouldn’t say as an
instructor'; Su' máziki monó wa miya-zukae 'Court service (= government office) is something to be avoided'. In modern Japanese the expression aru-mází 'unbecoming, unlikely' (also modernized to aru-mazí, MKZ) is an adnoun (§13.5); it derives from árú 'máži(-ki) 'ought not to exist'. Examples: ... kore o syukke ni aru-mázíki syógyo (...) [= okanaí] to kan-zíta 'he felt this to be an act unbecoming to [or unlikely from] a bonze' (SA 2650.92d); Gunzin ni aru-mázíki hurumái ... 'conduct unbecoming a military man' (SA 2642.104d).

In place of the expected literary negatives of árú 'exists', based on árazu, the modern colloquial nái (a suppletive form where we expect *áránai) is often given the literary adjective endings -ki (attributive) and -si (predicative): Tádási, kore ni túîte wa ó-togame nási de aru 'But, with respect to this they are without blame' (SA 2672.135c). Cf. §13.8a. The literary perfect nakárikerí is sometimes used as a jocular substitute for náí (or nákattá?): Geinin ni hétá mo zyoozú mo nakárikerí, ... 'I don't care whether the artist is good or bad, ...' (Kb 290a). There is even a quasi-literary causative made from a contraction of nák [u] ar-asúmerú (cf. §4.1) > nakasúmerú 'eliminates, obviates, removes': Soo iú tyóysya no raitomotíiíu o gokai no yótí(-) nakasúmerú tame ni, ... 'In order to eliminate room for misunderstanding of this leit-motif of the author, ...' (SA 2673.94c)—gokai nó is adnominalized propredication, so the underlying structure is ... raitomotííu o gokai suru yótí(-) [o] nakasúmerú ...

The literary copula, as we have observed elsewhere, is made by attaching the auxiliary ár- 'be' to either ní (the objective essive) or tô (the subjective essive); like ár-, these forms use the infinitive for most of the functions where we expect a predicative form, so that sentences are usually cited as N ári, N nári, N tári—the latter two being contractions of N ní ári and N tô ári. The uncontracted forms of the copulas N ní ... ári (objective) and N tô ... ári appear when focus is applied (§5); the negative forms are N ní ... árazu 18 (contracting to N narázu when unfocused) and N tô ... árazu (contracting to N tárazu when unfocused), using the literary negative infinitive as a predicative. But for the negative of N ári we find N nási (rather than N árazu) and in Heian times nási sometimes replaced árazu in the uncontracted forms of the copulas, too: N ní/tô (...) nási (Sató 1.102).

When the copulas are adnominalized, the following forms may appear:

**COLLOQUIAL**

N₂ de árú N₁  
N₂ no N₁  
N₂ de/[zya nái N₁

**LITERARY**

N₂ náru N₁  
N₂ naránu N₁  [usual form]  
N₂ narázaru N₁  [less common form] 19  
N₂ táru N₁  
(*N₂ taránu N₁)  [not used]  
N₂ tarázaru N₁  [usual form]  
(See also tarasímerú, p. 750)

18. As in Zibun ga tukútte, aq to iwasete yaroo to iu kotó ga, náki N₁ si mo ÁRAZU [da] 'There's a bit of making it up oneself to impress others' (Tanigawa 104), using a familiar cliche based on direct nominalization of the literary attributive form of ná-, roughly giving the same meaning as náki wake de mo ná 'it isn't exactly the case that there is none'. Another example will be found on p. 502.

19. And sometimes, after a pure noun, written uncontracted as ní árazú: eigá-zín ni árazú zu yóseítái 'women who are not movie personalities' (KKK 25.74a).

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**§8.6. Other negative forms borrowed from the literary language**

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8.7. FURTHER REMARKS ON NEGATION

A few verbs characteristically appear only in the negative, yet display the affirmative in making a rhetorical question that IMPLIES the negative (cf. Mikami 1963a.35). For example, tamaranai ‘can’t be borne = is unbearable’ will yield tamaru (môn) ka ‘how can it be borne?’ as in Hoka no hitō ni kawarete tamaru ka to, me o hikarásu kankoodān-in ‘A member of a tourist group, eyes sparkling as if to say how can I stand it if I have the thing bought (before me) by someone else’ (SA 2660.37b). (Cf. also the vaudeville refrain Tamatta mōn zya nai ‘I can’t STAND it!’) And kamau (môn) ka ‘how can it make any difference?!’ (A newish usage is kamau ‘it DOES make a difference.’) This provides one of several criteria to diagnose certain -(a)nai forms as pure ADJECTIVES, though they are derived from verbal negatives—as indeed the accentuation indicates for the tonic examples: 21

ikenai ‘can’t do = won’t do, is unsatisfactory’, *ikeru (môn) ka;
kudarainai, kudannai ‘is worthless, trivial, absurd’, *kudaru (môn) ka;
mono-tarinai(‘) ‘is inadequate’, *[mono-]tariru (môn) ka;
nie-kirànai ‘is half-cooked; is irresolute’, *nie-kiru (môn) ka (cf. §9.1.10);
yari-kirénai ‘is unbearable’, *yari-kiréru (môn) ka (cf. §9.1.10);
tumàrainingai, tumånnai ‘is poor; stupid’, *tumáruru (môn) ka;
sumànai ‘is obliged’, *sumu (môn) ka.
The asterisked forms will be found but only with other meanings of the underlying verbs. The last two examples are susceptible to verbalization (tumaran-guru, suman-guru) and that is another reason for classifying them as adjectives. An example of sumana-guru: Kāre-ra wa sono-ba’(‘) o sāresa, tēnka kōkka o rōn-zite(‘), Tyyugoku ni, Sōren ni suman-guru ‘Once they leave THAT situation they will talk global politics and feel obliged (= soft) toward China and toward the Soviet Union’ (SA 2655.28c). From tamaranai there is derived an adverb (§9.1.11) tamaranaku ‘intolerably, irresistibly’.

In place of ikenai ‘it won’t do’ (from ‘it can’t go’) the ordinary negative ikanai ‘it won’t go’ is widely used—even by some Tōkyōtēs, apparently; and it often appears as ikan: Sono sekinin o kangaënakyka ikan to omōu n da keredo mo … ‘I think we must consider the responsibility for that, but …’ (SA 2660.45b—dietwoman Ichikawa Fusa, born in Aichi

20. The expression ari-enai ‘is impossible’ is the negative of the literary ari-eru/-ú ‘is possible, can exist’, the rhetorical question is ari-éruru/éruru môn ka ‘can it be possible = surely it can’t be possible’. (The colloquialized ari-éruru is less common than the proper literary version.)

21. The verbal origin is also evidenced by the variant in -(a)nu that exists for each, and by the stylizations permitted: … tumarimase-né ‘It is stupid … isn’t it’ (SA 2671.49a).
§8.7. Further remarks on negation

prefecture in 1893); Nizyuu go-sai ni naru made sake mo onna mo ikan zo, to iwaret e ...
‘I was told [by my father] that liquor and women were forbidden until I reached the age
of 25 ... ’ (SA 2659.51a—Nomura Manzō, born in Tōkyō in 1890). The Kansai variant akan
apparently is the result of assimilation of the first vowel of ikan to the second. Maeda 1965
accepts Ōtsuki’s explanation that akan is a truncation of rati [ga] akanu ‘makes no head-
way’, but skeptical Yamanaka 1970 seems to have reached a conclusion similar to mine. 22
Maeda says that in Ōsaka akan dates from the 1850s and appears also in the forms akan,
akahen, akahen (an example appears in Tk 3.290a), akanhen, akanhen; he men-
tions modern ‘affirmative’ formations in questions: aku ka akan ka, aku mon ka, aku ka
i. A few examples of akan: Mōto no onna-rāsyuu sēna akan yo ‘You’ve got to be more lady-
like’ (SA 2665.112a—sēna = sēn[y]a = senēba = sinākereba); Yoozin sen[u] to akan ‘We’ve
got to be careful!’; İki no nagai geinin to nāru tamē ni mōto benkyō[o] sēna akan ‘To
become long-lasting artists we’ve got to work harder’ (SA 2665.114b); Moo sukōsi asobā
akan ‘You’ve got to stay (and enjoy yourself) a little longer’. The adjectival noun damē is
a common synonym for ikenai/ikan(ai)/akan; the antonym is iī = yōi in one of its meanings
‘satisfactory’, for which the elegant synonym yorōsii is available.

Alongside takumānai ‘artless, unadorned, natural’ we find an adverbialization: takūmazu
site sibai no dekīru ... ‘can do a play naturally’ (SA 2670.114b; -azu site = -azu ni). On the
predicate ge-senai ‘can not understand’, see p. 307 (§4.4).

We observed earlier that the focus marker sikā (’(not) except for = only’) requires a
negative. There are also a number of ADVERBS (and adverbialized adjectival nouns) which
often or always anticipate a semantic negative (see §13.7 and cf. Hayashi 138-40): roku
ni, 23 roku-roku, roku-suppo ‘(not) adequately, properly’ (+ verbal only); nakanaka ‘(not)
for a long time’ (+ durative verb); syaku-zen to ‘(not) satisfactorily explained’—as in ...
syaku-zen to nomi-komenai tokorō ga āru ‘there are points that remain quite unexplained’
(Fn 233b); anagā ‘(not) necessarily’, kanarazu-si-mo ‘(not) inevitably’; métta ni ‘(not)
frequently (= seldom)’ (+ verbal); manzara ‘(not) altogether/wholly’; betudan, betu ni
‘(not) particularly, especially’; ten-de, maru-de ‘(not) at all’; kaimoku ‘(not) at all’;
mappira ‘(not) at all’; tū-i-zo ‘(not) at all, ever’; kessite ‘(not) ever’; konrin-zi ‘(not)
under any circumstances’; dan-zite ‘absolutely (not)’; zettai ni ‘absolutely (not)’;
tote-mo ‘(not) at all’, tootei ‘(not) at all, by any possibility’ (these three are now also used with
affirmative sentences as intensives) .... Yōmoya ‘surely (not)’ and màsaka ‘(not) on any
account’ anticipate a negative and (often) a tentative, either jointly as V-(a)nāi darō or
V-rū ‘māi’, or separately as in V-[y]oo to omowānakatta ‘I didn’t think it would ...’; S
hazu da will serve as ‘tentative’—Māsaka, anna ēkō wa dekina hazu da ‘Surely such a
thing can’t be done’ (Kindaichi 1966.91). (The expressions yōmoya ni hikasareru and
yomoya-yōmoya ni hikasareru ‘is deluded by a vain hope’ are idiomatic.)

Other adverbs often followed by a negative include hotōnō and màzō, which (with
negative) mean ‘hardly’, and a[n]mari ‘(not) overly, too, too much’, as in Hayashi’s exam-
examples: Koko de wa hanzai-ziken ga hotōnō okorōnai ‘Hardly any crimes occur here’; Kore
nara màzō wāruku nāi desyoo ‘This wouldn’t be half bad’; Soo iu kōtō wa màzō nāi né

22. We may be wrong. Miyara 1954.45 says the Nagoya equivalent of akan is datikan or datyakkan,
coming from rati-akanu.

23. And roku na N also requires a negative: roku na kōtō o sinai ‘doesn’t do a proper (or sufficient)
job’. There is also roku de mo nāi ‘is useless’ and a noun roku-de-nāi ‘a good-for-nothing’, derived from
roku de nāi ‘is unsatisfactory’ with the literary predicative nāi = nāi. Thus roku is an adjectival noun.
'There's hardly any of that sort of thing (happening)'. Hayashi reminds us, too, that the three expressions soo, sore-hodo, and sonna ni ‘(not) so, so much, very’ often anticipate a negative, as in his examples: Soo homerarénaí hanasi da 'It isn't very flattering'; Sen-en nara sore-hodo tákaku nái desyyo 'A thousand yen isn't all that expensive'; Sonna ni suteta monó de mo nái 'It isn't so terribly rejected'. Also the numeral ‘one’, highlighted or not, frequently anticipates a negative: hitótú [mo] ‘(not) [even] one’, hitóri [mo] ‘(not) [even] one person’, ippikí [mo] ‘(not) [even] one animal’, etc. Similar are sukosí mo or ti[t]tô mo ‘(not) even a little’, nání mo ‘(not) anything’—also ‘(not) particularly’, dâre mo ‘(not) anyone’, dôira mo ‘(not) either one’, dôko mo ‘(not) anywhere’, dôó-mo ‘(not) at all’, etc.; all of these except ti[t]tô mo and dôô-mo regularly lose their accent when followed by a negative (see p. 52). There is also yumé-ni-mo ‘even in a dream = (not) by the wildest imagination’, often followed by omowanakatta 'I didn't think' or siranai 'I don't know' ('I haven't the faintest idea', 'I haven't the foggiest notion').

Some expressions anticipate a negative so strongly that the negative itself is often left unsaid: Nakanaka! 'Not for a long time yet!'; Tyót-to ... 'I'm a bit doubtful'; lie, lie—soo i wáke zya ōrimasenô 'No, no—that's not the way it is (or: what I mean)'; ... kóoka wa sappári [nái] ‘(but) there was not the least effect' (SA 2793.31c).

The “negative” anticipated by the adverbial expressions mentioned above is a semantic category that here includes words that mean ‘few’ or ‘rare’: ... hotóndo tigai ga sukunáí ‘the differences are quite few’ (Kindaichi In Onó 1967.15); Nihón de wa, hotóndo konosyúhoo(“) o tukau hitó ga marél(“) dâ ga, ... ‘In Japan people using this method are quite scarce ...' (SA). The negative predication or expressions of refusal: Mappíra da yó ‘Not for the world’; Mappíra go-men dâ 'I flatly refuse'.

Japanese often like to put a comment in a negative way, as Hayashi observes; this device of expressing an affirmative by negation of the contrary (as in “not un-"), known to grammarians as litotes (Greek for “ understatement"), is not unknown in other languages. Common examples are sukúnákü nái ‘is not little/few = is quite a lot, are quite a few’; mezurášiku nái ‘is not rare = is fairly common’; óokú nái ‘is/are not much = is little, are few’; méttá ni nái ‘is not profuse = is rare’ and méttá ni followed by various negative predications—métta ni warai-gao o misénai ‘seldom shows a smiling face' (SA 2661.120b). Among the devices used for this purpose are sentence adnominalizations such as S hóó de wa nái ‘none too (much) S, not overloady S’, S hâzú ga nái ‘there is no reason to think that S’, and S wáke ga nái ‘there is no sense in S’ or ‘it is impossible for/that S’, as in these examples from Hayashi 139-41: Karada mo amari tuyói hóó de wa nái ... ‘I'm none too sturdy, so ...'; Seiseki wa yuuysyu na hóó de wa nákatta ‘My grades were none too outstanding’; Nezúmi ga néko ni katéru hâzú ga nái ‘There is no reason to think that a rat can get the better of a dog’; Hitóri de mit’atte, omosirói wáke ga nái ‘I can’t enjoy seeing it all alone’. Notice also the expressions V-té mo (or V-rú [yori hoka] si-kata ga nái and V-rú [yori] sika/hoka nái ‘cannot but V'. English 'If had (but) known ... often comes out in Japanese as Siranákatta kara ‘Because I didn’t know’, with opposite polarization on the conclusion.

A number of adjectives contain an etymological suffix -na- which is merely intensive in meaning; although its relationship to the negative is not obvious, observe the undesirable nature of the qualities expressed:24 abunai ‘is dangerous’, gigotínái ‘is clumsy’, hasitáni

24. There are quite a number of expressions where nái is vacuously used, merely for emphasis, e.g. messóo mo nái = messóo na ‘absurd’, ?suteki mo náku = suteki ni ‘splendidly'; cf. Y 193.
'is vulgar', hugainai 'is pluckless', okkanai 'is dreaded/dreadful', setunai 'is painful', sukunai 'is little/scant, are few'. Sewasinai means the same thing as sewasii 'is fidgety'.

Other adjectives can be shown to include a built-in etymological negative -nai: adokenai 'is innocent', aenai 'is tragic, sad' (aenaku mo 'tragically enough'), akkenai 'is unsatisfying', azikinai 'is wearsome', hakanai 'is inconstant', kitanai 'is dirty' (perhaps from kata[ti] nai 'untidy' cf. kata-zukeru § 3.13), kokoromo-nai 'is apprehensive, is unreliable, memboku-nai 'is ashamed', mottom-nai 'is indecent', mottai-nai 'is impious', nasake-nai 'is pitiful', sianai 'is miserable, poor, worthless' (thought to be from saga nai 'lacksomen'), omoigake-nai 'is unexpected' (omoigake- is a bound noun), osanai 'is juvenile', sugenai 'is cur', sokke-nai 'is cur', syozai-nai 'is bored', tayori-nai 'is forlorn', yaruse-nai 'is cheerless', yoginai 'is unavoidable'. But the modern speaker is conscious of the negative element only in the obvious cases (those here transcribed with hyphens). Darasi-nai 'is slovenly' occurs also as darasi no nai 'lacking darashi', the bound noun being an inversion of sidara, an obsolete word meaning 'situation, plight, etc.': cf. the adjectival noun hu-sidara 'slovenly' (also used as an abstract noun 'slovenliness'). And moosibun fonai 'is faultless, ideal' is a phrase, as the accents tell us; so also imi fonai 'meaningless', but yutaku fonai 'carefree' provides no accentual evidence. Probably we should treat taemenai 'is unceasing' as a phrase, though the accent cancellation keeps this from being obvious; and the omission of no - ga is apparently optional in the adverbial form taema naku 'unceasingly'.

Wake nai 'is easy, simple' and wake naku 'easily' are usually pronounced as syntactic reductions.

When an imperfect negative precedes uti(-) 'interval' the meaning is '(during) the time while ... has not yet happened' or 'before ... happens', as in these examples: Okyakusan ga konai uti(-) ni, kodomo ni gohan o tabasasete simaisyoo 'I guess I'll finish feeding the children before the guests get here' (BJ 2.282); mendoo ni narau uti(-) ni hayaku ... 'early on [while it has still not become =] before it gets to be a nuisance' (SA 2673.42c); Soo narainai uti(-) ni, 'Before it comes to that ...' (SA 2673.28c); Anmari matanai uti(-) ni basu ga kita (= Matsu hodô mo naku basu ga kita) 'The bus came before I had waited very long = I didn't wait long before the bus came'; Samenue uti(-) ni hayaku kui nee (= Samenai uti ni hayaku kui yô) 'Eat it quickly before it gets cold' (Kb 154a).

Alfonso 602 says it is best to use ni after uti(-) in such expressions whenever the final verb is affirmative, but to replace ni by wa whenever the final verb is negative, giving the examples: Wasurenai uti(-) ni yatte kudasai 'Do it before you forget'; Âme ga yamanai uti(-) wa kaerimasen 'I won't leave till the rain stops'. A well-known example of the last type is the proverb Nikkoo o minai uti(-) wa, kékkô to iu ni a Don't say kékko (splendid) till you've seen Nikkô!.

But V-(a)nai uti(-) can occur in other contexts besides the adverbializations represented by ni or by fonai wa above. For example: Nân de ore no kaisya ga, teikei no naiyoo mo kimanai uti KARA Hwôodo ni kabu o motasenakute narainai no ka 'Why must my company let Ford start having stock before the details of the cooperation are decided?' (SA 2664.122c). In place of uti(-) some other reference to an interval of time will occasionally appear: Un, sore wa syoosetu-ka ni narainai ZIBUN(-) kara, boku(-) no seikaku ni arimasu ne 'Yeah, that's been part of my character since before I became a novelist' (Tk 4.285a).

The meaning of V-(a)nai uti(-) ni is very close to that of V-ru mae ni 'before ... it

24a. But MKZ says this is a contraction from setu nai[r]i 'is [cutting =] keen, fervent, is trying'. 
happens', which often turns out to be no different in import from V-(a)nai máe ni/kara 'before ... doesn't happen': kónaí uti ni = kúru máe ni = kónaí máe ni/kara 'before one comes'. In place of V-(a)nai util(-)/máe ni, some speakers will use V-(a)nai saki or V-(a)nu saki (+ ni/kara); such expressions have been in use since Heian days (Y 191-2): Ikanai saki káru káro báká kángáeté irú 'I think only of coming back (before I even go =) when I haven't even gone yet'. Compare these expressions with V-ru máde 'until it happens' and V-ru máde ni [wa] 'by the time that it happens', as in these examples: Káre ga kúru made mätte kudasái 'Please wait till he comes'; Tugi no dénsyá(-) ga déru made iti-zíkan matánakereba naráni 'We'll have to wait an hour before the next train leaves'; Anó-hito ga kúru made ni wa deki-agarimášu 'It will be ready by the time he gets here'; Síkí no hazimaru máde ni wa sánziju-pan òzyóó áru 'There is more than half an hour before the ceremony begins'. Compare sinanai uti(-) ni = sinu máde ni (wa) '(at some point in time) before dying' = ikíte irú uti(-) ni 'while (still) alive'.

According to Kuno (1973.154), V-ru máe ni is the form to use if you know the event is going to happen; thus in speaking of the past you can not use V-anai util(-) ni (-...-ta) if the event is known to have happened. Sinanai uti ni 'before one dies' will be used only if the 'one' is still alive when spoken about.

But it is sometimes possible, Kuno tells us, to use V-anai util(-) KARA (-...-ta) in sentences where V-anai util(-) NI would be inappropriate.

In addition to uti(-) there are a few other postadnominals that are often preceded by a negative, e.g. mamá (de) '(in the original and unchanged state)': ... naoráá ni mamá de taiin [sita] 'was discharged from the hospital uncured' (SA 2679.138b).

### 8.8. Lexical Negatives

In addition to syntactic negatives—the various forms of the sentence conversions we have discussed in earlier sections, together with such words as dame = ikenai 'no good'—there are a number of individual lexical items that have a negative meaning built in. Some of these words are obvious reductions from negative sentences, e.g. compounds of the type N [ga] nái 'lacks N' → N-nái 'N-lacking'. Others are the result of attaching a negative prefix either to a free word or to a bound morpheme.

In English we have a number of negative prefixes, notably 'un-, in-, a(n)-, non-' and the looser 'not-, no-'; there is also the suffix '-less'. Japanese has borrowed a set of negative prefixes from Chinese; they are mostly attached to words of Chinese origin, but occasionally to native Japanese words—or even to English words. Here are the prefixes, listed with a few examples to illustrate some of the kinds of free words they can be attached to and the word classes that result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFIX AND MEANING ATTACHES TO</th>
<th>RESULT</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hi- 'not being, non-' (cf. § 13.5a)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>hi-zyóósiki 'senseless' from zyóósiki 'good sense'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>AN</td>
<td>hi-kagakuteki 'unscientific' from kagaku-teki 'scientific'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>PcN</td>
<td>hi-sénsai 'undamaged by the war' from sensai 'war damage'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§8.8. Lexical negatives

(N/VT) PcN

- hi-kóokai ‘private, closed’ from kóokai ‘open(ing) to the public’
- hi-tóosei ‘uncontrolled’ from toosei ‘control(ing)’

(N/VT) VN

- hu-sánsei ‘disapproval’ from sansei ‘approving’
- hu-góokaku ‘disqualification’ from gookaku ‘qualifying’
- hu-syóoti ‘noncompliance’ from syóoti ‘complying’

(N/VT) VN

- N < VI inf
- hu-bárai ‘nonpayment’ from barái ‘payment’
- hu-wátari ‘nonpayment’ from wátari ‘transferral’

(N/VT) VN

- VI inf
- hu-yúkitodoki ‘negligence; negligent’ from yuki-todoki ‘attend to details’
- hu-nare ‘inexperience(d)’ from nare ‘become familiar (with)’

(N/VT) VN

- N < VI inf
- hu-támé ‘disadvantageous’ from támé ‘advantage’

(N/IN) VN

- N
- hu-zínboo ‘unpopularity’ from zínboo ‘popularity’
- N/VN
- hu-sín’yoo ‘distrust’ from sín’yoo ‘trust’
- N < VT inf
- hu-kókoroe ‘imprudence’ from kókoroe ‘knowledge < know’
- N
- N/AN
- hu-hón’i ‘reluctance; reluctant’ from hón’i ‘will’
- N
- (?N/)AN
- hu-kísóku ‘irregular(ity?)’ from kísóku ‘rule, regulation’
- N < VI inf
- hu-túriai ‘unbalance(d)’ from túriai < tu-ri-ái ‘balance’

(N/VT) VN

- N
- hu-mimoti ‘misconduct; profligate’ from mimoti ‘conduct’
- hu-dóotoku ‘unvirtue; unvirtuous’ from dootoku ‘virtue’
- hu-kéizai ‘poor economy; uneconomical’ from kéizai ‘economy’
### $\S$ 8. Negation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Original Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$bu_1$ (= hu-)</td>
<td>AN (N/AN)</td>
<td>bu-tyōohoo ‘impolite; awkward; unaccustomed (to tobacco/liquor)’</td>
<td>from tyōohoo ‘convenient’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bu-kīyoo ‘clumsy’ from kīyoo ‘adroit’</td>
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<tr>
<td>$bu_2$ (= mu-)</td>
<td>N (AN)</td>
<td>bu-āisoo ‘unsociable’ from āisōo(−) ‘sociability’</td>
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<td>bu-āisatu ‘uncivil, impolite’ from āisatu ‘greetings, civicities’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bu-kīmi(−) ‘weird, uncanny’ from kīmi ‘feeling’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mu- ‘lacking, un-’</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>mu-hīzuke ‘undated’ from hīzuke ‘date; dating’</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>mu-zyōoken ‘unconditional’ from zyōoken(−) ‘condition’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(VN) PcN</td>
<td>mu-syōzoku ‘unattached’ from syōzoku ‘belonging’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N&lt;VT inf PcN</td>
<td>mu-tōdoke ‘without notice/leave’ from tōdokē ‘notification’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt; tōdōke ‘notify’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N AN</td>
<td>mu-īmi ‘meaningless’ from īmi ‘meaning’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mu-kyōōiku ‘uneducated’ from kyōōiku ‘education’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N&lt;VI inf AN</td>
<td>mu-kāngae ‘thoughtless’ from kāngae ‘thought’&lt;kāngae ‘think’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VNT PcN</td>
<td>mi-hāitoo ‘undistributed’ from hāitoo ‘distributing’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-kāketu ‘unsolved’ from kāketu ‘solving’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VNT/(VNI) PcN</td>
<td>mi-kānsei ‘incomplete’ from kansei ‘completing; becoming complete’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VNI PcN</td>
<td>mi-hukūin ‘undemobilized’ from hukūin ‘getting demobilized’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N PcN</td>
<td>mi-sēinen ‘underage, minor’ from seinen ‘an adult’</td>
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</table>

In addition there is the new prefix noo- ‘no’ taken from English as in the sports terms noo-puree ‘no play’, noo-geemu ‘no game’, noo-hīto ‘no hits’, noo-ran ‘no runs’, noo-taimu ‘no time’, noo-kāunto ‘no count’, noo-sāido ‘no side’, noo-siido ‘unseeded (team)’,
§8.8. Lexical negatives

nootépppu 'no step', and noo-tâtli 'untouched', as well as these more general terms: noo-sútokkingu 'stockingless', noo-néktai 'no necktie = open-necked', noo-bura 'bra-less' (SA 2813.73), noo-súmokino 'no smoking', noo-kànkei 'no interest' (SA 2678.46b), noo-kátto 'uncut, uncensored (film)', and noo-kómento 'no comment'. These all appear to be precopular nouns. Other English negative prefixes will be found in non-sutópppu 'nonstop', non-puuro 'non-professional', non-hwikusyon 'nonfiction', and an-báransu 'unbalance: imbalance'.

Mikami 1963a.34 notes that some Japanese lexical negatives lack ready affirmative antonyms: hu-kéiki 'depressed', hu-an 'uneasy', bu-zama 'unshapely, unsightly', etc. These remind us of such English lexical negatives as 'uncouth, inane, unkempt, anonymous' etc. There are also pairs which differ in that the affirmative has a suffix (-teki) lacking in the negative: zyoosiki-teki 'sensible' but hi-zyóosiki 'unsensible', kisoku-teki 'regular' but hu-kisóku 'irregular', keizai-teki 'economic' but hu-keizai 'uneconomic', etc.
9 ADVERBIALIZATIONS

I have chosen the term adverbialization to cover a general category of five groups of processes that can be applied to a nuclear or expanded sentence, corresponding to the morphological categories of INFINITIVE (see also §20, §5), GERUND, PROVISIONAL, CONDITIONAL, and REPRESENTATIVE. Each of these categories will enter into many further conversions and participate in larger and more involved structures. I am assuming a stage between those larger structures and the underlying sentences that are here "adverbialized". In many instances the need for that stage is obvious; in others (particularly for the infinitive and the gerund) it could be argued that the intermediate stage is needed only for the purpose of putting the proper surface shape on the sentence, i.e. providing the appropriate morphological endings. I have chosen an overall view that I believe is easier on the reader, if harder on the linguist; and I prefer not to argue here the reasons for the integrated treatment of each category discussed.

9.1. THE INFINITIVE

The infinitive has the shape - for consonant verbs, abbreviated to zero for vowel verbs (with - for suru and - for kuru—the imperfects have assimilated the first vowel to the second); adjectives take the shape -ku1 [after removing the -i which is the imperfect ending of our nuclear sentence corresponding to the verbal -(r)u]; and the copula da has the special shape n in most cases, but in the colloquial de—identical with the gerund—before wa/mo/sae in the nuclear-focus conversions with ár- (§5), and when attaching -su (= -masu) in the polite stylization of §22.

The foreigner sometimes fails to recognize a monosyllabic verb infinitive; the following list may prove helpful.2 The forms on the left are tonic, those on the right atonic. But "atonic" inflected forms actually have a basic accent on the final syllable, heard only when a particle is attached, so you must be prepared to hear both columns accentuated in the

1. But in Kansai the k drops to leave only -'u with appropriate vowel crisis: óoki-ku = óoki[k]u = óoki'u /óokyuu/, rasi-ku = rasi[k]u = rasi'u /rásyuu/, wâru-ku = wâru[k]u = wâru'u /wáruu/, síro-ku = síro[k]u = síro'u /síroo/, taka-ku = taka[k]u = taka'u /táko/, yôwa-ku = yôwa[k]u = yô[w]oo = /yóoo/. Nâku is ná[u] /nóo/ and óokiku nâku is óoki'ná[u] /óokyuyu nóo/, iki-taku nâku is iki-ta'ná[u] /ikito nóo/. The long /oo/ is often shortened: a[k]u = aka'uu /akoo/, ako náru 'becomes red' (Zhs 4.16). An example of oo'oo /oo'oo[oo]: Deker u = dekeru, soko e hataraki ni iku man mo oo naru desyoo 'When it is done, there will turn out to be quite a few who will go there to work, too' (SA 2686.50c—the mayor of Asuka village, Narai). The long adjectives that end in -si- are treated differently by some speakers: in Kyôto yorosí[k]u is pronounced both yorosuyuu and yorosíi (identical with the imperfect); examples will be found in Zhs 4.211, 215 (yorosíi ni = yorosiku, 241 (utukusii site = utukusî site), and 254 (shortened to yorosi). Another example: Kimono no konomi mo, yayakosíi 'nanimásita náa 'Preferences in clothing have grown complicated, too, haven't they' (Tk 4.58a). Is this a special instance of the widespread merger of the syllable suy with si?) The Kansai infinitives are quite old; forms such as mizika[k]u can be found in texts as early as 1020 AD (Kokugogaku jiten 1053a). On the use of the -'u forms with gozaimasu in the standard language, see §22.2. It should be noted that in the Chûgoku area a few short adjectives have incorporated the imperfect ending -i into the stem: kôi-(i/ku) 'saturated' < kô-, sui-(i/ku) 'sour' < su-, ôi-(i/ku) 'many' < ô-, toi-(i/ku) 'distant' < too- (Shin Nihonkô-koza 3.213). The stem yô 'good' is ê-yô-, yôi = yô is 'is good' is usually êê < ê-i. The stem ná 'be lacking' is nê-náa.; the infinitive is nê < nê-ku < nê-ki, or nô < ná-[k]u; and the imperfect is ná, often pronounced nee (ibid.).

2. In addition to wâ, yâ (= wâl), and mô, the monosyllabic command-markers rô, yô, î (= yô), and
same way: from hearing き wa/mo sinai you cannot tell whether the intended meaning is 'does not come' or 'does not wear'. And when used before a juncture the final accent drops so that a phrase-final ... き can mean either 'comes and' or 'wears and'. Thus the only time there would be a difference between the tonic and atonic monosyllabic infinitives is when they enter into certain derivations: there are speakers who make a distinction between き-たい (ki-takkata) 'wants (wanted) to come' and き-たい (ki-takatta) 'wants (wanted) to wear', between き-たくな 'does not want to come' and き-たくな 'does not want to wear'. The infinitives listed below result from the crasis (i.e. amalgamation) of the stem vowel with the infinitive ending -i which has a basic accent of its own: きく＜き-＜ ki-i, きく＜き-＜ ki-i; て＜て-＜ ne＜ ne-＜ i. The verb stems themselves are basically either tonic (き- 'come') or atonic (き- 'wear'). On the accentuation of these forms and on the irregularities of some of the other forms of 'come' and 'do' (such as the imperfects くろ and する) see Martin 1967.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONIC MONOSYLLABIC INFINITIVES</th>
<th>ATOMIC MONOSYLLABIC INFINITIVES</th>
<th>DERIVED NOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de 'emerge'</td>
<td>i (= i) 'be, stay'</td>
<td>de 'turnout etc.'*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é 'get'</td>
<td>кi (= кi) 'wear'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he 'pass'</td>
<td>ne (= ne) 'sleep'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi 'get dry'</td>
<td>n1 (= n1) 'boil, cook'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i2 'shoot (arrow)**</td>
<td>n2 (= n2) 'resemble'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>き 'come'</td>
<td>si (= si) 'do'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>み 'see'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*But modern speakers often treat this verb as a consonant type, with the infinitive iri (and the negative iranai).

In western Japan monosyllabic verb infinitives are often lengthened; thus in 大阪 Mii-to mo an no ya = Mi-ta[k]u mo āru no da 'I do want to see it' (Zhs 4.201—the length is verified by Footnote 1). This presumably gives evidence of an old juncture before the desiderative -tā- (cf. § 7); it is unclear whether the length itself is to be attributed to the general secondary lengthening of monosyllabic words that is common in western Japan or whether it is an uncontracted relic of the infinitive ending -i. In any event it is to be distinguished from the emphatic particle い = yo used in plain commands: みこ = mī-fro yo 'Look!', ねい = ne f rō yo 'Sleep!' On contractions of verbal infinitive + ya = wa (such as Kamaya sinai = Kamai wa sina 'It makes NO difference'), see § 5.1.

な = na[sai] can attach to these infinitives. Do not confuse mi-な (= mi-nasai) 'look!' with mina 'everyone', si-nā (= si-nasai) 'dol' with sina 'goods'; i rō 'stay!' with iro 'color', kro 'wear!' with kiro 'kilo', si rō 'do' with siro 'castle' or siro 'white'.
The negative infinitive is made by adding the usual adjectival infinitive ending -ku to the appropriate negative adjectivals:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yobu.} & \rightarrow \text{Yobanai.} & \rightarrow \text{Yobanaku ...} \\
\text{Ookii.} & \rightarrow \text{Ookiku nai.} & \rightarrow \text{Ookiku naku ...} \\
\text{Hön da.} & \rightarrow \text{Hön zya nai.} & \rightarrow \text{Hön zya naku ...}
\end{align*}
\]

But the use of the verb negative infinitive is rather limited: it occurs mainly (in the colloquial, only?) in two constructions:

1. \( V-(a)nāku \) \( wā nāi \) is another way of saying \( V-(a)nai \) \( wā nāi \) ‘it never happens that one doesn’t = one always does’ or ‘it isn’t that one doesn’t = one does do’, § 14.1.1; \( V-(a)nāku \) \( mō nāi \) ‘it never even happens that one doesn’t’ or ‘it isn’t exactly that one doesn’t’—as in ... soodan \( n \) noranāku \( mō nāi \) ‘... I may accept the offer’ (Fn 27a). (Apparently \( V-(a)nāku \) \( wā/mō \) \( āru \) are unusual.) An example: \( n \) \( kore \) \( māde \) \( ūgai(\ast) \) \( n \) sukūnākatta kono syū no “hansen-hwōoku” ga toozyoo sitā no mo, zidai-zyōinkyō no hitōtō no arawāre to ienāku \( wā nāi \) ‘(There is no reason we can’t call it =) We can well call it one of the manifestations of the state of the times that this sort of “antiwar folk [song]”, surprisingly rare till now, has appeared on the scene’ (SA 2649.100d).

2. \( V-(a)nāku \) nāru/suru ‘gets/makes it so it doesn’t happen’ is an application to the negativized sentence of the mutative conversion of § 9.1.11, for which the affirmative parallel works only with adjectivals (\( A-ku \) nāru/suru) and nominals (\( N \) ni nāru/suru); for verbals you have to use a nominalized circumlocution \( V-ru \) yöō ni nāru/suru. Thus the sentence ... totu-zen, koe ga denāku nāte simatta ‘suddenly she lost her voice’ (SA 2657.64c) might be followed by ... yat-tō koe ga dēru yöō ni nātta ‘... she finally found her voice’. And \( V-(a)nāku \) nāru/suru can also be replaced by \( V-(a)nai \) yöō ni nāru/suru.

The limited use of the \( V-(a)nāku \) form is the reason that the form was missed entirely in earlier studies, such as Martin 1952 based on Bloch, where the negative precopular noun that is also the LITERARY negative infinitive \( V-(a)zu \) (§ 8.5) was mistaken for the unnoticed colloquial negative infinitive.

The infinitive is sometimes used as an equivalent of the gerund ‘is/does and ...’ in its several meanings (see p. 479):

1. ‘... and then’ (TEMPORAL SEQUENCE): Mōtoko \( wā \) tatamī no heyā e turete īkare, hara-ōbi o tōku kōtō o mei-zirārēru(\ast) ‘Mōtoko is taken into the mat-floored room and (then) ordered to undo her waistband’ (Ig 1962.95); Yagathē sono natū mo suī agi ni nātta ‘Before long summer was over and it became autumn’ (Ig 1962.98); ... mokuzen ni okōri, sakari, ogori, yabūre, horōbitet(\ast) sātta(\ast) Heīke itimon no ŭnmei ... ‘the fate of the Taira family which before one’s eyes rose, flourished, indulged itself, was defeated and perished’ (Ōno 1966.215).

2. ‘... and so’ (CONSEQUENCE): Kawara \( n \) wā iši ga ōoku, aruki-nikūi ‘There are so many stones on the riverbed that it is hard to walk’ (Ig 1962.98); Syoozī-gami \( wā \) kānari hūrūku, yogorete iru ‘The shoji paper is rather old and (hence) soiled’ (Ig 1965.95); Sakari o sūgita Hārūko \( wā \) kodomo mo nāku hitōri rusū-i site iru ‘Haruko, past her prime, has no children and so she looks after the house alone’ (Ig 1962.94); Kūmō ga hikūku, yuudati dé mo ki-sōo datta ‘The clouds were so low it looked as if we were perhaps in for a shower’ (Fn 407b); Sono syoozī ni tīsāi anā ga aite i, gaikoo (= sōto no hikāri) ga sasi-ittē iru ‘There is a small hole in the shoji so that the outside light penetrates’ (Ig 1962.92).

3. ‘...-ing’ (MANNER): ... kotosi \( wā \) kono sinse-i no de-asi ga rei-n ni nāku hayāi
9.1 The infinitive

'This year these applications are off to an earlier start than [we have] in ordinary years' (SA 2663.26a). (For A-ku, see § 9.1.11.)

(4) '... and/but' (CONTRAST): Āni wa isya ni nāri, otooto wa bungáku-sya ni nātta 'The older brother became a physician and the younger became a literary scholar': Koo sita Kurémurí o meguru ryuusetu wa, nāní ka ni tōkete okori-yāsuku, sosite itu mo ryuusetu ni owatte kīta 'Such rumors centering on the Kremlin are apt to arise at the least little thing, but then they have always ended up as (groundless) rumors' (SA 2673.130c)—this might be regarded as Type (1) above.

(5) '... and yet (even so)' (CONCESSION): Utukúsuku mo kanasii(−) zyozi-si 'a beautiful yet sad epic' (SA 2680.114a)—it is unusual to find focus when the infinitive is used as if a gerund.

(6) '...-ing = if/when' (CONDITION): Examples lacking.

(7) 'by ...-ing' (INSTRUMENT): ... sāra ni tōsi(−) o si zyuyoo o tukuri-dasanai to hukyoo ni nātte simu 'You end up with a depression if you don’t start creating demand by investing new capital' (SA 2674.44a).

(8) '... and in proof thereof' (WITNESS, EXEMPLIFICATION): Examples lacking.

(9) '... and also (moreover)' (SIMPLE CONJOINING): Yamā ga tākaku, mizu ga kiyōi 'Its mountains are tall and its waters pure': Kessyoku mo yōku, syokūyoku(−) mo āru 'He? has a good color and an appetite' (lg 1962.92); Koko máde wa tati-iru hitō mo nāku, kaze mo oyobanākatta 'Here there were no intruders, nor was it reached by the wind' (lg 1962.93); Kiyoku tadasii sei 'politics that is clean and proper'; Karuku tisai kagami o moo hitōtō watasita 'She gave him a lighter and smaller one [mirror]' (Kawabata: Suigetsu); Tāda, mōsi, kāre ga itte itāra, keikaku wa moo sukōsī timitu ni nāri, sumūzu ni yattā darō to itte okimasuyō 'I’ll just say that if he had been away the project would have become more exact and have gone smoother' (SA 2677.150d).

Notice also the semiliterary use of the infinitive for the gerund in phrasal postpositions such as ni atari = ni atatte 'toward' or 'in event of', §9.7.

Sometimes the infinitive is used to join clauses within a larger clause marked by the gerund, as in this example of a manner gerund: Mīgī-te ni hanā o mōtī, hidāri-te ni ōke o sāge, kosi ni hōoki(−) o sāte, aruite iku 'He walks away with flowers in his right hand, bucket hanging from his left, and broom stuck in his belt' (Hayashi 86). But sometimes a gerund will turn up within a clause that is joined with other clauses by the infinitive, as in this example of a consequential (= causal) gerund: Boōen no sīya ga akarukute, hyooteki ga yōku mie, zyusin ga karuku, sikā-mo handoo ga sukunāi 'The field of the telescopic [gun sight] is bright so that the target is easy to see, the [gun] barrel is light, and in addition there is little recoil' (SA 2685.99c).

The use of the infinitive for the gerund is more common in literary and written styles, but it is also heard in certain clichés common to everyday speech (toki ni yori hito ni yotte wa ‘depending on the time and the person’, for example) and in slightly stiff colloquial speech such as often used by older men:3 Yo-hūkāsi si benkyoo sitē mo dāme da 'It will do you no good to stay up till all hours studying'; Āme de géemu ga tyuuusi ni nāri, zannē desita 'The game was called off because of rain, what a pity!'.

3. According to Kuno 1973.195 V-te V cannot be used when two simultaneous actions or states are involved, and V-i V will be used instead: yōku asobi (*asonde) yōku benkyoo suru 'plays hard and works hard'. The two verbs in V-te V must both be voluntary (self-controllable) or both be involuntary, according to Kuno.
Nominal sentences usually replace the colloquial copula だ by de aru (literary nari = に ... あり), so that de あり is used where we expect to find the infinitive in use for the gerund (=で or de って): Syūhu de あり, tiša na kodomo no hahao ya de ある watakusi ni tötte, ... ‘For me who am a housewife and am the mother of small children ...’ (SA 2668.146); Watasi no tamé de mo あり, hāha no tamé de mo あた no de wa nai ka to omō n desu ga ... ‘I wonder whether it wasn’t both good for me and good for my mother ...’ (R); Sikáši ká-re-ra wa, sugüreta búnka de あり goraku de ある éiga(-) o hitóri de mo おく no hitó ni mise-tá to döryoku(-) site kita dáke de ある ‘But they have only endeavored to show to as many people as possible films that are outstanding culture and are entertainment (at the same time)’ (SA 2679.116d); ... ōohi wa, otto de あり teki (=katákī) de ある ど ni, mata aimasyóó, tô nikkóri hohóende rooyá ni modótte yuku ‘... the queen, smiling “See you later” to the king who is her enemy, goes back to the dungeon’ (SA 2665.110b). Thus it is rare to find the simple infinitive に used for the gerund de ‘it is and’, except with the negative precopular noun V-(a)zu ni §9.6.1g 42, however, suggests two examples: Sore ga munén-sa ni (=de) wakáyome(-) wa sato e káetta kiri modótte kónai ‘With that as a resentment, the bride returned to her village and would not return’; Káno-zyo wa ... hōho dáke ga momo no ni (=de), sikáši ... ‘Just her cheeks were pink, but ...’. And apparently the following expressions are infinitive adverbiaлизations of the copula, since sité cannot be comfortably added in a way that would make them eligible as mutative conversions with ellipsis (§9.1.11-12): Sono syooko ni, ... ‘As evidence for that, ...’; Kore/Sore to wa betu ni, ... ‘Quite apart from this/that ...’; Kóno no sin-káisyá to wa betu ni, Arasuka-sekiyu-káihatú to iu kaisya ga ある n desu ‘Separate from this new company there is a company called Alaskan Oil Exploitation’ (SA 2666.21d).

The use of に to mean ‘as’ is perhaps best treated as the copula infinitive: Uti wa okyakusáma ni gaizin no katá ga おお ni de, asupáragasu, burókkóri nó no seiyó-yásái ga yóku demásu ‘As customers we have mostly foreigners, so lots of foreign vegetables like asparagus and broccoli are out for sale’ (SA 2679.114e); Hawaií-gúintú no hitótni Mauí-sima ga ある ‘As one of (=Among) the Hawaiian Islands there is the island of Mauí’ (SA 2689.79--also Mauí-zima/-too). Then there are such idioms as to ni mo kákú ni mo = to-mo-kaku [모] = to-mo-are kákú-mo-are ‘whether it be that way or this way, both that way and this way’ (also said as ká ni mo kákú ni mo) and ká ni kákú ni = dóo mo kóo mo ‘somehow or other’; cf. to-kaku ‘thus and so = what with one thing and another’, not to be confused with tokaku ‘rabbit horns = something absurd, impossible to exist’ (with which it is sometimes associated by false etymology). Compare also the use of に to link nouns in a list (§2.8).

Sometimes ni wa will be found in uses similar to de wa as an equivalent of nára in stating a condition, e.g. in -(a)nu ni kóto ni wa ‘in the event that one does not’ (more or less the same as -ru kóto náí ni wa ‘in the lack of the event that one does’ = ‘unless’, see §14.6--end remarks) as in this example: Kokó de nání ka té o ûte okanai kóto ni wa a to de símatu ga tukánaku náru ni tigai náí no da ‘If we don’t take some step at this point surely the matter won’t get settled later’ (KKK 3.139). Similar is V-(a)zu ni wa ‘unless’, p. 379 (§8.5). Notice also V-rú/- tá kári ni wa ‘now that ...’ (§17.1).

When connecting sentences the verb negative V-(a)nákute is normally replaced by V-(a)nái de (§9.2) and V-(a)naku is replaced by V-(a)zu ni (§8.5), but náí, the negative suppletive of あру, is treated in the same way as the adjectives: Ō-kane ga nákú (=nákute) komárú ‘I am embarrassed for money’: cf. V-rú máde mo nákú ‘there is no need to’ (as in
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iu made mo naku 'needless to say') and X dake/bakari de naku 'not only X (but)', both of which can have nákute or násí ní (§13.9) instead of naku. The resultative conversion V-te áru has the negative V-te nái and for that the sentence-connecting forms V-te nákute- are used. And the form nái de (for nákute) as a connective is known throughout eastern Japan, though it is not usual in Tókyó. On the use of the infinitive of the adjective negative (A-ku naku) and of naku see the remarks at the end of §8.4.

The verbal infinitives have a number of uses not shared with their adjectival and nominal counterparts; conversely (§9.1.11) there are a number of uses of the adjectival and nominal infinitives not shared with the verbal infinitives. The infinitive is the usual form in which a verb enters into a derivational compound; e.g. -i-mono, -i-kata, -i-miti, -i-yoo (ga nái), and numerous verb + verb compounds. The verbal infinitive is the form on which polite stylization is based: -i-másu (§22.1). And there are many DERIVED NOUNS made from verbal infinitives; the shape is identical except that as a rule the accent (if any) moves to the last syllable: yasumi ‘to rest’ → yasumi ‘vacation’; Iki mo kaeri mo densya da ‘Both the going and the returning (the trip out and the trip back) are by electric train’. But all derived nouns from COMPOUND verb infinitives are atonic—for both younger and older speakers: yobidasi ‘summons’ from yobi-dási ‘to summon’, nori-kae ‘transfer’ from nori-kae or (younger speakers) nori-kae ‘to transfer’. A few of the derived nouns are irregularly accentuated (see §14.5). There is at least one derived noun made from a bound verbal noun (the Chinese loanmorph satu) + the infinitive si (= sí) from the auxiliary si:- the noun is savi ‘conjecture’ as in savi ga tuku ‘perceives’, savi ga yói ‘is perceptive’—cf. sas-súru() ‘surmises’ with the infinitive sás-sí(). There is also kanzi ‘feeling’ from kan-zí, the infinitive of kan-ziru ‘feels’. Verbal infinitives underlie a few DERIVED ADVERBS, apparently WITHOUT the accent shift: tóma ‘after all; in short’ [accent irregular], nóbe ‘in toto; altogether’, toriwakey (= toriwikete) ‘especially’, yori-yori ‘(coming together) from time to time’ (an uncommon adverb from the iterated vi. inf. ‘congregate’), ... . The adverb hiki-tuzuki ‘continuing’ would appear to be directly derived from a noun hikituuzu ‘continuation; sequel’ (MKZ5 931a), in turn derived from the compound verb infinitive hiki-tuzuki = hiki-tuzúite ‘continuing’. (See also the adverbs derived from phrases with naku, cited at the end of §8.4.) In ari-no-mamá ‘as it is, undisguised’ we probably have a derived noun *ari from ari ‘existing’, as the accentuation would indicate, but there seems to be no other evidence for the noun; the noun-like uses of ari are either the infinitive itself or direct nominalizations of the infinitive used in place of the literary predicative form.

There are also a few relics of nouns derived by the deverbative suffix -a: horá ‘cave’ from hór- ‘dig’, nawá ‘rope’ from náw- ‘twist, twine’, and possibly matá ‘crotch, fork’ from mát- ‘await’, tuká ‘hilt’ from tük(e) ‘attach’, utá ‘song’ from út- ‘strike; perform’, oyá ‘parent’ from óy(i) ‘grow old’, murá ‘village’ from múr(e) = mura-gár- ‘gather’

4. But in some cases the accentuation suggests derivation by way of a noun derived from the infinitive. Thus the suffix -(k)kurá—an abbreviation of kurábe ‘competition’ the derived noun from the infinitive kurábe ‘competing’—is preaccentuated when attached to a tonic infinitive as in kaké-(k)kurá ‘running race’, nomi-(k)kurá ‘drinking bout’, and tabé-(k)kurá ‘eating contest’ but atomizing when attached to an atomic infinitive as in osi-(k)kurá ‘a pushing contest’. Yet the derived nouns we would assume here are found in virtually no other uses.

5. But historically this may be a relic of the last phoneme of the base morpheme, if Ōno and Unger are correct in their views of Old Japanese morphophonemics.
§9. Adverbializations

[cf. muré ‘crowd’], and o-nara ‘flatulence’ from nar- ‘make noise’. And a few adverbs may be derived with this suffix, e.g. sek-seka ‘fidgety, bustling’ from sek- ‘hasten’. The suffix is etymologically identical with the -(a)- of the negative, the voice conversions, and (in covert form since -a-mu > -a-u has now become -oo) the tentative-hortative forms. But of the two aboriginal verbal suffixes -i and -a, Japanese in its main-dialect line of development has opted overwhelmingly for the former as a source for derived nouns; in either case the accent of a tonic base moves to the suffix when the noun is derived.

Much rarer is the derivation of a noun from the adjective infinitive, perhaps because of the common suffixes -sa and -mi as well as use of the simple adjective base with no ending (the usual form in making compounds). But the following infinitive-derived nouns are attested: tikaku ‘vicinity’ (place noun), ‘soon’ (time noun)—from tikaku ‘being near’; háyaku ‘early (time)’, as in ás háyaku kara ‘from early in the morning’, háyaku kara siraretá ga ‘it was known early on but ...’ (SA 2684.106d), and háyaku ga íi ‘early would be better’ (or is this elliptical?)—from háyaku ‘being early’;6 osoku ‘late (time)’, as in osoku made ‘till late’, osoku ga íi ‘late would be better’, osoku ni denwa o site ‘phoning at a late hour’, and ýóru osoku ni nátte ‘when it gets to be late at night’ (cf. osoku nátte ‘when it gets late’)—from osoku(’ )‘being late’; tooku ‘distance, far off (place)’, as in tooku e iku ‘goes far off’, tooku o míru ‘looks into the distance’, tooku no uti(’ )‘distant house’, Yamabátou(’ ) ga tookú de naite íru ‘The turtledove is calling in the distance’—from tooku(’ )‘being distant’; kokú(’ )‘body, alcoholic strength’, as in kokú(’ ) ga áru ‘has body to it’—from koku ‘being saturated/dense/steeped’; óoku ‘much, many’, as in óoku ga happyoo sareta ‘many have been published’—from óoku ‘being much/many’. There are also a few examples of N-hukaku ‘the depths of N’ derived from hukaku ‘being deep’: úmi no oku-hukaku kara ‘from the depths of the sea’; háko no oku-hukaku o sagasita ‘searched the depths of the box’; fú no oku-hukaku made nozo1t a ‘peered into the very depths of the house’; úmi no sokó-hukaku ‘the bottom depths of the sea’; ... But hukaku alone does not seem to occur as a noun. (Perhaps it is a quasi-restrictive ‘hukaku?’)

Such derived nouns are somewhat more limited in distribution than other nouns—(* )óoku da ‘is much/many’ would normally be replaced by the simple adjective óoi—but they can not be treated as mere adjective infinitives (osoku ni nátte is unusual, for osoku nátte is what we expect of an adjective in this construction) nor even as derived adverbs, since—unlike adverbs—they occur with the markers ga and ó.7 If an A-ku occurs only with kará (and not with ga/ó) it can still be treated as an adverb, since adverbs of time will permit a temporal ablative (sendátte kara ‘from a few days ago’); thus húrukú, kara ‘from of old’ does not establish húrukú as a noun, and there is no *húrukú ga. A similar case is syuusen gō(’ ) ma-mó-naku kara ‘from a short time after the end of the war’; it seems to be...

6. Perhaps this accounts for háyoo ni ‘early’ in NE Hyógo (Zhs 4.319) < háyau’ < háya[k]u, used as a time noun; cf. ás háyoo ni (Tík 4.361), háyaku ni ‘at an early time’ (Kb 74a). However, it should be noted that A-ku ni forms are not uncommon in older literature as ordinary adverbials. The adverb tó ni = tokku ni ‘long ago/since, already’ is from the literary adverb tóku ‘fast, early’, the infinitive of an old adjective tó- ‘early’ probably identical with tó- ‘sharp’ (cf. tóg- ‘sharpen’). Note also the use of A-ku ni in mutative conversions (§9.1.11: p. 464)—reported for Kansai dialects and dialects of the northern Ryūkyús. We still find ... gótokú ni as well as ... gótokú = yóo ni [ni]. These forms with -ku are much like precopular nouns; ... gótokú da (or de aru) = ... yóo da.

7. It follows that the adverb soo ‘to such an extent’ in ... soo too ku made wa itte inái daroo ‘he can’t have gone so very far away’ (Aríyoshi 50) is modifying the phrase too ku made, in which the noun tooku has been adverbialized by the allative marker made.
acceptable to say Syuusen ga-mó-naku ga itiban hidói zidai dātta ‘The most trying time was shortly after the end of the war’, but perhaps an ellipsis is involved—[no(1) toki], with the adverb adnominalized. (It is not entirely clear that we would be ill-advised to interpret háyaku and osokú too as derived adverbs of time, with the phrases marked by gā treated as elliptical.) There are a few derived adverbs ending in -ra-ku: nagaraku ‘for a long time’ from nágā- ‘be long’, sibáraku ‘for a while’ (cf. siba-siba ‘often’), ... . For the regular derivation of adverbs from the adjective infinitive, see §9.1.11. Notice that the phrase kázu óoku ‘many’, normally spoken with minor juncture between the words (but treated by some speakers as a single word kazu-óoku), derives by ellipsis from kázu ga óoku ‘the number being many’ and is used only as an adverb; unlike óoku itself, the phrase cannot be marked with gā or ó, being merely the infinitive form of the phrase kázu [ga] óoi ‘are many in number, are numerous’. However, the phrase is apparently a PREDICABLE adverb, since it can be adnominalized: ... kázu óoku no izoku gā, kázu óoku no sisyā o kataru kotō ni yotte, ... ‘depending on the numerous survivors telling of the numerous dead’ (SA 2687.106b); Kázu óoku no náká kara tāda itī-rei o ageru to, ... ‘To cite just one example from many, ...’ (SA 2672.138c—to be read with a major juncture before tāda, minor junctures elsewhere). The antonym is kázu suknánaku from kázu [gā] suknai ‘are few in number’; apparently this is never treated as a single word *kázu-sukunáku.

A number of adjective bases also occur as pure nouns, notably the color words (áo ‘blue’ etc.—cf. §13.8); and some are used as precopular nouns, at least in limited expressions. But tō no mukanai = tooi mukasi ‘the distant past’ is from tō-[k]u ‘early’ (cf. p. 803n).

But the adjectival and nominals enter into a number of similar constructions and derivations with the raw base (i.e. with -i and dā respectively removed); one traditional view of Japanese grammar is to regard the verbal infinitive as the same sort of ‘raw base’, i.e. the -(r)ū form with the ending removed (and the extra -i of the consonant base explained as a morphophonemic anomaly). This traditional view ignores the similarities between the verbal infinitive and the adjectival and nominal infinitives (A-kū and N-nf) in nuclear focus (§5) and in noun derivations, as well as the literary and written use of both as equivalent to the respective gerunds in the meaning ‘does/is and (so)’. But it brings out the similarities between the verbal infinitive and the adjectival base (as well as the nominal base, i.e. the noun itself), especially with respect to the attachment of -sugiru (the excessive §9.1.7), nágará (the concurrent-concessive §9.1.3), and -sóó da (the evidential §20).8

The adjective base can occur by itself as an exclamation: Ōo, kówa! ‘Oh, frightful!’ (Fn 34a); Ōo, sámu! ‘Oh how cold it is!’; Ātu! ‘It’s hot!’; Āa, ìta! ‘Ouch, it hurts!’; (Cf. the occurrence of the adjectival noun in similar exclamations and in AN1 no AN2: Kírei! ‘Pretty!’; Hade mo hadé! ‘Ever so gaudy!’ See §13.5a.) This is apparently very common in Ōsaka, where even the desideratives will appear (Maeda 1961.171-4).

The constructions referred to as “infinitive + auxiliary verb” are considered not as verbal derivations to be listed in the dictionary but as converted sentences, since they can

8. The conjugational forms of Japanese adjectives can all be derived from a base + -ku or (especially in the Ryūkyūs) -sa + -ár- ‘be’, as stated in Martin 1967 and 1968. But there are two dialects (Tslen and Hetono) on Tokunoshima in the northern Ryūkyūs that attach the auxiliary ár- directly to the base. (H 1966.226, 229.) In Aomori -ku is appended to the imperfect (A-i ku), as if a postadnominal.
Adverbializations

carry with them the appropriate adjuncts. If the infinitive is from a sentence that takes objects, the objects stay intact in the converted sentence. Other verb compounds not only are created less freely than the ones mentioned here, but determine their own adjuncts without any predictable relationship to the infinitives that went into them: the derived compounds are derived only from UNEXPANDED nuclear sentences.

In SHAPE, the verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb more closely resembles derived compounds (since the infinitive is pronounced in one accent phrase with the auxiliary) in contrast with the gerund + auxiliary (§9.2.4) which permits a juncture to intervene so that a tonic gerund retains its accent and a tonic auxiliary is merely reduced to secondary accent. That is why we write the infinitive with a hyphen, just as we do for compound verbs, and discuss the accent for both kinds together. Unlike gerund + auxiliary, the infinitive + auxiliary permits no insertions; apparent exceptions turn out to be lexical derivatives, e.g. tórí-mo naosazu ‘namely, in other words’ from what underlies tori-naósazu ‘without grasping anew’. Cf. hiki-mo kirānai, omói-mo yorainai, oyobi-mo tukanai, ái-mo kawarazu (pp. 329, 441). The shapes of a few verb infinitives are (sometimes optionally) truncated and assimilated when serving as the first member of certain specific lexical compounds:


- *káki* ‘scratch’: kap-parau ‘filches’.

- *noki* ‘move off’: nop-piki ‘avoidance’.


- *mori* ‘heap’: mok-kiri ‘a single helping (of food)’.

- *nori* ‘mount’: not-törü ‘surups, hijacks’, nok-kákarU = nori-kákáru ‘gets on (aboard)’.

- *wari* ‘divide’: wap-pu ‘allotment’.


Cf. tot-timerU ‘takes a person to task’ < tori-símerU.


- *káti* ‘win’: kat-te ‘one’s own way/convenience’.

- *sási* ‘point’: sap-piku = sasi-hiku ‘subtracts’.

- *osi* ‘push’: op-pazímérU = osi-hazímerU ‘begins’.

§9.1.1. Verbal infinitive + ni + verb

humi 'tread': hun-máeru 'treads'; hun-gómu = humi-kómu 'steps in, raids'; hun-zukérú = humi-tukérú 'tramples, despies'; hunzibáru < humi-sibáru 'ties up, arrests'; hunbáru = humi-háru 'stretches one's legs'.

More complex contractions are encountered in uttyáru < uti-yáru 'throws away, neglects' and se{t}óku('') < seki-tóku 'urges, presses'. In moti-ageru = moti-ageru 'lifts' and kake-ageru < kake-ageru 'hoists, publishes' the infinitive vowel simply drops; cf. mesyagaru = mesi-ageru 'partakes'.

The infinitive si (= sì) 'doing' is the likely source of the particle si, both in its colloquial use as a sentence connector 'and' or 'and so' (§17.5) and in its more literary use as an emphatic, e.g. when followed by mó (see p. 501, §9.2.2).

Very occasionally you may run across an adnominalization of what appears to be a direct nominalization of an infinitive carrying its adjuncts intact: ... un o tanómi no syooyoko-sénpo ga shai-teki dáatta ga 'Dominant was a conservative strategy relying on good luck that... but' (SA 2666.102b). The adnominalized copula nó here is propeddicative for an underlying suru 'does': 'tanómi suru → tanómi [i suru] = tanómu 'relies on'. For a similar case, see -i-hazime no, §9.7.1.(11), where nó represents an underlying sita 'did'. Notice how these examples support the notion that the infinitive is actually the basic form of the sentence, with the finite forms derived by way of auxiliary accretions and contraction.

9.1.1. Verbal infinitive + ni + verb.

When the verbal infinitive is followed by ni and then (with or without intervening material) some other verb—nearly always a verb of movement such as iku 'goes' or kúru 'comes'—the meaning is 'does (goes/comes) for the purpose of doing'. The larger sentence carries with it any adjuncts of the infinitive sentence (as well as any adjuncts that might go with the particular later verb): A ga B o yobi 'A calls B' goes into this construction as A ga B o yobi and the result is something like A ga B o yobi ni (P e) iku 'A goes (to P) to call B'. Examples: Sensei o II karakái ni I kita no ka l ná 'I wonder if he had come to tease you?' (SA 2677.56d); Náni si ni I kita no 'What have you come to do?' (SA 2677.56d).

The subject of the larger sentence has to be the same as that of the infinitive—you cannot go for the purpose of someone else's doing it; but by "same subject", of course, is meant the immediate subject of causation in the causative or of suffering in the passive, and not the subject of the simpler underlying sentence. In other words, we have a combined sentence A ga iku (etc.) + A ga yobi, with the subject shared and ni used to mark the linkage with purposive meaning. For each sentence with this construction there seems to be a synonymous sentence with V1-ru tamé ni V2, using an adverbialization of the post-adnominal tamé with V1 adnominalized to it (§13.2) but the semantically similar construction V1-ru no ni V2 in general has a different (and quite restricted) selection for V2. There seem to be few restrictions on the selection V1 except that it must have an animate

9. But in the emphatic meaning si `monó is derived from a variant of só 'that' (cf. siká 'so') by Saji 40.
10. This accounts for Zyotyu san ni o monó o tóri ni yokósite kudasái 'Send your maid to pick up the things' and Utó(') no kodomo ni o monó o todóke ni yaru 'I'll send our boy to deliver the things'.
subject and must not be a possessor or quasi-possessive verb; there is no *aři ni iku from āru ‘exists, has’; *wakāri ni iku ‘goes in order to understand’; *iri ni iku from ir-u ‘needs’, or *déki ni iku from dekī ‘is produced/can’. But we find nāri ni iku ‘goes to become’, sūmi ni iku ‘goes to reside’, i ni iku ‘goes to stay/be’; passives and causatives (sare/sase ni iku ‘goes to suffer/cause’); favors (V-te age ni iku ‘goes to do for’), V-te morai ni iku ‘goes to have done for one’)\(^{11}\) and other gerund + auxiliary constructions (e.g. V-te mi ni iku ‘goes to try doing’, V-te simai ni iku ‘goes to finish doing’, V-te oki ni iku ‘goes to do it for later’); de ni iku ‘goes to leave’, and even iki ni iku/kūru ‘goes to come’, ki ni iku/kūru ‘goes/comes to go’, ki ni iku/kūru ‘goes/comes to come’, and (rarely) isogi ni iku ‘goes (in order) to hurry’. Moreover, V\(_1\) usually must represent a single action, not a habit or state, and thus there is no *V-te i ni iku from V-te ir-u, despite the apparent acceptability of i ni iku ‘goes to stay/be’ and sumi ni iku ‘goes to reside’. Emotions and involuntary actions are generally avoided for V\(_1\), unless qualified by various modifiers.\(^{12}\) V\(_2\) is typically a verb of movement, but a few other verbs and verb phrases can be used, provided they have human subjects.

Free verbal nouns, such as benkyoo {to} suru ‘studies’, freely drop the infinitive si: benkyoo \{to\} si ni iku ‘comes to study’, sigoto \{to\} si ni iku ‘goes to work’. Looking at it another way, we can say that verbal nouns are nominals (benkyoo da ‘it is study’) that happen to share this construction with verbs: benkyoo dā → benkyoo ni [infinitive of the copula] + (ni) iku with the copula infinitive and the particle ni collapsing into one /ni/. (This might provide a good argument for treating the ni of ni iku as copula infinitive rather than particle. Cf. also nō ni [wa], §14.2.2.) The optional omission of \{si\} is permitted even when the verbal noun carries an object with it: ... ‘gogatu-kākumei’ o l kansatsu ni [i] kite, ... ‘came to see the “May revolution”, and ...’ (SA 2678.92b). But it is always possible instead to turn the object into an adnominal modifier of the verbal noun, as would be obligatory if the verbal noun were marked by \{o\}: ‘gogatu-kākumei’ no kansatsu o si ni ... . Thus the objectual genitive in the following example: Hootimin-rūuto no \{o\} bakugeki ni yoku T-28 [T‘ii \{nizyuu \{hati\} \{entoobakugēki\}-ki ... ‘The T-28 fighter-bombers that leave for bombing (of) the Ho Chi Minh trail ...’ (SA 2673.23a)—cf., later in the same text, Hootimin-rūuto e no bakugeki de āru ‘It is bombing aimed at the Ho Chi Minh trail’.

But not all instances of N o si ni V will permit the dropping of o si: Sensēi o si ni iku ‘goes to be a teacher’, dōryoku(‘) o si ni iku ‘goes to make an effort’, torānpu o si ni iku ‘goes to play cards’ (despite tēnisu ni iku ‘goes to play tennis’), and ?binboo o si ni iku ‘goes to live a poor life’ apparently require the full form. Yet the following will permit the ellipsis: sewā \{o si\} ni iku ‘goes to take care of matters’, tetuya \{o si\} ni iku ‘goes to stay up all night’, kusyōo \{o si\} ni iku ‘goes to smile with pain’. It is not clear what factors enter into this optional ellipsis; perhaps the susceptibility of nouns to verbalization by suru has led to some sort of continuum, with several kinds of “verbal nouns”, “quasi-VNs”, and “pseudo-VNs” that require marking in the lexicon. Or perhaps we should distinguish more than one kind of suru; notice that yaru is a synonym of suru in some, but not all, of its occurrences. See §14.3.

11. As in Sore kara is-syūukan \{l\} tyuuwsya o ūtte \{l\} morai ni \{l\} kayotta ‘After that for a week I went to get injections’ (SA 2679.124c).

12. But death is subject at times to decision: Minna \{l\} \{[((\{senen \{dēsita \{nē. \\} lyōyo \{l\} sini ni iku to iu \{l\} wake des’saa \{l\} nē \{[desu \{wā] \{nē \} ‘They were all fine young men, weren’t they. And one after another they [go to die =] went to their deaths’ (Tk 2.95b).
Although nothing can separate the infinitive from に, the second verb may carry with it a full array of adjuncts which need not be displaced to the beginning of the larger sentence; an example can be constructed with a fair amount of matter between V1-i に and V2: Tanaka ga tyuúmon(”) o tóri ni tomodati to misé ni kuruma de isóide ása róku-zi ni itta ‘Tanaka hurriedly went at six o’clock in the morning by car with a friend to pick up the order’. Here is an adnominalized example with the subject subduced (gá → nó, §13.1.6) following V1-i に: Koko wa l mizu o nómí ni l umá no l kawyo [l] miti dşu ‘This is the path by which the horses go to drink water’. The following example separates the traversal object from the motion verb: Tooi miti o [káno-zyo to/ni I] ái ni l kita l otokó o ... ‘a man who had come a long road to see her ...’ (Ōno 1966.168).

It is indicated in the chart in §5.5 that the “purpose” expressed by V-i に can take a variety of restrictive and focus particles, as in these examples (for most of which I am indebted to Shozo Kurokawa): Káre wa l sóto e wa l nómí ni WA l ikanáí ga, l uti de l yóku l nómú ‘He doesn’t go out drinking but he does a lot of drinking at home’; Ano matic l hooñé(”) o l tyóosa [si] ni WA l itáa ga, l súnáa [l] koto l wá l nái ‘I have been to that town to investigate the dialect but I have never lived there’; Kinóo wa l isogáskute l hiru-góhan ol tábé ni MO l ikanákatta ‘I was so busy yesterday I never even went to have lunch’; Asoko wa [l] iti–do l kénbutu [si] ni MO l itta ‘I went there to sightsee once, too’; Sóhu wa l magó no kà ao kó mi ni l kónái ‘The grandfather never comes even to look at his grandson’s face’; Wázawaza l kénbutu [si] ni SAE l kúru n dá kara, l ano otkodó wa l kawarimo nó dá yó ‘He must be some kind of a nut, going to all the trouble of coming here to see things’; Káre wa l Yamada san ni ái ni SURA l ikanáí ‘He never goes even to see Mr Yamada’; Anna ni [l] náká ga l yói nó ni, l sukedáti [si] ni SURA l kónakatta ‘Though on such good terms, he didn’t come even to lend assistance’; Ano rúsutoran e wa l tokidóki l Isé-ebi(”) o l tábé ni SIKÁ l yoranáí ‘That restaurant I only drop into occasionally for lobster’; Tanaka kyoózyu(”) wa l kono sigoto ni l tyokusetu kana kei wa nákú, l tokidóki l zyogen [si] ni SIKÁ l kónái ‘Professor Tanaka has no direct involvement in this work and only comes occasionally to offer advice’—despite the English translation, I take the tyokusetu as an adverb (= tyokusetu ni) rather than as ellipsis for tyokusetu [no] kana kei, though the latter interpretation may be possible; Káre wa l sóto e l nómí ni KOSO l ikanáí ga, l uti de wa l kánari l nómu r-šéi ‘He doesn’t precisely go out to drink, but I understand he does a lot of drinking at home’; Tanaka san wa l máisá(”) l sanpo [si] ni KOSO l íku ga, l sôre ‘i-gi wa l hotónáld l sóto e l dét e l kónái l hító da ‘Mr Tanaka does go for a walk every morning, to be precise (about it), but other than that he’s a person who hardly ever comes outdoors’; Kono hón o l wázáwa l kái ni MADE l ikanáí ‘I won’t go out of my way to buy THIS book’; Yamada san no tokoró e l kono mondai o l tóogi [si] ni MADE l íku tóóri wa náí ‘I have no intention to go all the way to Mr Yamada’s to discuss this question’; ... zyunréi [si] ni MADE l kité, ... ‘actually coming on a pilgrimage’ (Endó 225); Watasi wa l yasumí ni wá l óyógi ni NÁDO l íku ‘On my holidays I go swimming and things’; Tuuti [si] ni NÁNKA l kónái ‘They don’t come to give us notice or anything’; Hikoo-zyo o l mukae ni NÁNTE l íte mo, l zíkan no [l] róohí(”) da ‘It’s a waste of time to go to the airport to meet him and all that’; Kono seihin o l senden [si] ni NÁNTE l íku hituuyo wa l zenzen náí ‘There’s absolutely no need to go advertise this product and all’; Mokuteki no tamé ni nará l soorí-dâzírin ni ái ni D’ÁTTE (DÉ MO) l íku ‘I will go even to see the Prime Minister if it’s in the interest of my objective’; Kyóo wa l isogáshí no de, l suki wa l sanpo ni D’ÁTTE (DÉ MO) ikanáí ‘I am busy today so I won’t even go to enjoy my (usual) walk’; Sono hón...
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If you will lend me that book I will even come to your house to pick it up'; Syokuzi ni Dō MO 1 déta no daroo ka 'Perhaps he had gone out for a meal or something' (SM 2793.138c);

Hisasiburi ni l nómi ni Dō MO 1 ikanai kà ka 'How about going for a drink or something after all this while?'; Ik-kågetu ‘gurai kyuuoka o tòtte ryokoo ni Dō MO 1 iku yo 'I'll take a month's leave and go on a trip or something'; Titi no tokorö e wa 1 tama ni l l kao o mise ni ‘GURAI 1 iku 'I go to my father's place every now and then just to show my face'; Ano sensëi no l kooigi(‘) wa 1 tama ni l tyoooko [si] ni ‘GURAI wa 1 kimåsu kedo 'I come every so often just to attend that teacher's lectures'; Asobi ni ‘GURAI l kite mo l yosa-så no l monö da 'It would seem all right to come at least for a visit' (Hozaka 340); Kåre wa l hima da to, l watashi no tokorö e l l kudaranai kotö o l hanåsi ni l BÅKARI kuru 'Whenever he has a spare moment he comes to my place just to talk drive!'; Kåre wa l watashi no tokorö e l zyama [si] ni BÅKARI kuru 'He comes to my place just to bother me'; O-tagai ni mazü ni de, l å ni DAKE wa l ikanåkatta 'I just didn't go to see him because it was inconvenient for both of us'; Ano tihöo no l hoogien(‘) wa l työosa [si] ni DAKE [wa] itta 'The dialect of that area (is something that) I went just to investigate'.

The example Syuukin ni nara l l kônai de l ne ‘Don't come if it's to collect money' (KKK 25.79a) shows that the purpose expression can be propredicated; it should be possible to say Syuukin ni [kuru no] desu ka 'Is it to collect money (that you are coming)'. We observed in § 8.1 that the purpose phrase can be denied with de [wa] naku te, as in Yasumi ni de wa nåku hon o yomi ni kätta n desu 'I went home not to rest but to do some reading'.

Since V-i ni iku (etc.) means the same thing as V-ru [ ] tamé ni iku 'goes for the purpose of doing', it is possible to think of the shorter expression as an abbreviation of the latter. Such an explanation becomes all the more attractive when we see how it reinforces the argument that V-ru is itself an abbreviation of V-i suru, an abbreviation that is obligatory in modern spoken Japanese but optional in the written language of as late as the Meiji period and is rejected in all varieties of Japanese when nuclear focus is applied (V-i wa suru etc.). What we are suggesting is to derive the purposive expression and the unfocused imperfect as follows: 12a

\[
\begin{align*}
V-\text{i} | \text{suru} | \text{tamé} & \ni ... = V-\text{i} \ni ... \\
V-\text{i} | \text{suru} | \text{(r)}u & \ni ... = V-(r)u \ni ...
\end{align*}
\]

All cases of V-i ni ... can be replaced by V-ru tamé ni ... but not by another purpose expression V-ru no ni ... (§ 14.2.2) for that expression cannot be followed by a verb of motion and thus is virtually in complementary distribution with V-i ni ...

The following examples contain verbs of motion other than iku and kuru: Sore o mi ni kåeru/modóru 'returns to see it'; Mådo o sime ni dëru 'goes out to close a window'; Tomodati ni å ni de-muku/dekakeru 'goes out to see a friend'; Mizu o nómi ni hai-deru 'creeps out to drink water'; Tomodati ni å ni omomuku 'goes out to see a friend'; Tomodati ni å ni yoru 'drops in to see a friend'; Tåbe ni haiuru 'enters to eat'; Tasuke ni kake-youru 'runs up to help'; Sagasi ni aruku 'walks to look for it'; Töri ni noboru 'climbs up to get it'; Töri ni osi-yôseru 'rushes to get it'; Töri ni makar 'heads to get it'; Töri ni atumåru/muragaru 'cluster around to get it'; Töri ni tåtu 'stands up (leaves) to get it'; Naki ni nigéru 'runs away to cry'. And this example shows that kao o dasu 12a. But these derivations are historically suspect, for examples of V-i ni iku/kuru, as well as of V-i(r)u, occur in the earliest texts. On the Tôkyô cancellation of the accent of the infinitive ending i in these expressions, see p. 413n.
§9.1.1. Verbal infinitive + ni + verb

‘shows up’ can be treated as a motion verb: [ma l daikaku ni wa, itte orarénai n desu ka. —Seki wa l nái n desu ga, l tokidoki l kao wa dásite l imásu, l sigeki o ūke ni ‘Aren’t you now going to the university?—I’m not registered, but I sometimes show up—to get stimulation’ (Tk 2.130a).


A number of sentences that imply generally undesirable results are semantically odd unless we attach some kind of qualification such as yóó na monó da ‘it is as if ...’ at the end, as in Odoróki ni iku (yóó na monó da) ‘(it is like) going in order to be surprised’. Examples: Menkúrai ni ... ‘... to be embarrassed’; Akíre ni ... ‘... to give it up’; Kanási-gári ni ... ‘... to grieve’; Támerái ni ... ‘... to hesitate’; Tamári-káne ni ... ‘... to become impatient’; Síkén ni ótí ni ... ‘... to fail the exam’.

We have stated that certain verbs are categorically rejected as the infinitive in these expressions. But there are others that are semantically incongruent, e.g. óki ni iku ‘goes in order to arise’, umáre ni iku ‘goes in order to be born’; to make sense, such verbs must be given an extended meaning, as in Atáraní zyóoyú to site úmare ni Háriúddo e iku ‘goes to Hollywood to be born as a new actress’. And a number of verbs will seem peculiar without amplification: tükí ni iku ‘goes to arrive’ is odd by itself but less so in Sán-zí ni Tookyóo ni tükí ni í-zi ni óki e iku ‘goes to the station at one o’clock in order to get to Tókyó at three’ (the welter of different ni-markings can be slightly reduced by saying Tookyóo e), though the expression would normally be corrected to tükí tamé/yóó ni ‘so as to arrive’. Thus the following sentences are perhaps acceptable as they stand, but will suffer from any pruning of adjuncts: Sán-zí máe ni gakkóo no máe o súgi ni iku ‘goes so that one can pass the school before three o’clock’; Tanáka wa gógo koko ni kí ni gózen(−) –tuuyu ni káisya e ittá ‘Tanáka went to the office in the morning so that he can come here in the afternoon’; Tookyóo e iki ni hikooyóoyó e iku ‘goes to an airport to go to Tókyó’; Bútai e dé ni iku ‘goes to appear on the stage’; ()?Tanáka ga rusú no aida káre no utí ni i ni iku ‘goes to stay at Tanáka’s home while he is away’; ()?Híto o tasúke ni háisgo o tatóru ‘puts a ladder up to rescue a person’; ()?Héyá o soozí si ni isu o ugozkáus ‘moves a chair in order to sweep the room’; ()?Daigákuín e susumi ni Ameírika e iku ‘goes to America to enter a graduate school’.

The foreign student should be prepared to see this construction made on the monosyllabic infinitives listed earlier: dé ni ‘(goes to) emerge (etc.)’, é ni ‘... to get’, i ni ‘... to shoot, to cast metal’, i ni ‘to stay’, kí ni ‘... to come’, kí ni ‘... to wear’, mí ni ‘... to look/see’, ne ni ‘... to sleep’, ni ni ‘... to cook’, si ni ‘... to do’. Since hi ‘get dry’ and ni ‘resemble’ are
involuntary, they will not appear in this form; I am not sure about the 'pass'.

As the Japanese writing system fails to indicate the accent or to space the words, a foreign student might interpret such a written string as ... tyottominiwa, soremawakarimasen (Shibata 2966.90) as *Tyótō-to-mi ni wa ... and wonder how the infinitive mi 'look/see' can here be interpreted with following ni; *For the purpose of looking does not understand that' seems out of the question. But tyotto-mi happens to be a compound noun, derived from the adverb + the verb infinitive, and the correct interpretation is ... tyotto-mi ni wa, sore ga wakarimasēn '(at a brief look =) at first glance, that would not be clear'.

In §22.1 we find that the infinitive never stylizes (*-i-māsi) so that we do not expect to find *V-i-māsi ni ... Cf. Mikami 1963a.27, where it is noted that V-ru karā ni (and V-ru karā ni wa?) lack stylization so that you find V-i-māsu kara 'because V' but not *V-i-māsu kara ni 'just because V' or (?) *V-i-māsu kara [ni] wa 'now that V, as long as V anyway', §17.1.

In the northern Ryūkyūs (see Martin 1970) the infinitive + ga is used for this purposive construction: Yumyi ga qiykhyūm = Yōmi ni iku 'He goes to read'. But the imperfect adnominal + ga + ni/to + ni is used with the same meaning: Yumyun ga nyī ni qiyidām OR Yumyun ga tu n qiyidām = Yōmi ni itta 'He went to read'. This suggests the possibility that we are faced with a contraction from ... ga tamē ni/to. (The double ni represented by ga NY1 N remains a problem.) In some main-island dialects ni drops its initial nasal, and both N [n]i and V-i [n]i are reported (e.g. in Aichi Zhs 3.468, Ōsaka Zhs 4.227, etc.); cf. §2.2. Thus the following forms of the purposive expression (reported in Zhs 6.15 n. 2) can perhaps be derived from V-i ga ni: V-i ga i iku (Kyūshū), V-i ge i ik u (E. Kyūshū), V-i gy i i ku (W. Kyūshū).

We have said that the second verb in these expressions is nearly always a verb of movement. A special type, however, is V-i ni kakāru (or VN ni kakāru) 'sets about (to do), undertakes (to do)' or 'starts to do': Hāha ga l kodomo no hukū o elligugase ni l kakāru 'The mother starts undressing the child'; Pāt'ii wa l yamā o l ori ni l kakāta 'The party began to go down hill' (lg 1962.80); Soko de, l wattasi yamemasu l to l ziyyoo o l pon to l dasu. l Kaisya wa l hiki-tōme ni l kakāru 'So then I up and send my resignation "I quit". The company sets to dissuading me' (SA 2681.27e); Gēnā wa l odāyaka ni l warai, l "Tāre" l to l ii, l tūgi no l dangan o l tume ni l kakāru 'The servant puts on an amiable smile, says "Who goes there?", and loads the next shot' (SA 2685.99c—tāre = dāre); Rāgosu de l sirābe ni l kakāta l tokorō, l 'When I set about inquiring in Lagos ... ' (SA 2673.68c);13 l ural-tūke ni l kakāru 'they begin to push their sales' (SA 2678.94a); Kookiti mo l sügu l yoozhuku o nūgi ni l kakāta 'Kōkichi himself at once set to taking off his clothes' (Fn 154b); Dē, l Hāmako wa, l sügu l soozī ni l kakāta 'Then Hamako at once set to sweeping up' (Fn 248a); Oba-san wa l hogaraka ni l soo itte warai, l kūupon'o l iso-iso l l kiri ni l kakāta 'The lady said that with a cheery smile and set to clipping the coupons lightheartedly' (SA); l tō l tazine ni l kakāru 'He starts inquiring ...' (SA 2659.69c); l sibārī ni l kakāru 'sets about tying [him] up'; Hāruko wa l soro-soro l yuuhan no sitaku ni kakāru l kōro da 'It is time for Haruko to set herself to getting dinner

13. The accentuation shows that sirābe is the infinitive 'inquiring' rather than the infinitive-derived noun sirabē 'inquiry' (§14.5).
§9.1.1a. Verbal iteration with infinitive + に

A verb can be made more vivid or emphatic by putting it into an iterative pattern: V₁-に (wa/mo) IV₁-ru. はそ does 'hurries' but はそ-に はそ means 'hurries and hurries' or 'puts on the speed'; なも means 'drinks' but はも-に なも means 'drinks and drinks' or 'really puts away the liquid'; あめ-に あめ means 'rains' but あめ-に あめ means 'rains cats and dogs' or 'pours down'; はく means 'cries' but はく-に はく means 'cries and cries' or 'cries one's heart out'.

Adjuncts are put before the infinitive: コレガニタリにIタッタ 'This was a great hit' (SA 2685.139b); ... わやわリアレニIアレタ 'the river raged and raged' (SA 2663.48a). The iteration (V₁-ru) can take no adjunct whatsoever, being separable from the infinitive + に only by the minor juncture and the focus particles は or مؤ, which function here as they do in the nuclear focus of §5: はも-に はも 'does drink a lot, all right' is similar to はも-に わ はも 'does drink, all right but' and はも-に も はも 'even/also drinks a lot' is similar to はも-に も わ はも 'even/also drinks'.

The only examples I have found with a verbal noun indicate the pattern VN [si] に | VN [o] suru: SokoでI kenkyuuニI kenkyuu o site | んた | ケッカ ... 'Thereupon as a result of study upon study it was discovered that ...' (SA 2659.71b); ... ゆうゆうI ゆうゆう site 'struggling and struggling' (SA 2684.118c).

There seem to be no clear restrictions on further conversions of the resulting sentence, but the colloquial flavor of the expression discourages bookish touches or involved embeddings: the vivid utterance, after all, is apt to be short. 14 There are numerous examples of adnominalization: ... はも-にI はも-を site | ガツ 'a terribly tangled yarn' (Fn 307b); カンガーニI カンガータI ジケンデsu | よ 'It's a case I've pondered and pondered over' (SA 2656.46a); はもI はもI バカンスガI グルト to ... 'When the long-awaited vacation came ...' (SA 2654.118a); セマクテI カクシテキI ナ [ ] こーI パアトコI ほ | もI はも | マッタI ダシシユデアール 'It is a long-awaited escape from the narrow and (drably) uniform government apartments' (SA 2659.118a); ヒュリ | ビシオI ニキウラホガI リヤトデキデッタ; リベートーI テーI サツヒテガII ガI はもI はもI マッタI ダイI トコデアール 'Toshio Fujita's script is finally done; It is the first draft that we of the staff have been waiting and waiting for' (SA 2652.64c).

Perhaps a lack of vividness accounts for the failure of some verbs to appear in this form. There appears to be some reluctance to apply the iteration to vowel bases, though I have examples for かんがえる 'ponders', こころむ 'tries', あせる 'fades', なお 'stretches', かごめ 'gets dirty', and おく 'sways': ネトトオキイデルトイガ, ガンケニナタ | ボウトイオテヤ | マッタI もI マッタI ダイI トコデアール 'The least venture out from shore and even the sturdily built

14. Though vivid and colloquial, the form is not new; Kinoshita (20) cites an example from the early Heian period.
boats would pitch and roll’ (SA 2666.84b). Possessive and quasi-possessive verbs are (as so often) excluded: there is no *‘āri ni āru, *wakāri ni wakāru, *iri ni iru, *deki ni dekīru.

Although not made on gerund-auxiliary conversions (such as *‘nōnde simai ni simau), the forms are possible for many of the infinitive-auxiliary conversions (of §9.1.10), such as nomi-tuzuke ni nomi-tuzuketa ‘really kept on drinking’, and even multiple auxiliaries: nomi-tuzuke-sugi ni nomi-tuzuke-sūgīta ‘really overdid the continual drinking’, nomi-tuzuke-sugi-sāse ni nomi-tuzuke-sugi-sāseta ‘really made him overdo the continual drinking’, etc. But, for no obvious reason, speakers reject many such forms; if the preceding examples are accepted, why should a speaker reject nomi-sugi ni nomi-sūgīta ‘really overdid the drinking’?

Once made, the iteration is free to enter into auxiliary conversions: ... kasegi ni l kasegi-makutte ita ’was earning money hand over fist’ (SA 2664.103b); ... kono suisoo wal l kōri ni l kōtte ite ... ‘this [fish] tank is quite elaborate, and ...’ (SA 2677.61a).

The function of ni in this expression is unclear. It could be regarded as the enumerative ‘and’, or as an extension of ‘to (= in addition)’; or perhaps it is to be taken directly as the essive, here used to adverbiale the verb to its iterated form. Similar expressions are V₁-ru ni [wa/mo] V₁-ru (§14.6.6) and S₁, kōtō wa S₁, kedo/qa (§14.1). The adverb yōri-ni-yotte¹⁵ ‘of all things to choose (from)’ is derived from the gerund of yōri ni yōru ‘chooses and chooses’: yōru is a synonym of erābu ‘chooses’.

There are a very few expressions of the type hita-V₁-i ni V₁-ru ‘steadily Vs’: hita-naki ni naku ‘weeps steadily’; hita-osii(”) ni osu ‘pushes steadily, presses on’; hita[”]-hāsiri(“) ni hāsiru ‘runs hard’; hita[”]-kākusii(“) ni kākusu ‘is very secretive’. Cf. hita-muki na (ningen) ‘(a person) single-minded, earnest’, hitāsura(“) ‘earnestly; solely’, hitā to (yorī-sō) ‘(nests) close’, hittāri/pittāri, .... There are also a few expressions of the type oo-V₁-i ni l V₁-ru ‘greatly Vs’: oo-yure ni l yurete iru ‘is shaken with a great shock’ (SA 2665.127a); oo-ābare ni l abareru ‘rages furiously’; oo-ātari ni l atattā kara ... ‘it was a great hit’ (Tk 3.70a). These could be interpreted as containing a noun derived from the infinitive, intensified by the prefixed oo- ‘large’, with the ni marking cause or pseudo-agent. (Cf. §13.9.) Certain verbs will enter into such expressions with some specific intensifier prefixed to the infinitive: beta-bore ni horeru ‘falls madly in love’ (-bore = ”hore); hira-āyamari ni ayamatte, .... ’profuse in apologies’ (Fn 84a).

9.1.1b. Iterated verbal infinitives.

The verb infinitive can be iterated (repeated) to make an adverbialeization of the sentence it serves to predicate; the result is a single phonological word, usually treated as a simple phrase reduction with the juncture suppressed (yōbi l yōbi → yōbi-yōbi, yōmi l yōmi → yōmi-yōmi),¹⁶ as in these examples: Naki-naki hanāsita ‘He spoke through tears’; Miti o kiki-kiki itta ‘We inquired the route as we went along’; ... atamā o l kāki-kaki, ...

¹⁵. Hirayama gives these two accentual options. MKZ² accentuates the expression as a phrase: yōri ni yotte.

¹⁶. But there may be speakers who treat all such iterations as atomic: nomi-nomi rather than nōmi-nomi ‘drinking’. Not all seeming examples are to be treated as iterated infinitives: the precopular noun togi-re-togire ‘choppy, intermittent, interrupted, broken’ is a reduplication of a noun ‘break’ derived from the intransitive infinitive togi-re ‘become broken’ (from to- ‘path’ + ”kire ‘get cut’). And there are derived adverbs, such as tukē-tuke ‘(speak/scold) harshly’. Baby talk hai-hai ‘crawling’ is a free verbal noun: hai-hai o suru = hau ‘crawls’.
`scratching his head (he said) ...' (SA 2793.96d); ... hiya-ase o kaki-kaki, ... ‘breaking into a cold sweat’ (SA 2637.56c); Enpitu o näme-name hude o hakonde imasu ‘He is writing while nibbling on his pencil’; O-käsi o tåbe-tåbe arüte imåsu ‘He is walking while eating candy’; Hurei o ii-ii sigoto o site imåsu ‘While working he keeps complaining’; Kangä-kangæ arüte imåsu ‘He is walking lost in thought’; Hanäsi o suru tokî mo kangaê-kangæ, il atamâ o kaki-musîru yö o ni site l domori-nâgara l kataru ‘Even when telling a story he gets deep in thought and stammers it out as if scratching his head the while’ (SA 2663.109e); ... sore o koräe-koräe, ... ganbäri-nuîta ‘I suffered and suffered that, ... and stood firm to the end’ (SA 2672.98c); ... Züo wa kükäesi-kükäesi(5) kono syû no situmon ni kotåänakëreba narinakatta si ... ‘Joe had to answer this sort of question over and over again and ...’ (SA 2679.38). Kûne-kune sita méîro o suna o humi-humi tadotte ikû no de aru ‘We grope our way along the twisting labyrinth, treading the sand’ (SA 2678.94c).

In all such cases the iteration can be replaced by V-i-nâgarå (the concurrent, §9.1.3): Naki-nagara hanásîta. And the concurrent can be applied to a sentence that has already embedded the iteration: Sake o nomi-nomi | kangaê-nâgarå il arüte itta ‘He walked along punctuating his thoughts with sips from his bottle’.

The expression ii-ii suru ‘keeps saying’ (atomic, despite Kenkyusha) is a lexical item, a verbal noun—and a bound one, at that, since you can not insert Ø before suru, nor can focus particles (wa/mo) be inserted. The elegant adverb yori-yori ‘coming together’ from time to time’ (SA 2685.130b) is derived from the iterated infinitive of an intransitive verb ‘congregate’.

Monosyllabic vowel bases lengthen the vowel of the infinitive: Syakkîn sii-sii yat-tô seikatu site ‘ru 1 am barely staying alive by borrowing money (repeatedly)’; Zikan o ki ni sii-sii uti e isôida ‘I hurried home full of worries about the time’; ... kâno-zyo no kâo o mîi-miîi kiita ‘... he asked, looking at her face’ (Kb 256a). But there are very few such bases and most of them fail to occur in this construction, though it may be possible to use these: yumi o ii-ii ‘shooting one’s bow repeatedly’, uti o dée-dee ‘leaving the house repeatedly’. The long vowel would appear to be the preservation of the infinitive ending -i, which has otherwise vanished after a basic vowel, rather than an example of the secondary lengthening of ALL monosyllables—other than particles and endings—that is widespread in western Japan and parts of the Ryûkûs, on which see Martin 1970.

A more elaborate structure lets the auxiliary suru pick up an iteration of infinitivized sentences that conjoin a subdued gerund: V1-té wa l V2-i, | V1-té wa l V2-i | suru ‘keeps V1-ing and V2-ing, V1-ing and V2-ing’. Examples: Käite wa l sikužiri îl käite wa l sikužiri | suru ‘I keep writing exams and failing, writing and failing’; O-tya no ha o l tôtte wa l ire, îl tôtte wa l ire o simåsîta ‘We kept picking the tea leaves and putting them in, picking them and putting them in’; Kodosô wa îl hâitte wa l dé, îl hâitte wa l dé l suru ‘The child keeps coming in and going out, coming in and going out’; ... ôkîte wa l ne, îl ôkîte wa l ne l suru ‘gets up and goes to bed, time after time’; ... tôbete wa l nómi, îl tôbete wa l nómi l suru ‘keeps eating and drinking, eating and drinking’; Zî o îl käite wa l kesi îl käite wa l kesi îl simåsîta ‘I kept writing the character and erasing it, writing it and erasing it’; Kânkoku nando mo, îl tairiku ni l ironna minzoku ga îl okotte wa l horöbi(5) îl okotte wa l horöbi(5) l site orimåsu ga ... ‘And Korea, for example, too, had various peoples rise and fall, rise and fall on the continent ...’ (Tanigawa 65); Masû o îl tutte wa l nigåsi, îl tutte wa l nigåsi l
The two verbs usually bear contrasting meanings (cf. Mikami 1963a.9). This example aptly switches the verbs in the second part: Sakénde wa l ryoote o hiroge, l hirogeté wa l sakébi sîte iru [ l ] utÔ ni, l anol idai ná [ l ] kîngu wa l nîzyuu l go-pôndô, l lîtî-mëtëtoru l to i kôto ni l nâtte simai, watasi wa l mé o l îmi-hatta ‘While exclamining and spreading my arms, spreading my arms and exclamining, that mighty king salmon became all of 25 pounds and a meter long and my eyes grew wide’ (SA 2669.91b).

The following example puts the object marker ô directly after the last infinitive where we would expect the auxiliary, but that is a result of an optional ellipsis: îwâ no kasîrà ni l tåti, l sîidoo ni mukatte l nâgete wa l hiki, l nâgete wa l hiki l Ôsurû no ô l kuri-kaesite iru to ... ‘Standing at the tip of the rock we would aim toward the channel and repeat our casting and reeling, casting and reeling, whereupon ...’ (SA 2666.85b). This seems to be a usage favored by Kaikô Takeshi who wrote the above and also the following: Rûaa ô l aôî l kagâyaku uûmi ni l nâgete wa l hiki, l nâgete wa l hiki l Ôkûrikâesu(‘) ga, l tôtoô l kyôo wa, l lip-pîki mo turenâkatta 1 repeated over and over the casting of my lure into the sparkling blue sea and reeling it back, the casting and reeling, but finally this was the day I was unable to catch a single fish’ (SA 2680.103c).

A similar structure differentiates the iterated infinitives not with gerunds but with other modifications: ... âtira e tobi l kotîra e tobi l sîte ita kotori ga l kî ni ëdo e l lôdôtte kîta yûo ni, ... ‘like a bird returning to the branch of a tree after flying this way and that way’ (Y 551); ... sono ëdö l hîtô l heri, l lûhâtö l heri [ l ] sîte, ... ‘meanwhile their number shrank, first by one, then by two, ...’ (SA 2793.96b).

Yet another form of verbal iteration is V1-i mo V1-târi ‘actually going so far as to (do such a thing)’, followed by some unlikely or outrageous action: Nûgî mo l nûidari, l l mappâdâka ni l nätta ‘He actually stripped right down to the skin!’; Tennôo ni l tegami o kâkû nôâdo to wa l mukasi wa l omôî-mo-yoranu l kôtô datta no ni l ano sîyoosetû-ka wa l kâki mo l kâïtâ l tennôo ni l nagâî tegami l kâïta l sôö da ‘Writing a letter to the Emperor would have been unthinkable in the old days, but that novelist took pen in hand and actually wrote a long letter to the Emperor, they say’.

Often what follows is a SPECIFIC (and surprising) QUANTITY and the meaning is ‘actually keeps doing it to the point where the specific quantity is reached’: Tåbe mo l tâtëtori l gôhan o l zip-pai mo l têtëba ‘I ate and ate, and ate up ten bowls of rice!’; Korosî mo l korositäri l sên-nîn(‘) mo l korosita ‘They killed and killed—killing a thousand people!’; Kâki mo l kâïtâri l hyaku-peiûzi mo l kâïta ‘I wrote and wrote till I had a hundred whole pages written!’; Taizî sîta nezumi mo l kyyû-sên l gôhyâp-pîki–l tôri mo l tôtâtori no l kono suuzi wa– l ... nezumi-sootoo-daisûkusen no l kekka de âru ‘Rats caught 9500—this figure that was reached catching them is the result of a rat extermination campaign that ...’ (SA 2656.152a).

This is a representative conversion made on the simpler pattern V1-i mo V1-ru ‘does V1 to an inordinate extent, unusually much’ as in this example: Dâsî mo l dâsîta ga, l tôri mo l tôtö ‘They really poured the money out, and he really raked it in’ (Kb 210a).

A short set of words derived from iterated verb infinitives fall into several groups by grammar:
§9.1.2. Verbal infinitive + −sidai (da)

(1) vni. / ? adv.
aki-áki ‘growing weary’
kori-kóri/-góri ‘learning to one’s sorrow’
músi-musi ‘being muggy, steamy’
ozí-ozí ‘fearfully, timorously’
súbe-súbe ‘growing smooth, sleek’
úne-une ‘undulating’

(2) adverb
kawari-gáwari ‘in turns’
kasane gásane ‘repeatedly; wholeheartedly’
naki-naki(−) ‘in tears’
oi-oi(−) ‘gradually, by and by’

(3) subjective adverb—with optional to
ari-ari ‘vividly’
hare-báre ‘unclouded; cheerfully’
hie-bie ‘cold’
hore-bóre ‘fondly’
iki-iki ‘vivid’

Notice that tibi-tibi {to} and tibiri-tibiri ‘bit by bit’ are not derived directly from a verb infinitive; the only verb available is tibíru(−) ‘waste away’ and that is a vowel verb with rather different meaning.

9.1.2. Verbal infinitive + −sidai (da).

A verbal infinitive can attach −sidai (da) to mean (it is) as soon as’; the resulting nominal sentence is normally used as a direct adverbial that is equivalent to the more colloquial V-ru (§ 17.2) or V-tára {sugu}. Adjuncts of the verbal sentence are preserved intact.17 Osaka e tuki-sidai zímu-sho e maírimasu ‘I will come to your office as soon as I arrive in Osaka’; Sína o uketori-sidai kane o wata-simámu ‘I will pay the money on receipt of the goods’; Tuuti ga ari-sidai ... ‘On being notified ...’. The subject need not be the same in the two sentences that are combined: Koonin ga tuki-sidai watakusi ga syuppatsu simámu ‘I will leave as soon as my replacement arrives’.

Negatives and desideratives are automatically excluded, because such sentences are adjectival in form, though ultimately based on verbal sentences. Passives and causatives permit the form: sare-sidai, sase-sidai, saserare-sidai.

As often happens, after a verbal noun the infinitive si drops optionally (though for some speakers less commonly): tootyaku [si-]sidai ‘upon arrival’. Since −sidai is also used as a quasi-restrictive with the meaning ‘depending on’ as in gakkoo −sidai ‘depending on the school’ (see § 2.4), this can lead to ambiguity: /tootyaku/sidai/ can mean not only ‘upon arrival’ but also ‘depending on the arrival’. The ambiguity is always resolved, however, if the verbal noun is tonic, since a minor juncture will intervene between it and the

17. But ari-sidai, deki-sidai, morae-sidai and a few other forms are also used as directly adverbalized nouns taking adnominal modification with N no (rather than the subject N ga): you can say either Kikai(−) ga ari-sidai ‘Upon having the first opportunity’ or Kikai(−) no ari-sidai ‘On the first opportunity’, and similar are o-kane ga/no deki-sidai and o-kane ga/no morae-sidai.
auxiliary even when the auxiliary is dropped: kāisyaku | [si-]sīdai ‘upon explanation’ will have a secondary accent on sīdai and a primary accent on kāisyaku; kāisyaku sīdai ‘depending on the explanation’ will constitute a single accent phrase with the accent on the first syllable of sīdai. The automatic suppression of the minor juncture between an atonic verbal noun and the following auxiliary suru (whether expressed or ellipted) is what leads to the ambiguity of the phrase with tootyaku. A similar problem usually arises when there is a noun derived from a verb infinitive, and in such cases the ambiguity is unresolvable: /yasūmisīdai/ can mean either ‘depending on the vacation’ (from the noun yasūmi + sīdai) or ‘as soon as one rests’ (from the infinitive yasūmi + sīdai). The presence of adjuncts will often help to clear the ambiguity: in colloquial Japanese, at least, Otoōsan ga kaeri sīdai can mean only ‘As soon as father comes home’ but Otoōsan no kaeri sīdai18 will sound the same as Otoōsan no kaeri sīdai and carry the additional meaning of ‘Depending on father’s return’. Compare the somewhat similar problem with -gātī da (§9.1.5).

9.1.3. The concurrent-concessive (nagarā).

You can adverbialize a sentence by applying a conversion we will call the concurrent-concessive, sometimes highlighting it with mó, to represent the meanings ‘while’ (CONCURRENT) or ‘although’ (CONCESSIVE). The meaning is limited to ‘although’ with nondurative verbs such as āru ‘exists’ (stative) or sinu ‘dies’ (punctual) and with adjectival and nominal sentences; the meaning ‘while’ (roughly equivalent to V-ru dōōzī(”) ni ‘at the same time as V’) is usual for durative verbs, but the concessive meaning is also possible, though Mikami (1963a.15) says that meaning is largely limited to stative verbs. Almost any sentence can follow to complete the new and larger sentence but the subject (as in §9.1.1) must remain the same. Sometimes the concurrent is equivalent to a gerund of MANNER: in some contexts aruki-nagarā ‘while walking’ may simply mean aru (t)e ‘on foot’.

The forms of the concurrent-concessive are made by attaching -nagarā to the infinitive of a verbal sentence: V-i-nagarā for tonic verbs, V-i-nagarā for atonic verbs. The concessive of the nominal sentence is made by following the noun with -nagarā (as if a quasi-restrictive). The adjectival sentence will put (”)nagarā after the imperfect A-i, rather like the conjunctionalizations of §17:19 Tisaii (”)nagarā tikarā(”) ga āru ‘He may be small, but he is strong’; Hosoi (”)nagarā tuyō ki da ‘It is a tree that is strong though slender’; ‘Semai (”)nagarā mo tanosii wā-ga ya’ ‘Home sweet home’. I have been unable to elicit or find a desiderative V-i-tai (”)nagarā; instead you can expect V-i-tākute mo, or the like. On negatives, V-(al)nai (”)nagarā (mo), see below.

The accentuation of concurrent-concessive forms fluctuates. According to K, tonic verbs attach the ending as -nagarā, so that yōmi ‘read’ becomes yōmi-nagarā, but atonic verbs attach the ending as -nagarā so that naki [mo] ‘cry [even]’—the infinitive of an atonic verb being itself basically oxytonic—becomes naki-nagarā [mo]; you will recall, however, that oxytonic words lose their final accent when not followed by a particle or

18. Which, like ari-sīdai and other forms mentioned in the preceding footnote, is a directly adverbialized noun taking adnominal modification with N nō and not open to other adjuncts. Thus you can say Otoōsan ga utī(”) e kaeri-sīdai but not Otoōsan no utī(”) e kaeri-sīdai in the meaning ‘As soon as father returned home’.

19. Apparently two kinds of phrasing are possible: tisaii nagarā /tisainagarā/ and tisaii nagarā /tisainagarā/. I would not be surprised if a third were also in use: tisaii /nagarā /tisaii nagarā/.
some form of the copula, so that we hear the oxytonic forms as unaccented (naki-
na gara) most of the time. After a noun, -nagara is optionally prototonic or oxytonic: kore
nagara [mo] or kore nagara [mo] ‘although it be this’ (kore da); onnã nاغara [mo] or
onnã nاغara [mo] ‘though a woman’ (onna da); situreau nاغara [mo] or situreau nاغara [mo]
‘though it is rude’ (situreau da). (Martin 1952 n. 13 cites an observation that current usage
favors V-i-nاغara for ALL verbs, including the verbs which are atonic. This is the accentu­
ation Hamako Chaplin uses.)

The following sentences illustrate the CONCESSIVE meaning with stative verb phrases:
Sen soo wa iya da to itte i-nاغara mo, toki ga tatu ni turete tuyo ku ha nta i su ru kim oti wa
okite konai ‘While I keep saying I hate the war, with the passage of time no feeling of strong
opposition arises within me’ (KKK 3.130); Sikäsi kono syoosetu wa ‘watasi’ o syuzinkoo
to si-nاغara, ‘watasi’ wa sukosì mo kakarete inai ‘But though this novel takes Me for its
protagonist, there isn’t the least thing written about Me’ (KKK 3.130); Wareware wa
minnî sitte i-nاغara, kessite hurete wa narânai tâbûu ga âru ‘There are taboos that we mustn’t
mention though all of us know about them’ (SA 2679.45b); ... kanzen-kôyoo—hataraku
îsi to nöoryoku(−) o moti-nاغara hatarakenai monô no sonzai sinai zyootai—no zitugen o
neratte ita ‘... was aiming at the realization of full employment—the state where there exists
no one with the desire and ability to work who cannot work’ (KKK 3.129).

And these sentences illustrate the CONCURRENT meaning (with non-stative verbs):
Saakasu-goya o de-nاغara, watasi wa kâre ni itta ‘I told him while leaving the circus booth’
(lg 1962.97); Kamî o tokasi-nاغara, Tsu neo wa onnã no hito no kao o nusumi-mita ‘While
combing his hair, Tsuneo stole a look at the woman’s face’ (lg 1962.97); ... syoonén-tâti
wa yûra-yura to bûranko ni yure-nاغara tokui-sôo(−) ni tê o hutte waratte itu ‘the boys, up
and down and back and forth in the swings, are waving their hands and laughing triumphant­ly’.
There is a jocular term nagara-zoku ‘those who can’t concentrate on what they are doing
without a secondary activity to pay attention to (such as radio or TV while studying, or read­
ing while eating)’.

In theory -nاغara can be followed by mó in either the concessive or the concurrent
meaning, but it is difficult to find authentic examples of -nاغara mo with the meaning
‘also/even while’. This sentence has been suggested: Râzio(−) o kiki-nاغara mo hûn o yomi-
nاغara mo gôhan o tabëru ‘I eat both while listening to the radio and while reading’. But it
is possible to give the concessive interpretation ‘I eat though listening to the radio and
though reading’ (simple parataxis of the two concessives) or even, if unlikely, ‘I eat though
reading in spite of the radio’—with second concessive built on a phrase that has embedded
the first concessive so as to modify hûn o yûmi ‘reading’. A somewhat more natural exam­
ple for the concurrent: Miti o aruki-nاغara mo rekôoodo o kiki-nاغara mo kâno-zyo no
koto o kange-tuzuketa ‘I continued thinking about her both while walking the street and
while listening to records’. But this, too, shades into the concessive ‘Though I walk the
street, though I listen to records = Whether walking the street or listening to records ...’.

The following sentences provide examples of the concurrent followed by various focus
markers, restrictives, etc.: Zyuudai na mondai da kara, ll susaga ni ll sake o nomi-nاغara WA l
katarenâkatta ‘It is a serious matter, so that I could hardly tell it over drinks’; Nakivameki-
nاغara SAE l hanasânakereba, ll reisei ni ll soodan dëkita no ni ... ‘I wish we could have dis-

20. But ni, exceptionally, cancels the oxytonic accent: i-nاغara ni site, cf. i-nاغara mo. This is
similar to the accentuation of V_i ni (iku etc., §9.1.1), a Tokyô anomaly not found in a number of
the Tokyô-type dialects, which have the regular accentuation (V_i ni iku) as expected.
cussed things calmly without all the wailing and shouting ...'; Matutani sensei wa l tērebi wa l motiron, ll sibai ya éiga o l mi-nāgara SURA l Nihon-go [no] akusento no l hēnka ni ll kiki-mimi o tātete l irú n desu l yō; ll are zya ll tanosiménai desyoo ni ... 'Dr Matsutani keeps his ears alert to changes in Japanese accent not only while watching television but even while seeing plays and movies; I don't see how he can enjoy what he sees, that way', Ore wa l rāzio o [ll] kiki-nāgara SIKΑ l benkyoo dekinai n da l "I can study only while listening to the radio"; Kinkyyu-mōndai wa ll nagyōaka ni l sake de mo l nomi-nāgara KOSO l sū beki na n da 'Urgent matters ought to be discussed precisely while amiably drinking wine or something'; Hūrō ni l hairi-nāgara MADE l benkyoo sinākut'atte l i desyoo 'Surely you don't have to study even while taking your bath?'; Warai-nāgara NĀDO de wa, ll kura sikatte mo, ll kōoka ga ll nai desyoo 'If it's [done] while laughing and all, however much you scold there'll be no effect'; Warai-nāgara NĀNKA l hanasénai l mondai nā n desu 'It's a matter that can't be talked about while drinking or the like'; Taisetu na mondai desu kara, ll mazime ni ll hanasai-aimayōo. Nomi-nāgara NÄrente ll iyā desu l yō 'It is an important question, so let us discuss it seriously. I don't want it to be over drinks and all that'; Sonna sigoto nāra ll tērebi o l mi-nāgara D'AQTE (or: DÈ MO) l dekiri 'That sort of a job I can do even while watching television'; Ip-pai l yari-nāgara DÈ MO l go-sooden simayōo ka 'Shall we discuss it while having a drink or something?'; Ékî made ll issyo ni ll aruki-nāgara [ll] 'GURA SIKΑ l o-hanasi suru zikan ga arimasen 'I lack the time to tell you beyond (what I can tell you) while walking to the station together'; Aitu wa l benkyoo-ko de, ll tabe-nāgara l BĀKARI de l nāku, ll hūrō no l nāka de mo l hōn o l hanasānai no da l sōo da 'They say he's quite a book worm and won't put aside his books not only while eating but even in the bath'; Aruki-nāgara l DĀKÉ de mo ll ikī kara, ll hanasi-tāi ll 'I want to talk (to you) even if it's just while walking'.

These examples of V-i-nagara dé mo seem to combine the concessive 'even' meaning (expressed by dé mo) with the concurrent 'while': Tukai-nāgara dé mo zyuuden dekiri ... 'You can charge the batteries (even) while using it ...' (SA 2637.13); Dekite l miru to, ll kore-kurai nāra ll sibai yari-nagara dé mo l yatte ikeru to iu wāke de, ... 'Accomplishing that, it seemed possible to go on [with my schooling] even while performing in plays this much' (Tk 2.271a).

The concurrent phrase can be (pro)predicate-Nomi-nāgara desu ka 'You mean while having a drink?'—and dá can go through its usual conversions: Nomi-nāgara nara (or: da to) kiraku ni hanasēru 'We can talk at our ease while having a drink'; Tabako o nomi-nagara de/zya nākereba benkyoo dekinai 'I can't study without smoking (at the same time)'; etc.

Negativized verbal sentences are made concessive either with V-(a)nai nāgara(-) {mo} or with the literary-and-Kansai form -(a)nua (-)nāgara {mo}. The latter is more common, perhaps because the nāgara concessive sounds a bit old-fashioned, being more often seen in print than heard in speech. Here are some examples of negativized sentences made concessive:21 Mimi wa l kikoenu nāgara l husu wa l sorowān nagara, ll ōkikk kuti o hirāte, l takāraka ni l utatte irú no de aru 'Though his ear is poor and he can't carry a tune, there he is, mouth wide open, singing loudly' (KKK 3.130); ... sekkyōo(-) o ll yūku wa l wakarānu nagara mo ll kiite l kanpuku site ita 'while he didn't understand the sermon very well he listened and admired it'; ... dekinai nāgara mo ... 'though unable' (R).

21. I have marked the accent as heard on the sentences when recorded.
§9.1.3. The concurrent-concessive (nágara)

The following are perhaps best considered as idiomatic, i.e. as derived adverbs (and/or precopular nouns):

- oyobazu-nágara(-) ‘inadequate though I am’
- umare-nágara(-) [ni] ‘by nature’
- yoso-nágara(-) ‘indirectly, casually’
- námida-nágara [ni] ‘in tears’
- kage-nágara(-) ‘in secret, secretly’
- sa-nágara(-) [ni] ‘just, exactly (like)’
- mukasi-nágara(-) ‘(just) as of old’
- ítumo-nágara ‘(now) as always’
- býryoku-nágara ‘in my own small way’
- iki-nágara ‘while still alive’
- omoi-nágara ‘despite my intentions’
- i-nágara [ni sité] ‘from one’s armchair, without stirring’

`wáré-nágara(-) = zibun nágara(-) ‘even oneself’`: Wáré-nágara(-) bikkúri sitá n desu

‘Even I was startled’ (SA 2649.48a).

Perhaps also such sentence-introducers as:
- Hábakari-nágara(-) ‘Perhaps I shouldn’t say so but ...’
- Zánnen-nágara(-), Ikan-nágara(-) ‘I regret to say it but ...’
- Íyáya-nágara(-) ‘Reluctantly enough ...’
- Tuide-nágara(-) ‘Incidentally ...’
- Se’n-etu-nágara(-) ‘If I may presume ...’

Sikasi-nágara ‘Nevertheless ...’—“generally taken to be siká ‘so’ + si (emphatic particle) + nágara” according to Ishigaki Kenji 197.

The first three of these (at least) can occur after a theme, as in the examples of KKK 3.131, as well as at the very beginning of a sentence.

Nominal sentences, as we have observed, put ~nágara after the noun. This can be done for virtually any pure noun when it is modified by an adjective, as in Wakái onná nágara ‘Though a young woman’—and for some nouns without an adjective, as in Onná nágara ‘Though a woman’; for adjectival nouns, as in Taihen sízuka nágara ‘While very quiet’ and Hu-ánteí nágara ‘Though insecure’; and for precopular nouns, as in Kyónen kara byooki nágara ... ‘Though ill since last year ...’ and Mu-tökúten nágara andá(-) ni-hon ‘No score, two hits’. A few adverbs and adverbials of quantity nouns can be marked with the concessive: Sukósi ‘nágara wakáta ‘I understood it although just a little’.

It is possible to make the concessive form on N de áru, with the uncontracted copula presenting the auxiliary áru as the form on which to attach the concessive marker: Ýóosi de l ari-nágara îl ñánsi ni l hitéki suru ... ‘Though [she be] a woman, she equals a man ...’ (Ôno 1966.206); Seinen ya syoonen de ari-nágara, séisin ga rooka site sitama hitó ga

22. But with yosógoto there is no need for the idiomatic treatment: ... yosógoto(-) nágara sipai ni náru ‘It is a worry even though not one’s own affair’ (SA 2649.103c). Cf. ... hitogoto nágara sipai desu keredo mo ‘It’s worrying about other people’s problems, but ...’ (Tk 3.28b).

23. But adjectives are carried by irú in this example: Túmari gakusei wa hituyoo to áreba Ôiowa no inaka ni i-nágara ni sité, Nyyu-Yóoku no aruí-wa Róndon no, aruí-wa Zyunéebu no tosyó-kan no hón no hituyoo na peezu dake, kópi ni tóte okutte morau kotó ga dekíru ‘It means that a student while staying in the Iowa countryside, if it be necessary can have copies sent him of just the pages he needs from books in the libraries of New York, or London, or Geneva’ (CK 985.366).
§9. Adverbializations

There has been an increase in the number of people who have grown old in spirit while still young or in the prime of life' (SA 2678.117b). I have found one example of N de i-nagara, with the elusive N de iru (p. 519): Nakumusi de i-nagara o doke-mono datta to iu hanasi mo kiita 'I also heard that he had been a joker even while a crybaby' (SA 2679.39d). Negativized nominals apparently do not take the concessive: *N de/zya nai (*nagara.

With nominals and adjectives (including adjectival nouns and precopular nouns) the concessive sounds somewhat formal; more colloquial devices are available, notably N de mo or N d’atte, A-kute mo or A-kut’atte. The expression N mo sâru koto “nagara is a semi-literary cliché meaning ‘N is all very well but’ as in Syôobai mo sâru koto nagara ‘Business is business, of course, but ...’ and Sore mo sâru koto nagara ‘Be that as it may’.

Toozen no koto “nagara means ‘naturally enough’.

Henderson (182) observes that when nagara follows a nonsingular noun or number (cf. §2.7) the appropriate translation is ‘all’ (or ‘both’): go-nîn “nagara ‘all five (persons)’, hûhu “nagara ‘both man and wife’, ... .

Verbal nouns will predicate with the auxiliary suru, ringing the concurrent-concessive conversion on that verb: Kenkyuu si-nagara ‘While doing research’. We also expect VN “nagara to occur, derived from VN da with the copula substituting for suru by propredication (§3.10), or from the noun qua noun (‘while it is VN’ = VN na no ni). But, like other pure nouns, the verbal noun will usually require some modification, typically adjectival in nature: Mîzikai ryökoo “nagara kityoo na keiken o sita ‘Though a short trip, it provided a valuable experience’ is acceptable, but *Amerika e no ryökoo “nagara ‘Though a trip to America ...’ probably is not.

We have mentioned that pure nouns (including free verbal nouns) can be followed directly by “nagara but usually require some kind of adjectival modification. Yet there seem to be no special restrictions on N1 wa N1 “nagara as in Kane wa kane “nagara hito no kane zya tukaenai ‘Money may be money but you can’t spend it if it’s other people’s money’; Kenkyuu wa kenkyuu “nagara ... ‘It may be research, all right, but ...’; etc.

Apparently the nagara conversion can be applied to conjoined sentences, as we would expect: tatami ni suwatte terebi o mi-nagara ‘while watching television seated on the matted floor’. But (assuming the correctness of our translation) the meaning of the following sentence requires us to recognize an ellipsis of nagara after the first infinitive: Otooto no tomodatî no naka ni wa, rázio(“) de wa zyâzu o kiki -nagara] , terebi de wa yakyuu o mi-nagara syukudai o suru ko ga iru no da to iu ‘Among my younger brother’s friends, he says, there are those who do their homework while listening to jazz on the radio or [while] watching baseball on television’ (ISJ 6.8.276, 6.9.277).

In some varieties of speech (old-fashioned Tôkyô?), you will find “nagara ni {mo} used to mean ‘but (at the same time); and yet’: Soo iwarete, Kookiti wa kusugattai (“)nagara ni manzara de mo nai kimoti datta ‘Told this, Êôkichi felt tickled but not altogether displeased’. You will also find V-ta (“)nagara ni mo used as equivalent to V-te i-nagara mo: ... kumotâ (“)nagara ni mo akaru sora ni kamawazu, ... ‘in disregard of the sky, bright though cloudy’ (Kb 57b).

In Kôchi and other parts of Shikoku (Doi 205) and in Ôsaka (Kamimura 357) the concurrent is V-i-môtte, incorporating the gerund mûtê ‘holding’. This occurs also in Kyôto and in Yamaguchi (Kobayashi UM 75-24, 207:135n144, 54n37). In the northern Ryûkyûs (Martin 1970.131b) the infinitive adds a suffix -syrya, for which the expected Tôkyô cognate would
§9.1.4. Verbal infinitive + -tutu

be *-sira (or possibly *-sura) if it existed. In Okinawa nagara seems limited to the concessive meaning. For the concurrent, the forms used end in -[a]ganaa or -[a]gacii; there are also forms ending in -aginaa (= -i-tutu) and -agiyun (= -i-tutu ári, -te iru 'is doing'). These forms are attached to verb base alternants ultimately derived from the infinitive V-i; the -i itself drops, but leaves a few traces in the form of altered consonants for certain types of bases. In the southern Ryūkyūs (Yaeyama) the form used for the concurrent is V-itanaa. Other dialect forms are V-i-si[n], -sima, - sama; see p. 421.

According to Ishigaki Kenji (87) the element nagara was originally ná (= nó) + kará, and the earliest meanings were 'as (it is/will); following, conforming, according'; the concurrent meaning developed in late Nara times (206) and the adversative meaning is attested from early Heian times (198). Phrases consisting of number + nagara first appear in Genji (209). In the Nara period nágara occurred only after a noun or after a verb infinitive; in the Heian period there appeared such forms as A-nágará, AN-nágará, V-(a)zu nágara and Adv nágara (185 ff), but A-ki nágará and V-ru nágara (189 ff) were uncommon and somewhat exceptional (192). In literature from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries nagára is found followed by the particles wá, yá, zó, dání, námu (emphatic), kóso, and ní, as well as by essive or copular forms such as nó, ní, tó, nári (212-3).

9.1.4. Verbal infinitive + -tutu.

A literary (or pseudo-literary) equivalent of the verbal concurrent is made by attaching the infinitive to -tutu (or, with vowel unvoicing, *tutu): Hón o yomi-tutu = Hón o yomínagara 'While reading the book'. When this expression is followed by the auxiliary áru, it becomes a literary equivalent for V-te iru in the meaning 'is doing': Hón o yomi-tutu áru = Hón o yonde iru 'I am reading the book'; Kenkyuu si-tutu áru 'I am doing research'. Since V-te iru can be interpreted in more than one way, V-i-tutu áru is a useful paraphrase to make the continuative or progressive meaning unambiguous. Perhaps this is why it has been observed that V-í-tutu is "lately increasing in use for the progressive" (Kógo-bumpō no mondai-ten 225). But neither part of the literary expression can be negative.

Although V-i-tutu commonly has the concurrent meaning of V-i-nagára, we find examples, perhaps under the influence of the more colloquial forms, where the concessive meaning is clear; in such cases, mó can follow: ... hoogen-teki sá o moti-tutu mó, ... 'while possessing dialectal differences' (Kotoba no uchū 1967/1.13a); ... Koré ni tái-site Ôobei(−) no kekkwa wa, tûne ni ittei no sá(−) o moti-tutu, sore ni heikoo site narabu no de áru 'The results with respect to this in Europe and America, while always having a certain difference, line up in conformity with that' (KKK 3.71); Izýoyo, kagirāreta suuzi de zentai no keikoo o osu kiken o zyuubûn siri-tutu, kono hookoku o mitometa 'While knowing full well the danger of judging overall trends from limited figures, we have taken cognisance of this report found above' (KKK 3.72); Mi te wa warui to omoi-tutu mo, watakusi no mé wa hitori-de nî, hira-kâreta niki no peezi ni sosogarérú(−) 'Though knowing I shouldn't look, my eye spontaneously rivets on the pages of the open diary' (KKK 3.72).

The following examples (from KKK 3.70-1) illustrate the concurrent meaning: Hukéi no hutan o karuku si-tutu zissai-syákai ni háyaku sitéi o okuri-dásu to iu nengén(−) tansyuku no yookyyuu kara itte mo, ... 'Even speaking from the [point of view of the] demand to curtail the term [of study] so as to send the young earlier into the real world while lightening the load of their elders, ...'; Sikási, sekai-heiwa ni sekiin áru sikoku-gaisoo wa, kono sêkai no zyuudai na kiro ni tâte kokusai-tyóosei ni zenryoku o tukusu
§9. Adverbalizations

de aróó si, warewa sekai-hēiwa no tame, sono seikoo o kitai si-tūtu kōngō no keika o mimamori-tāi no de aru ‘However, the foreign ministers of the four nations bearing responsibility for world peace, standing at an important crossroad for this world, will surely bend every effort toward an international settlement, and we want to watch the future developments while hoping for their success’.

Here are examples (from KKK 3.71) of V-i-tūtu āru: Ippōo Marai-rēnpu o hazime tikāku ni wa zyūurai ‘izyoo ni kome-būsoku ni nayami-tūtu āru ūkī ga sukūnāku nai ‘Beginning with the Malay Peninsula, for one, there are no few areas in the vicinity that are suffering from a shortage of rice greater than they have been used to’; Inaka no hitō-tati wa kāre-ra no hurūi karā ga kudākete yuki-tūtu āru kōtō o kan’-zite īru ‘The country people feel that their old shell is being cracked’; Āru monō wa seikatu-sūizyun ga teikā si, tōsi ni nooson ni huhei ga okōtte īru to ii, āru monō wa kokumin-sēkata wa hizyoo ni antei si koozyoo si-tūtu āru to iu ‘Some say the living standards are declining and discontent is arising in town and village; some say the people’s livelihood is quite stabilized and is improving’ (Ig 41 has additional examples.) In the following example sāe separates V-i-tūtu from āru: (Koo site hoogen no mukas no mamā’iki-tuzukete īmasu.) Iki-tuzukete īru dōkoro ka, hoogen ga atarāsiku umare-tūtu sā āru no desu ‘(Thus dialects go on living just as they have done from long ago.) Go on living?—why, dialects are even [now] being newly born’ (Shibata 1965.39).

The suffix -tūtu comes from a reduplication of the old auxiliary -t(ē)- which was attached to the infinitive to form a perfect as in hanā ga sak-i tu[ku kotō] ‘the fact that flowers have bloomed’ (§9.5); that auxiliary is the source of the gerund V-(i-)tē and, ultimately, of the modern perfect V-(i-)tā. Apparently the distributive particle -zūtu is unrelated, for its etymology is said to be a reduplication of the general counter -tu (as in hitō-tu) with typical compound nigorī when the resulting form is attached to a noun.

9.1.5. Verbal infinitive + -gati da.

A verbal infinitive can attach -gati to make a nominal sentence, always atonic, with the meaning ‘tends to do (usually something bad)’ or ‘is likely (apt, prone) to do’: Kumori-gati da ‘It is tending to be cloudy’; Soo iu kōtō wa ari-gati da ‘Such things happen all too often’; Ketten(−) ga ari-gati da ‘They are apt to have flaws in them’. Under adnominalization the resulting nominal sentence is usually treated as an ADJECTIVAL NOUN (i e. da becomes nā rather than nō): Hito o keibetu si-gati na hito da ‘He is a person who tends to despise others’; ... dāre de mo ari-gati na ayamātī(−) ‘a mishap that might happen to anyone’ (SA 2669.105c). But you will sometimes find the expression treated as a precopular noun (with da becoming nō): Kumori-gati no (= na) hī da ‘It is a day that tends to be cloudy’.

There would seem to be no special restrictions on the verbal infinitive chosen, except that the meaning of the input sentence should be interpretable as an undesired event. Causatives, passives, and infinitive or gerund + auxiliary will generally be accepted as inputs: nomisugi-gati da ‘tends to overdrink’, nomisugisaserare-gati da ‘tends to let people get one to overdrink’, etc. Examples: Nihon-zīn wa, il hizyoo ni ryyukoo o ou i keihaku na mīnoku to i kāisyaku i sare-gati dēsu ga, ... ‘The Japanese are very apt to be interpreted as a fickle people who pursue fads, but ...’ (Tanigawa 182); Isogāsī i tokī ni wa, Il tūtī il osokus made il sigoto o sase-gati de, il sumānai to i ōmotte īmasu ‘When we are busy we are apt to make you work till all hours, I’m sorry to say’; Isogāshiku nāru to il osoku made il sigoto o saserare-gati da ‘If we get busy you are likely to get made to work till all hours’.
§9.1.6. Verbal infinitive + -tate da

Verbal nouns follow the regular pattern, as shown by hito o keibetu si-gati da ‘tends to despise others’ in the example given above. But -gati, like -sidai (§9.1.2), is also attached to some nouns derivationally, so that the pattern VN-gati da is also available: sippai-gati da = sippai si-gati da ‘is apt to fail’. The adjectival nouns enryo-gati ‘modest, diffident’ and husoku-gati ‘needy’ are derived from verbal nouns in a similar way. In the case of byooki-gati da ‘is apt to be sick’ and rusu-gati da ‘is apt to be away from home’ (= rûsu si-gati da—note the accent), we might say that the nouns are functioning as verbal nouns since we find both byooki o suru ‘suffers an illness’ and rûsu o suru ‘absents oneself from home’; a similar example is benpi-gati no hitô (SA 2650.97c) = benpi si-gati no/na hitô ‘persons prone to constipation’. But there are a few examples of other nouns that are not normally used with suru, e.g. huhei-gati da = huhei o ii-gati da ‘is apt to complain’ (there is no ‘huhei o suru’), hikaeme-gati da ‘is apt to be reserved’ (apparently hika-[e]-me(-) is a precopular noun, followed by adnominal no and adverbial ni as in hika-[e]-mê(-) ni suru ‘behaves modestly’).

The suffix -gati is derived from the infinitive of the intransitive infinitive kat-i ‘winning’; the voicing of the initial velar might be ascribed to the compounding process, but more likely results from a reduction of the particle ni: V-i n[i] kat-i > V-ingat-i > V-igati. The meaning would seem to have developed from something like ‘(a bad situation) winning out’. Somewhat similar, but without the common implication of a ‘bad’ situation, is one of the meanings of the facilitative -i-yasui (or -i-ii) ‘is apt/likely to do’, §9.1.8. Some speakers question whether the ‘bad’ implication is inherent in this construction. But it seems to be possible to give such an interpretation to each example found: ... ketuboo si-gati na mizu ... ‘water that is (= was) apt to be scarce’ (SA 2670.44d); Ryootei no Kyoo-ryôori to iêba, TÂISO NI NARI-GATI NO monô o kosikâkè no kiraku-sa de yûkkûri aziaerû si, dobîn-musi, yaka-mâtutake (tômo(-) ni zika) nâdo no ippin mo âru ‘[At this restaurant] you can, with the comfort of sitting in chairs, try out in a leisurely way those things that are apt to be [overly] MUCH FUSSED OVER in the Kyôto cuisine of the traditional Japanese restaurant, and they even have such à-la-carte dishes as “steamed pot” and “broiled mushrooms” (both priced according to the season)’ (SA 2650.98d); ... sono honnaî no iî o miusinai-gati ni naru kiken ga arimåsu ‘there is the danger of getting so we tend to overlook the original intention’ (R). In the following sentences the conversion is applied to a focused nucleus, though this is relatively uncommon: Amai monô o tâbe sael si-gati nâra, Î kit-tô musi-ba ga âru yû yo ‘If you’re apt to just eat sweet things, you’re sure to have tooth decay!’; Nete i wa î si-gati da ga, hidoiî byooki yza nai ‘I AM inclined to be asleep a lot but it isn’t a severe illness’; (?) Ate-zi o kâki mo î si-gati de, î sin’yo o dekinai ‘He’s apt to write ateji (arbitrarily assigned characters), too, so you can’t rely on him [for orthography].


A verbal infinitive can attach -tate to make a nominal sentence, always atonic, with the meaning ‘has just done, is fresh from doing’. The sentence most commonly appears adnominalized and under adnominalization the output is treated as if a precopular noun or predicative adverb, in that da becomes no: taki-tate no mesi ‘rice steaming hot from the pot’; sori-tate no kao ‘a clean-shaven (freshly shaved) face’; nuri-tate no penki ‘fresh paint’; mogi-tate no rémon(’) ‘a fresh-picked lemon’; ki-tate no hitô ‘a newly arrived person’; Nari-tate no o-sumoo-san ... ‘A newly established sumô wrestler ...’ (Tk 3.15a); ... nyoomon si-tate no hundosi-kåtugi ‘a barely initiated new sumô wrestler’ (SA 2666.23a);
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... nyuusya si-tate no wakai syain(‘young employees who have just joined the firm’) (SA 2765.38a); Saikon si-tate no suu-kågetu no aida to iu monó wa, ‘For a period of some months right after getting remarried ...’ (Tk 2.104a); Are wa piano o narai-tate no kodomo de mo hike-sō na kyōku(‘That is a piece that even a child could play who had just learned piano’) (Tk 4.33b); ie o kai-tate no hitó ‘a new homeowner’; ... gakkoo o de-tate no senséi ‘a teacher fresh out of school’ (Nagano 1966.153); daigaku o sotugyoo si-tate no hitó ‘a person newly graduated from college’; Nihón ni ki-tate no kóro ‘when I had just arrived in Japan’; gakkoo ni hairi-tate no kóro wa ‘at the time when I had just entered school’.

The meaning would seem to preclude attachment of -tate to a stative verb; there is no *ari-tate or *i-tate (‘fresh from staying’). Examples of -tate with causatives: Ryokan ni tuku to ‘Soozi sase-tate no heya ga arima su ka ra, sotira e dōo-зо’ to syūzin ga itta ‘When we got to the inn the innkeeper said ‘I have a room that I have just had cleaned up; you may have it’’; (?) Kán(-) o sase-tate no o-sake desu ‘It is piping hot rice wine’. And examples with passives: ... syasin ga hatumei sare-tate no kóro wa ‘at the time when the photograph had just been invented’ (Tk 4.130b); Heitai ni torare-tate no kodomo ‘A son just taken into the army ...’; This ni sinare-tate no kodomo ‘A child still in mourning for his father ...’. Some of the suggested examples with verbal noun + sare-tate will be rejected, at least by certain speakers, in favor of the more straightforward active form si-tate: soozi [sare-tate] si-tate no dōoro ‘a fresh-swept corridor’, ryōori [sare-tate] si-tate no sakana ‘a fish hot out of the oven’. But the form is quite possible with an adversative interpretation of the passive: Syoosyuu sare-tate no gakusei ‘A newly drafted student ...’.

This conversion seems to be an old-fashioned turn of speech and it may be losing its productivity. Though typically heard in the affirmative and adnominalized, as above, other uses are possible. The expression can be made negative: ki-tate de/zya nái hitó ‘people who are not newly arrived’. And it can be used predicatively: Ano penki wa nuritate desu ka ‘Is that paint wet?’

We have observed that the form of the adnominalization marks V-i- -tate as if it were either a predicable adverb or a precpular noun, and there are uses that might indicate it is both: ... oténtosama ga de-tate wa ōokikute, danhā tiisaku naru ‘when the sun first comes up it is large, and gradually it grows smaller’ (Tk 3.328-9)—this could have been said with de-tate ni wa. More examples of V-i-tate no/ ni wa ‘at the time when freshly ...’: Íma wa kätte ‘nái kedo, koko e hikkos-tate wa, kätte ‘tā no ‘I’m not raising them now but I was raising them at the time I first moved here’ (Tk 4.291a); ... sensoo kara kaeri-tate wa ... ‘when fresh back from the war’ (Tk 2.272a). It is also possible to say V-i-tate no/ ni mo ‘also/even at the time when freshly ...’: Taki-tate mo umái ga samtē no nakanaka ikeru ‘It’s good freshly cooked, too, but it’s not bad cold, either’.

But rather than explain these forms as the result of a double grammar (adverb or precpular noun), we will find it simpler to say that the conversion is treated as a TIME NOUN. That will explain the following examples: Zyo-gakkoo ni hairi-tate ‘gurai no tokí desita ‘It was the period shortly after I had entered girls school’ (Tk 3.327b); ... tuuugakkoo ni hairi-tate ‘gōro no ozóoosan ga ... ‘a young lady of about the age to have just entered junior high school’ (K in Ōno 1967.19). And, upon inquiry, we find that V-i-tate ga/o are possible: Byoonin wa naori-tate ga taisetu da ‘For a patient the point when he has just recovered is important’; Gohān no aiz ki-tate ga ii ‘Rice tastes best when
freshly boiled'; Titi ga uti(') e kaeri-tate o neratte ... ‘Aiming at the time his father would be just arrived home ...’.

9.1.7. Other adverbial nominals from verbal infinitives.

In a number of other situations a verbal infinitive, carrying along its adjuncts intact, derives a nominal that is used as an adverb or as a precopular noun. (Cf. Ig 58, where such constructions are treated as ‘phrasal decompounds’; notice the similarity to the verbal-noun denominalizations in §14.4.) These conversions include:

(1) \textit{V-i-} ‘tume (dá) \textless \textit{tume vt.} [= -i-trukku (bákari/dáké) ‘keeps on doing’]: Iti-niti ‘zyuu suwari-zume no zyootai de, karada ga taihen tukáreta ‘My body was quite weary from being kept sitting all day long’; Mániti(‘) zyuu-zyukan, bentóo o kuti ni ireru aida mo katáppa ni zí o o-i-zume no karo de, káre wa mé ga akaku nátte ita ‘His eyes were red from the overwork of 15 hours a day, continually pursuing words from the corner of his eye even while putting his lunch in his mouth’ (Ig 58); Hitós-ban ‘zyuu o-sake o nomi-zume dátta no de, tugi no hi ni wa atamá ga itáku nátte ita ‘I was up drinking wine all night long, so the next day I had a headache’.

(2) \textit{V-i-} ‘toosi (dá) \textless \textit{toosi vt.} [= -i-zume]: (1) ‘keeps on doing’; (2) ‘the same thing happens over and over again (at different times or with different agents)’: Ása háyaku kara hataraki-doosi (= hataraki-zume) ná no de, taihen tukáreta ‘I was working steadily from early morning, so I am very tired’; ... honto ni naite, hánketi o mé ni ate­doosi déshita ‘was really crying, handkerchief constantly to the eyes’ (Kb 395b); Syúzin kara donarare-doosi de áru sinké no hiró(‘) no tamé ni ... ‘Because my nerves were weary from continually being yelled at by the boss ...’ (Ig 58); Hotyóo-ki o kake-doosi ná no de ... ‘Wearing a hearing aid ...’ (Ig 58); Konó-ko ga tabe-doosi dá ‘This child is eating all the time ’; Zu-tó tati-doosi dátta ‘I stood all the way’. Cf. Kenkyusha, ‘all through, throughout’ with the examples Táti-doosi de áru ‘stands (= keeps standing) all the time’, Syberi­doosi ni syábérú ‘keeps talking; talks away’. Verbs referring to a change-of-state (‘become, die, be born, heal, happen, ...’) are limited to the second meaning.

(3) \textit{V-i-} ‘zama fni (<‘)sama = arisama(‘) [= V-ru to súgu or V-ru doooiz(‘) ni]: Koo ii-zama, akaruku náta zákí o hurí-múita ‘Saying this, he turned to the apartment which had lighted up’ (Ig 58); Suretigá-zama ni nusúná ‘He swept it in rushing past (me)’; Kakennuke-zama ni usiro kara kíri-tuketa ‘He stabbed [someone] while running through’; Usiro o hurimuki-zama, kataná de kíri-tuketa ‘Turning to the back, he stabbed with his sword’. These expressions are rather literary. But a number of the forms are used as lexical adverbs: tuzuke-zama ni ‘consecutively’, ...

(4) \textit{V-i-} ‘sina ni just as one does; just before doing’: Búru o de-sina ni ... ‘On leaving the building ...’ (Ig 58); Ki-sina ni ... ‘On your way here ...’; Ne-sina ni o-húro ni háitte ... ‘Take a bath at bedtime and ...’ (SA 2663.110); Hitórí no soonen no nyóoi wa watási-táti no húne no yoko o toori-sina ni e-monó(‘) no ó o tukándé miseta ga ... ‘A young fisherman while passing by the side of our boat grabbed the tail of his catch to show us, and ...’ (SA 2673.71b). In Kagawa the form contracts: V-i-si[na] ni. Dialect versions include V-i-sima, V-i-sama. In various dialects the form is used as the concurrent ‘while V-ing’ (= V-i-nagara). V-i-sina ni is said to be more common in Kyóto than in Tókyó.

(5a) \textit{V-i-} ‘gake fni <‘) kaké <káke vt. [similar to V-ru tuide ni ‘coincidentally while doing’—but TIME is emphasized]: Oki-gake ni denwa ga kakátte kúru ‘A phone call
comes just as I am getting up'; Uti o de-gake ni ... 'Just as I am leaving the house ...'; Toori-gake ni ... 'On one's way by ...'; Okaeri-gake ni ... 'On your way home ...'; gēsuto wa de-gake ni wa āme ga hūte itā no da ... 'it was raining just as the guest was leaving' (Tsujimura 1967:52); Kaeri-gake, ... 'On the way home ...' (Fn 273a). An unexpected example of conjoined phrases: ... iki-gake TŌ KA kaeri-gake NI, kanarazu yotte kuretā n desu 'he always dropped in, either going or on his way home' (Tk 4.119a). (This may indicate that the "essive" element in the underlying to is still present. Or perhaps the two phrases have been directly nominalized.)

(5b) V-i--kake da 'is half-done with' (see §9.1.10, 3): Sui-kake no tabako o otōsu 'drops a half-smoked cigarette' (SA 2639:34c).

(6) V-i--tūde ni 'coincidentally to doing' [= V-ru tuide ni—but emphasizes the relative unimportance]: Gakkōo e iki-tūde ni ... 'On my way to school ...'; Uti e kaeri-tūde ni ... 'On the way home ...'.

(7) V-i--kkiri (da) < -q-kiri 'having just done it, that's all, and leaves things continuing in the resulting and undesirous state': ... iki-nī 'zuyū suwari-kkiri desu 'He just sits all day long'; Ne-kkiri no byooinin desu 'He is a bed-ridden patient'; Senmu-syāsyo wa ne, neboo sita kisyō no sōba ni tuki-kkiri de, ... tō kenmei ni sewā o yaiwe o kureta 'The conductor kept close beside the sleepy patient and anxiously tended his wants, saying ...' (SA 2660:12c); Yamamura tuuouo-syuzyutubū-tyoo mo "Ākashi-kun-tati ni makase-kkiri de, nāhi mo siranākatta" to itte ito 'The head of Central Surgery, Yamamura, himself says "Having left it all up to Akashi and his group, I knew nothing"' (SA 2647:25e); Okyakusama no go-syōotai no hōo ni kākari-kkiri de zibun no tokorō made wa tē ga mawarimasen 'All tied up with invitations to our customers, we can't take care of [Expo reservations for] our own' (SA 2665:38e); Heyā ni hāri-kkiri de dēte kōnai 'He stays in the room and does not emerge'; (?) De-kkiri de hāitte kōnai 'He stays outside and does not come back in'.

It will sometimes seem that iki-kkiri de is the same as itta-kkiri de 'gone for good', and you may want to equate kurōi-kkiri de with kumōtta kākiri de 'clouded up', makase-kkiri de with makāsēta kākiri de 'leaving it to others', etc.; but V-i-kkiri de carries a connotation that the resulting state is undesirable, and that connotation is not necessary to V-ta [k]kiri de. V-ta [k]kiri da describes an event contrary to expectations that happens AT a time (such as yō-zi ni 'at four o'clock') and can sometimes be paraphrased as V-ta no ga o-simai da '... and (doing) that was the end of it', but V-i-kkiri da is a continuing state that sets in FROM a time (yō-zi kara 'from four on'). More examples of -ta [k]kiri [de, da, no]: Kāre wa, māhi('-) no tame neta kiri de, ... 'He was bed-ridden with paralysis and ...' (SA 2633:3a); Suru to, nān-nen -buri no taimen desu nē. Hēi. Sinsai no toki, wakāreta kākiri de gozaimasu 'Then how long since you've seen each other?—We separated at the time of the earthquake and have not seen each other since' (Fm 168a); ... kāno-zyō wa tonari no kitsu ni kakūretu kiri dēte kōyō to sinākatta 'she stayed hidden away in the next-door kitchen and showed no signs of coming out' (SA 2670:92c); Itta kākiri kāette kōnai 'He hasn't been back since leaving', or: 'He's gone for good and won't be back'; Āsa tābete kākiri dā kara onaka ga peko-peko dā yō 'I haven't eaten since breakfast, so I'm starved!'; Ip-pīki tutta kākiri desu 'I only caught one fish', 'I caught one fish and that was it/all'. For V-ru [k]kiri = V-ru dake, see §2.3.3. (p. 78). Note also V-ta mamā (§13.2.6).

(8) V-i--ppanasi da < -q-hanasi 'does and leaves it (or stays) in that (usually bad) condition: Rāzio('-) ga koware-ppanasi desu 'The radio remains unrepaired'; Tosyō-kan...
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no hōn o kari-ppanasi da ‘The library books are unreturned’; Tabe-ppanasi de katazukēnai ‘They eat and leave without tidying up after’; Mādo o ake-ppanasi de yasūmu ‘He goes to bed with the windows wide open’; Watāsí-tāti wa zut-to uragirare-ppanasi, damasare-ppanasi datta n desu ‘We were left totally betrayed and deceived’ (SA 2652.134d); Sore nā no ni, kiki-ppanasi, kotae-ppanasi de owari-gati na daihyō-situmon dakede katazuke, iinkai-sīngi wa yarazu-zimai ‘Despite that, taking care of just the representative questions that tend to end with asking and answering, it ended up with no committee business getting done’—for V-azu-zimai, see §9.1.7b; Oo-misoka to Syoogat[1] no Sangānitī(−), tamesi ni terebi o tuke-ppanasi ni site mita ‘I tried leaving the TV turned on through the entire three days of the New Year celebration’ (SA 2662.32a); Ukkāri, hutokoro kara dāsite, teeburu no u[e] oki-ppanasi ni site kāetta n da ‘Absently mindedly he took it from his bosom and left it on the table when he departed’ (Kb 209a); Karihwarūnīa no āru oziisan wa kādo ga kīta no o i kōtō ni istsite, kāzin ni naisyō de kore o sakaya ni azuke-ppanasi ni site nimitzuke ‘...’ One old dodger in California, taking advantage of the arrival of a[n unsolicited credit] card, left it at a bar to keep drinking on, unknown to his family, and ...’ (SA 2660.26d—this site toward the end is a literary touch for dé, see p. 615); ... Kāmetakasangō ni zitaku no denwa wa narī-ppanasi [dā] ‘Mr Kāmetaka’s home phone was left ringing (unanswered)’ (SA 2666.19b); Tāsika ni, monomezurāsī-sa−(−) kara simai-tōsi no sengēn−o si-ppanasi de nāi ni gutai-teki na katudoo o site inai tōsi ga ōoi naka de, Asahikawa no “katudo” wa nakana ka iyoukuteki de āru ‘In the midst of the proliferation of cities that proclaim themselves sister cities out of curiosity and then leave it at that and engage in no concrete activity, Asahikawa’s “activity” is quite avid’ (SA 2666.34a); Zensin-māsui de teiyou-sēkkā sita kanzya o zyyū-zyikan−āmari mo “kangō-hu minarai” ni makase-ppanasi ni site kōtō ga... ‘To have left to “nurse probation” for over ten hours a patient who had undergone a Caesarean with general anesthesia ...’ (SA 2666.112b); Zyuusī kara zut-to kise sare-ppanasi? ‘You’ve been kept in training all the time since you were fourteen?’ (SA 2671.46c—interviewing a boxer). In downtown Tōkyō speech, V-tapanasi is sometimes used for V-i-ppanasi: ... yuube tori-konda ppanasi no noren, ... ‘the lintel curtain still (taken) inside from the night before’ (Kb 194b); ... sokai sita ppanasi ni nattē ‘ru rasiī ‘(he) seems to have remained [where he was] evacuated’ (Tk 2.8b).

(9) V-i−gātera funi ‘coincidentally to’ [= V-ru tuide ni]: Asobī-gātera ‘By way of amusement’; Kooen o sanpo si-gātera = Kooen o sanpo-gātera ‘In the course of a stroll through the park’; Yoozi [ō] si-gātera asobi ni iku = Yoozi-gātera asobi ni iku ‘I will go for pleasure along with business’; Tukō mo mi-gātera arukō ‘I walk along looking at the moon’; Miokuri-gātera ni kōgaī(−) e dēru to ... ‘When I stepped outside to see him off ...’ (SA 2666.83a); O-sake de mo nomi-gātera, kuturōside mite ‘ru wāke na n desu kedo mo, ... ‘It means you watch at your ease, while drinking rice wine or the like, and ...’ (Tk 4.54b). This conversion can be used wherever V-i−dōsi is impossible, e.g. with mutative verbs.

(9a) V-i−katagata funi ‘coincidentally to’ [= V-i−gātera, V-ru tuide ni]: Magō no kao mo mi-ka tagata, asobi ni iku tumori desu ‘I intend to go and enjoy myself while getting a look at my grandson’; Tekito ni sore o soodān [si−]katagata, ... ‘While giving that suitable discussion, ...’; ... no kōtō mo ari-ka tagata mitte ‘combined with the fact that ...’ (Kenkyusha). The word “katagata” is also used as a quasi-restrictive after noun phrases: Sinnin no go-āsatu −katagata. ‘While offering one’s congratulations on the new position ...’; Go-busata no o-wabi −katagata go-kinkyoo no o-ukagai māde ‘While
apologizing for my long neglect in writing, I would like to inquire how you have been getting along'; Tèrebi o yusuyu suru to iu syooyoo “katágata Nyuu-Yóoku e iku tumori dêsu ‘I intend to go to New York partly for commercial purposes having to do with exporting television sets’; Nagusami “katágata no syôobai desu kara, rieki wa hotôndo ate ni dekimasen ‘It is a business largely for my amusement, so I can hardly look for profits’; Atasi mo née, niman-nyoo-’bâkari no torihiki ga âru n de, hara-gônasi “katágata dekakete kûru yô ‘I myself have a 200 000 ryô deal to attend to, so I’m going out to take care of it while on my constitutional (stroll)’ (Okitsu 1.401). And it is also used as a sentence-introducer, a kind of conjunction: Katágata go-ansin kudasâi ‘And (with this letter) please put your mind at rest for all is well’ (MKZ); Daigaku de syakái-gaku o kenkyuu si, katágata sono tihôo no seikatu o mite ki-tái to omôtê iru ‘I’d like to go do research on sociology at a university and at the same time observe life in that area’.

(10) V-i-“gimi da < -“ki.mi ‘seeming to ... ; tending to ... ’ aseri-gimi da ‘seems impatient’; bukkaga sukôso agari-gimi da ‘prices are tending a shade higher’; sigoto ni oware-gimi da ‘appears pressed by work’; tokaku osare-gimi da ‘tends to get pushed’; o-sake ni yoi-gimi da ‘tends to get drunk’; ... Cf. yake-gimi de ‘half out of despair/desperation’.

(11) V-i-“haze me no ‘who has just begun doing [regularly]’ Gîtaa o hiki-haze me no kookô-soi mo ita ‘There were also high school students who had just begun playing (= had just taken up) the guitar’ (SA 2664.41d); Kuruma o unten si-haze me no hîtô ‘a person who has just begun driving a car (= who has just learned how to drive)’. The nó would appear to be an adnominalization of a predicative copula, used to represent an underlying sita ‘did’: ‘haze me sita → hazime-sifita = hazimeta began’. Cf. p. 401 (end of §9.1.). The examples given above have epithematized agents, but the epipheme apparently need not be so limited: Huransu-go o nari-haze me no kôrô ... ‘At the time when I began studying French ...’; Tabe-haze me no hâsi, supûun; haki-haze me no kutûsitâ(“) ... ‘the chopsticks and spoon that one first ate with, the socks that one first wore ... ’ (SA 2672.125c).

(12) V-i-“hoodai da ‘as one desires’: Nâno de mo si-hôdai dokoo e de mo iki-hôdai da ‘We do what we want and go where we like’; kui-hôdai ni kúú ‘eats to one’s content’; sen-en de biiru wa nomi-hôdai ‘for a thousand yen—all the beer you can drink’ (CK 985.268); ... suki-hôdai na kotô o site ... ‘doing everything he likes’ (Tk 3.61b); are-hôdai ‘left to the weeds, left dilapidated’ (lexical entry in Kenkyusha); Syanai-kêkkon mo ôkoi n desu yô. Dansi-syûkuin wa toku desu née, erabi-hôdai desu mono ‘And there are many marriages within the staff, too! It’s to the male employee’s advantage, you see, because he has a wide-open choice!’ (SA 2672.63b). This conversion normally adnominalizes as an adjectival noun, V-i-“hôdai na N; but you will also come across V-i-“hôdai no N. Hôdai is also used as a postadnominal after the desiderative: tabs-tai hôdai ‘as much as one wants to eat’; li-tai hôdai na kotô o itte itu hitôbito mo, ... ‘Even people who say all they want to say ... ’ (Y 297). And sometimes it is attached to a noun as a suffix: (hito no) jinari-hôdai ‘at the beck and call (of others)’.

(13) V-i-“kagen da ‘in a state of being/doing’; Kubi o utumukase-kagen ni = Utumuki-kagen ni ‘with bowed head’; Zuuuni-gat’u haze me no gôgo no hi ga, moo sukôso akan o ôbite(‘), nise e katamuki-kagen ni kemutte iru tamé ni, ... ‘Because the early December afternoon sun had taken on a bit more reddish cast and was growing dimmer as it sank into the west ... ’ (Kabashima 1965.38, quoting from the novelist
Kuma Masao. Kagen is a verbal noun meaning ‘adjustment; degree; seasoning’ – in origin a coordinate compound of antonyms KA ‘addition’ + GEN ‘subtraction’. In addition to the usage listed here, kagen also occurs both as a postadnominal with the meaning ‘chance, accident, (odds of the) moment’ and, meaning ‘extent (of the situation)’, as a suffix of nouns derived from adjectives and adjectival nouns by the suffix -sa (§14.7), such as atusa-kagen ‘the extent of the heat’ and the following examples: ... amasa-kagen no i koto ‘the way it was just the right sweetness’ (SA 2664.110e); ... yarikut no akuratusa-kagen de wa, kessite zingo ni otiru monon de wa nai ‘is by no means one to fall behind others when it comes to the unscrupulousness of his tricks’ (SA 2678.114d); ... a ga mote ‘ru hanâ no wâ no tyatisa-kagen ‘Oh the frailness of the wreaths they bear!’ (SA); ... nagai hatâ no peraperasa-kagen ‘Oh the flimsiness of the long flags!” (SA). Included are derived nouns from verb negatives that end in -(a)na-sa and these can apparently carry along their adjuncts, as seen in Kenkyusha’s example Kâre no seken o siranasa-kâgen ni wa odorôku ‘How little he knows about the world!’

Each of these types must be set up as a separate conversion to the extent that it is productive and carries with it the adjuncts of the infinitive. The productivity of the last few types is questionable, however. By way of contrast, notice that adjuncts (or at least, case-marked adjuncts) are NOT retained when infinitives add -mono, -goto (= “koto), etc., and that is the reason the resulting words are to be regarded as lexical derivatives despite the productivity of the particular suffixes; but see §14.8 for V-i-kata and V-i-yoo (as in Dôo si-yoo mo nai no wa zyotyuu da ‘The one we don’t know what to do about is the maid’), and §14.7.

I have excluded -i-giwa ‘(on) the brink of doing’ as in kaeri-giwa ni ‘at one’s departure (to return home)’, wakare-giwa ni ‘at the moment of leavetaking’ and simai-giwa ni ‘at the eleventh hour’, because the formation is not built on the infinitive itself but on the noun derived from the infinitive, and the adjuncts must be adnominalized: *sikên ga/o owari-giwa → sikên NO owari-giwa ni ‘right before the examination ends’. Each acceptable form is made on an infinitive-derived noun that is used elsewhere as a pure noun; but not every such noun will yield an acceptable form. The limitations are unclear: ne-giwa ni îp-pai nômu ‘takes a drink at bedtime’ is highly acceptable but *oki-giwa ni ‘right before getting out of bed’ is rejected perhaps because there is no derived noun *oki ‘arising’ made from the infinitive ôki; sini-giwa ni ‘on one’s deathbed’ is heard, but not *umare-giwa ni ‘right before/at birth’ (= on one’s birthbed?), despite the noun umare ‘birth’ derived from the infinitive umare ‘being born’. Another example: Bôku(“) wa tîhusu o yatte, naori-giwa ni ‘I got typhus and upon recovering, ...’ (Tk 2.291b).

The word neiri-bana (ni) ‘(in) the first stages of sleep’ would seem to be a similar type, but apparently there is no derived noun *ne-iri from the infinitive ne-iri ‘falling asleep’ (etc.) and I have been unable to find many other examples of -i-bana ‘<”hana except for de-bana = de-hana(“) ‘on the point of emerging’ [= de-giwa (K)] also a pure noun ‘the

24. Or so I thought till I came across this example: ... kâno-zyo ni wakare-giwa, ... ‘at the moment of parting from her’ (Shibata 1961.186); wakare-giwa permits the same valences as wakarêru [N ni/ tô/karâ]. N no wakare-giwa is ambiguous; it could also be from N ga wakarêru. I am told that kane o watasi-giwa ni ‘at the time of delivering the money’ is also acceptable; yet *hito to wakare-giwa is rejected in favor of hito tô NO wakare-giwa ‘on parting from people’.
outset'; and Kenkyusha's example kāabu no magari-ppana o tatāku 'hits a ball just when it curves around' probably contains a variant.

Other candidates for inclusion in this section are found in oki-NUKE ni 'as soon as one gets up' and deai-GÅSIRA ni 'upon sudden encounter'; the latter is a precopular noun (deai-gāsira no hito 'a person bumped into', deai-gāsira no na koto 'sudden encounter').

The suffix -hanbun '(being) half in/for ...' attaches lexically to a few nouns and adjective bases as well as a number of verb infinitives, but the infinitives do not retain their adjuncts: Karakai-hanbun 'half teasing'; Yakkami-hanbun no hihyou 'criticism half from jealousy' (SA 2661.29—MKZ lists yakkamu = yatu-kamu as a dialect equivalent of netamu 'envies'); Asobi-hanbun 'half for fun'; Huzake-hanbun 'half joking'; Omosiro-hanbun 'half for fun'; Itazura-hanbun no kimōti kara ... 'From a feeling half of tomfoolery' (SA 2652.119a); inemuri-hanbun de ... 'half-dozing' (Zhs 4.337); okayaki-hanbun 'half from jealousy'; dooraku-hanbun 'half for recreation'; ...

There are a few relics from the literary language that should be mentioned here. The idiom Sā mo ari-nân 'As well might be expected; As is (all too) natural; As is (only) appropriate' contains a reduction of nāmu (which we can perhaps regard as a contraction of ni arāmu, equivalent to modern darō 'probably is'), a literary particle that is here attached to the infinitive to make a kind of tentative, so that the cliché would correspond to the modern analog Sō de mo āru darō 'It probably would be that way even/too': "Torāreta yō" tte ittāra, "Sā mo ari-nâ"n itte hōhōendē 'māista ga ne 'When they said 'It's been taken', I put on a good face, saying 'I might have known'' (Tk 4.266).

The literary nāmu/nān also attaches by way of the subjunctive -a- to make a kind of request similar to the colloquial site hosī 'I want it to happen that': Ika-nāmu 'I want you/him to go', Ikaza-nāmu 'I want you/him not to go'. In the literary language nāmu/nān is also a particle of focus, much like literary zo 'indeed', used after nouns and adnominalized (= directly nominalized) sentences; Terase 153b gives an example where the nāmu focus is applied to the infinitive of V-i Auxiliary (tōri nāmu oku = tōte sae oku). These uses of nāmu were earliest attested as nāmo, perhaps indicating it contained the particle mó.

For the literary form V-i-mi (= V-tāri), see p. 571.

The adverbialization V-i-zyoo occurs in the expression ... tō wa ii-zyoo = ... tō wa iū [1] zyōō 'although ...', equivalent to ... tō wa iē-do ɪmo. For the use of the same morpheme ('item, provision') as a particle after V-i soorō in the epistolary style, see §22.3. An example of i-zyoo: Sensyoku-biṣyutu to wa ii-zyoo, Tsurumura-zome wa māda, syoohin-kāti ni shūai sarete iru uti wa, hontoo no nei ni wa nāte inne (= inai) 'Regardless of the arts of dyeing and weaving, as long as the Tsurumura-dyed is controlled by merchandise prices, it is of no real value' (Fn 221b).

Other conversions similar to those listed in this section are V-te kure-te (ga nāi) 'there is no one who will favor me' (§10) and N ni nari-te 'one who will become N' (§3.8a).

9.1.7a. Verbal infinitive + 'kko nā'

A suffix 'kko nā can be added to certain infinitives to derive a noun (usually a verbal noun): A to B o torikae-kko nā suru 'swap (= exchange) A and B'; kake-kko = kake-kkura

25. But the orthodox etymology is a direct suffixation of the literary tentative -(a)mu to the old perfect auxiliary (V-i-)nu.
§9.1.7a. Verbal infinitive + ‘kko nai’

(‘o suru’) (‘runs’) a race’; ... Doyoo kara Nitiyoo no yuugata maide, katari-kko(‘) suru ... ‘engaging in story-telling and song-singing from Saturday through till Sunday evening’ (SA 2664.41d); naré-kko ni naru ‘gets used to, gets familiar (with)’ [slang]; ... 26 For some speakers, the suffix is atonicizing after atonic infinitives: ate-kko (‘o suru’) ‘(engages in) guessing’.

There is also a suffix -gôkko that attaches to nouns or to verbal infinitives to make a derived noun ‘the game of ...’ or ‘mutually doing’: itati-gôkko ‘a pinch-each-other game; a vicious circle’ (from itati ‘weasel’); kisya-gôkko ‘playing train’; ikusa-gôkko ‘playing soldiers’ (ikusa ‘battle’); ... hutari de bâo o dêtari hâittari site baaienda-gôkko o site iru uti ni yotte simai ... ‘while two people are taking turns playing bartender, ducking in and out from behind the bar, they get drunk and ...’ (SA 2664.81b). Ōtsuki assumes that the suffixes ‘kk0 and -gôkko are both contracted from kura(be) ‘competition’.

But another suffix ‘kk02 is apparently a shortening of koto. Said to be largely confined to Tôkyû speech, the suffix occurs in a construction V-i-kko nai that is used in place of V-ru koto wa nai or V-ru hazu ga nai ‘there is no possibility (likelihood) that ...’: Anô-kkô l kai-ri-kko l nai yo ‘There is no possibility of her returning’; Sonna koto l ari-kko l nai ‘There is no likelihood of such a thing happening’; Sonna kane, l orê-tâtî ni l haraê-kko l nai l koto l ga wakatte ‘te, l yookyyuu site kûru n da kara ... ‘They start demanding such sums for bail’ well knowing we can’t possibly pay them, so ...’ (SA 2666.99c); Konna gîron o l ikura tuzuketë mo, l yô-nô-naka wa l ikkôo l yôkû l nari-kko l nai ‘However much we continue this sort of discussion, the world won’t get any better’ (SA 2681.28b); Gakûmon wa l hazime kara l kirai, l e-kaki nânka ni l naré-kko l nai ‘I hated schoolwork from the beginning, and there was no likelihood of my being able to become an artist or anything’ (Tk 3.42a); Dôo l mît’atte l soorî-daizin ni wa l naré-kko l nai l tâpu desu keredo mol ne ‘However you look at it, he’s hardly the type who could possibly become a prime minister’ (Shiba 20). The suffix seems to be preaccentuated; thus ki-kko nai represents both ‘is unlikely to come’ (= kûru koto wa nai) and ‘is unlikely to wear’ (= kiru koto wa nai). But some speakers apparently treat the forms as atonic when made on atonic infinitives and differentiate ki-kko nai (= kirare-kko nai) ‘is unlikely to wear’ from ki-kko nai (= korare-kko nai) ‘is unlikely to come’, and iki-kko nai ‘is unlikely to go’ from iki-kko nai (= ikirare-kko nai) ‘is unlikely to live’. Both si-kko(‘) nai (= suru koto wa nai) and deki-kko nai (= dekiru koto wa nai) are in use.

Some speakers suggest that the forms sound rather “child-like”, but Alfonso 1193 reports that the use is “frequent not only in informal speech but also in rather polite speech” and gives examples with arîmesên in place of nai. Another example with arîmesên: Dâi-kibi n ni l yaru n da kara, l nedan de mo l kanai-kko l arîmesên l yô l nê

26. The suffix appears as -ko after n: kawaribân-kko ni = kawari-ban(‘) ni ‘taking turns, by turns’. Not to be confused is the noun suffix -kko ‘child’: hitori-kko ‘an only child’ (also hitori-go), Edo-kko ‘a child of Edo (Yedo) = a Tokyoite’, Naniwâ-kko ‘a child of Naniwa = a native Osakaian’, itazurâ-kko ‘a mischievous child, a prankster’, sue-kko ‘youngest child’, sengô-kko ‘a postwar child’, sitamatâ-kko ‘downtown Tokyoites’ (Tk 3.211a), toshi-kko ‘the locals’ (Tk 3.219): Hahaoyá-kko desu ‘I’m my mother’s boy = I resemble my mother’ (R); bebibuumû-kko ‘a baby-boom child’ (Nagano 1968.66); etc. There are dialects which use -ko, -kko, or -go in the Ryûkyûs-kwa, -kkwa, -gwa, and even -ggwa as a kind of diminutive suffix attached to many common nouns; the suffix is often heard, for example, in northern Honshû (H 1968.131). Perhaps this accounts for the word komori-kko = komôri ‘nursemaid’. 30
'Since they do it on such a big scale, mind you, there's just no matching their prices, you see' (SA 2679.115b).

In place of the negative nái you will also find the rhetorical question áru món ka: 'Wakari-kko áru món ka 'How could one understand it?'' (Tk 4.109b).

Although the typical pattern will insert nothing but juncture between V-í-kko and nái, it is possible to find examples of focus applied to the first element: Soo iu baai, l tádâ de í dasí-kko WA l nái no l yó 'In that case there's no likelihood they'll put it out free, mind you' (Fn 261b); Kessite yóku l nari-kko WA l nái n da kara 'For there's just no way it can improve' (Y 187—from Kb); Hazíme kkara l dekí-kko MO l nái koto'ó l siyoo to surú no wa l baka-rasii 'It is foolish to try to do something that lacks any likelihood of being possible from the outset'.

9.1.7b. The literary negative infinitive -(a)zu +-zimai.

The expression V-(a)zu-zimai (<"simai") is made by attaching the infinitive simai 'finishing' to the literary negative infinitive; it is normally followed by the copula (often perfect, datta) and is used as an equivalent of V-(a)nái de simatta 'ended up not V-ing': Kârê ni wa l awazu-zimai datta 'I ended up not seeing it'; Sore o l mizu-zimai desita 'I ended up not seeing it'; Soko e wa l issyo ni l ikazu-zimai datta 'In the end we didn't go there together'; ... kore mo l kookai sarezu-zimai desu 'this [film] too ended up never shown publicly' (Tk 3.197a); Sono totyuu dê mo, l watasi wa l senpan no kotô o l kikazu-zimai datta 'Even in the midst of it, I ended up not hearing about the war crimes' (Ig 1959.57); Tôotoo l watakusi ni wa l musumê no waga-mâmâ o l yurusêru hodo no l hakkirî sita [ l ] riyuu mo l miatarazu-zimai de atta 'I ended up unable to find any clear reason to forgive the girl her wilfulness' (Y 555); Soo suru to, l Nihon-ga ni rippa na ratai wa l arawarezu-zimai desa ka 'So, do we end up with no splendid nudes appearing in paintings of the Japanese style?' (Tk 3.319b).

In place of datta you may find ni nâtte simatta: Iti-dô wa l o-ai si-tai to [ l ] omoi-tuzukete its hitô desita ga, l kyyu ni l naku-nararete, l tôotoo l awazu-zimai ni l nâtte l simaimâsita 'He was a person that I kept thinking I would like to meet sometime, but he suddenly passed away, so that I ended up without the chance to meet him after all'.

And sometimes the imperfect dâ will appear: Tôotoo l awazu-zimai de kedo, l zuibun l tegami no toritugi bâkari l tanônda l nâa 'We end up not seeing each other, but there's been a lot of correspondence requested' (Y 555). The expressions can apparently also be used as precorepular nouns with the adverbialization ní: Watasi ni wa l wakaru-zimai ni l owattô no da ga ... 'I ended up not knowing about the end, but ...' (Ig 1959.57). And adnominalization would appear possible: senpan no kotô o kikazu-zimai ni no yôô datta 'apparently ended up not hearing about the war crimes'—also ...-zimai datta yôô da/datta.

The example ... kekyôkô [ l ] yarenai-zimai daroo l né 'will finally end up unable to do it' (Tk 4.316a) probably results from a syntactic blend of yarenai daroo with [yarezu]-zimai. A similar blend will yield -(a)n[ù]-zimai: Syat yoo wa l tôotoo l yukue ga wakaranzimai ka 'Has the president of the company finally disappeared (without a trace)'' (Y 555).

9.1.8. Facilitatives and propensives.

Virtually any verbal sentence can be converted into an adjectival sentence, always tonic, that expresses a polarized concept which has two semantic ingredients: (1) 'it is easy/
difficult to do'—FACILITATIVE, and (2) 'it is likely/unlikely to happen'—PROPENSIVE. The "likelihood" meaning is similar to that of -i-gati dā (§9.1.5) but the propensive is not restricted to unpleasant events.

The forms themselves—which we can call FACILITATIVE-PROPENSIVES—are made by attaching auxiliary adjectives to the infinitive. For 'easy' or 'likely' you attach -yasu- or -yo- (in the imperfect -yoi is usually pronounced -iī), which as free adjectives mean 'cheap' (or sometimes 'easy') and 'good' respectively. For 'difficult' or 'unlikely' you attach -niku- (as a free adjective 'hateful') or -zura- (the nigori ed form of the free adjective tura- 'trying') or a literary synonym -gata- (the nigori ed form of the free adjective kata- 'hard').27

In translating the "likelihood" meaning, such expressions as the following will prove helpful: 'is apt to do, is prone to do, is given to doing, often does, does a lot'; with the negatives 'is apt not to do, is prone not to do, is given to not doing, seldom does, little does'. Notice how the free adjective yō- in its infinitive form yoku means 'often' and 'much' as well as 'well, nicely' so that Āme ga yoku hūru is susceptible to three interpretations: (1) = Āme ga huri-yasū 'It rains often', (2) = Āme ga takusān hūru 'It rains heavily', and (3) = Āme ga hūru no wa iī 'It rains nicely = I am pleased that it rains'.28

(The English word 'lots' means either 'often' or 'much' so that 'It rains lots' has the first two interpretations.)

The grammar of the facilitative sentences resembles that of the desideratives in that you can either leave the adjunct marking intact as in the underlying sentence OR you can mark both the subject and the direct object with gā. But if there is no "subjectification" of the direct object—or other adjunct (see below)—only the LIKELIHOOD meaning is usually understood:

Kodomo ga mizu o nōmu 'The child drinks water'
→ (1) Kodomo ga mizu o nomi-yasu 'The child is apt to drink water'.
→ (2) Kodomo ga mizu ga nomi-yasu 'The child is apt to drink water'.

'It is easy for the child to drink water'.

But in larger structures you may run across a facilitative use for the first type (with adjuncts intact), too: Kodomo ga mizu o/ga nomi-yasu [ = nomeru] yōo ni zyaguti o hikūku sita 'I lowered the faucet to make it easier for the children to get a drink of water'.

If the sentence contains no direct object or if it is put into the double-subject grammar of (2) above—with subjectification of the direct object—the facilitative-propensives, unlike the desideratives, will permit you to subjectify the locative adjuncts of PLACE and/or (less commonly) of TIME: (Kodomo ga) itu ga [mizu ga] nomi-yasu ka 'When is it easy [for the child] to drink [water]?' or 'When is it likely for him [the child] to drink [water]?' (Kodomo ga) dōko ga [mizu ga] nomi-yasu ka 'Where is it easy [for the child] to drink [water]?' or 'Where is he [the child] likely to drink [water]?'

Nurū o-yu ga [byooinin ga] nāgaku i-yasu 'It is easy [for a sick person] to stay a long time in a warm bath' ← Nurū o-yu ni [byooinin ga] nāgaku iru. Rokū-zi ga siranai [= yakusoku no nai] hito ga anō-hito ni ai-yasu 'Six o'clock is an easy time for a person without an appointment to see him'.

27. The accentuation of arigato [o] 'thankful, thanks' from (?*)ari-gāta[k]u 'is difficult to have' is irregular for unknown reasons.

28. Dialects in western Japan (e.g. Kōchi in Shikoku) use yoo (<yo'u, the local reflex corresponding to yōku) + VERB NEGATIVE as a potential 'can not [do]'; see p. 304 (§4.4).
Since an allative of place can be subjectified, too, from the sentence Kodomo ga dōko e ikū ka ‘Where does the child go [to]?’ we will obtain either Kodomo ga dōko e iki-yasūi ka ‘Where is the child likely to go?’—leaving all adjuncts intact—or, subjectifying the allative, Kodomo ga dōko e iki-yasūi ka ‘Where is it easy/likely for the child to go?’ And from Kodomo ga itu kūru ka ‘When will the child come?’ we can get either Kodomo ga ītu ki-yasūi ka ‘When is the child likely to come?’—adjuncts intact—or, subjectifying the adjunct of time, Kodomo ga ītu ga ki-yasūi ka ‘When will it be easy/likely for the child to come?’ And it is possible, though unusual, to mark both time and place with īgā: [Kodomo ga] ītu ga asoko ga iki-yasūi ka ‘When will it be easy/likely [for the child] to go there?’ Moreover the grammar says nothing to prevent us from combining this with other multiple subjects to generate multiparadigmatic monstrosities beyond the native speaker’s wildest dreams: (!)Dāre ga tonari ga kodomo ga rokū-zi ga gakkoo ga iki-yasūi ka ‘Whose neighbor’s child is likely to go to school at six o’clock?’

With verbs of going and coming, PLACE + īgā would seem to be ambiguous: Dōko ga iki-yasūi ka could be derived either from an allative Dōko e iki-yasūi ka ‘What place is easy to come to?’ or from an ablative Dōko kara iki-yasūi ka ‘What place is easy to come from?’ (but some speakers are uneasy with the ablative interpretation) or even from a traversal-accusative Dōko o ki-yasūi ka ‘What place is easy to come/along/through/on?’—as well as the progressive ‘likely’ meaning for each. With other verbs the meaning of PLACE īgā will usually be locative ‘at’ (dōko de/ni).

It is also possible to subjectify an INSTRUMENTAL adjunct: Hāsi ga tabe-yasūi ‘It is easy to eat with chopsticks’ ← Hāsi de tabēru ‘[We] eat with chopsticks’; Sono nāihu ga kodomo ga pān ga kiri-yasūi (kotō wa dāre de mo sitte iru) ‘(Everyone knows) that knife is easy for a child to cut bread with’ ← Sono nāihu de kodomo ga pān o kīru ‘With that knife a child cuts bread’. Apparently the subjectification is possible not only when de is used as a pure instrumental, but also when it has the causal meaning: Dōno byooki ga sini-yasūi ka ‘What illness is easy to die from?’ or ‘What illness is one likely to die from?’ ← Dōno byooki de sini-yasūi ka ← Dōno byooki de sinū ka ‘What illness does/will one die from?’

Although it is not easy to find authentic examples, some of the other adjuncts are occasionally subjectified with facilitative-propensives. The following examples were elicited. RECIPROCAL: [Kāre ni totte] sono aite ga tatakai-yasūi ‘That adversary is easy [for him] to fight with’ ← Kāre ga sono aite to tatakau ‘He fights with that adversary’; [Watashi ni totte] kāre ga hanasi-yasūi ‘He is easy [for me] to talk to’ ← [Watashi ga] kāre to hanāsu ‘[1] talk with him’. DATIVE: Sono onnā ga otokō ni/ga hore-yasūi (1) ‘That woman is easy for men to fall in love with’ ← Sono onnā ni otokō ga horeru ‘That woman men fall in love with’, (2) ‘That woman easily falls in love with men’ ← Sono onnā ga otokō ni horeru ‘That woman falls in love with men’. But ABLATIVEs seem a bit unnatural: (?)Siritu-dāigaku ga zyosi-gakusei ni/(ga) sotugyoo si-yasūi ‘It is easy for women students to graduate from private colleges’ ← Siritu-dāigaku kara/o zyosi-gakusei ga sotugyoo suru; Hāhā ga kanē ga morai-yasūi (1) (?) ‘It is easy to get money from mother’ ← Hāhā kara/ni watasi ga/kane o morau ‘[1] get money from mother’, (2) ‘It is easy for mother to get money’ ← Hāhā ga [hitotō/kani] kane o morau ‘Mother gets money [from someone]’.

Attempts to elicit or find examples which subjectify other kinds of adjuncts have been unsuccessful. The subjectified adjunct is usually taken as underlying subject or object whenever possible; and the more adjuncts present in the surface sentence, the more hesitant speakers are to subjectify the other adjuncts.
The pure passive is unusual with the facilitative-propensive conversions only because it is not especially common to begin with; and it is often open to question whether a given case should not be reinterpreted as adversative, as in gokai sare-yasū 'a word easily misunderstood'. But the following passive was not intended as adversative: Soko de, koo sitā an’i (‘) na miti ga erabare-yasū ‘Then this sort of easy way is apt to be chosen’ (SA 2684.137a). The adversative passive itself occurs quite freely: (Sensei ga kodomo o sikaru ‘The teacher scolds the child’ → Kodomo ga sensei ni sikararu ‘The child gets scolded by the teacher’ →) Kodomo ga sensei ni sikarare-yasū ‘It is easy/likely for the child to get scolded by the teacher’; (Kodomo ga tomodati ni koko e korāreta ‘The child suffered from his friend coming here’ →) Kodomo ga tomodati ni koko ga/e korore-yasū ‘It is easy/likely for the child to suffer from having his friend come here’.

Potentials occur; at least, derived potentials: Kabe ga usu ni de tonari e hanasi ga kikō-se-ya su ‘The walls are thin, so what one says is apt to be audible to the neighbors’. But the expression [suru kotō ga] deki-yasū ‘it is easy/likely for one to be able to do it’—though possible—is often replaced by the simple facilitative-propensive (si-ya su), and that is true for potentials in general—something that is likely to be able to happen is, after all, likely to happen.

Facilitative-propensives can be built on causatives: sase-nikū ‘it is difficult/unlikely to make/let one do it’. The forms themselves can be made negative: nomi-ya suku nai ‘it isn’t easy/likely for one to drink’, nomi-nikuku nai ‘it isn’t hard/unlikely for one to drink’, following the pattern usual to adjectives.

Since desideratives are not verbs but adjectivals built on verbs, you cannot make a facilitative directly from a desiderative without first putting the desiderative through verbalization (§7.2): iku ‘goes’ → iki-tai ‘wants to go’ → iki-tagaru ‘wants to go’ → iki-tagari-yasū ‘it is easy/likely for one to want to go’. You can build a facilitative-propulsive on an excessive (§9.1.9) as in yari-sugi-yasū ‘it is easy/likely for one to overdo’, and you can build an excessive on a facilitative as in yari-ya su-sugiru ‘it is overly easy/likely for one to do’; it ought to be possible to do both, yet speakers will balk at (?* ) yari-charte-yasuu sugiru ‘it is overly easy/likely for one to overdo’. Other attempts at exploiting recursion—most of questionable acceptability—are shown in the table at the end of this section.

It is possible to make a facilitative-propulsive on an exalting sentence: O-kaki ni nari-ya su ‘It is easy/likely for you to write’. O-kaki [ita]si-ya su ‘It is easy/likely for me to write you’. O-yomi ni nari-nikū to oomoimasu ga ... ‘I’m afraid it may be difficult for you to read, but ...’. But once constructed the adjective kaki-ya su can not so readily be exalted with the prefix o- as can simple adjectives: we find o-ya su ‘it’s cheap’ but not *o-kaki-ya su; yet O-tukai-yasuu gozaimasū ‘It is easy to use’ is acceptable. Kaki-ya sukut e irasyār u and Kaki-ya sukute o-ide ni nāru are possible, as is O-kaki ni nari-ya sukute irasyār u, but *O-kaki-ya sukute irasyār u does not occur. Otherwise, the facilitative-propensives can take most conversions open to adjectivals in general, including -yasu-so da (§20), -yasu, -ya sukute [wa/mo], etc. They can undergo nuclear focus: si-ya sukute wa/mo/sae āru, etc. The converse, a facilitative made on a focus-marked nucleus, is less common but speakers will apparently accept V-i wa/mo si-ya su and V-i wa/mo si-nikū.

29. Hamako Chaplin rejects deki-ya su and V-(r)are-ya su in general, but she will accept deki-nikū ‘is unlikely to be possible’ as in ... deki-nikū koto o muri ni sitē ta ‘by sheer force [she] did things unlikely to be possible [for anyone]’; perhaps this should be treated as a derived lexical item. Another example: Sitagāte(’), goori-teki ni monō o syōri suru koto ga deki-nikū ‘Consequently, it is difficult to be able to handle things logically’ (Tanigawa 194).
The form V-i sae si-níkúkereba is said to be unusual, though V-i sae si-yásukereba seems to be acceptable.

There are apparently no particular restrictions on what verbs can be converted to facilitative-propensives. The following have been found or elicited: súni-yásúi 'it is easy/likely for one to die', ari-yásúi 'it is easy/likely for one to have', i-yásúi 'it is easy/likely for one to stay', oti-yásúi 'it is easy/likely for one to fall', haná ga saki-yásúi 'it is easy/likely for flowers to bloom', kumori-yásúi 'it is easy/likely for it to be cloudy', higa teri-yásúi 'it is easy/likely for the sun to shine'.

Some of the forms have acquired special meanings and in those meanings they are perhaps best treated as derived adjectives: mi-níkúi can mean not only 'it is hard/unlikely for one to look at it' but also 'it is ugly', and kiki-zurái (or kiki-níkúi) means not only 'it is hard/unlikely for one to listen to it' but also 'it is unpleasant-sounding'. The expression [kimono ga] ki-yásúi means '[a garment] is comfortable (to wear)'.

The forms with -i are more relaxed than those with -yasúi; and they yield interesting strings of like vowels: si-ii 'it is easy to do', ki-ii 'it is easy to come/wear', si-ii 'it is easy to force', ii-ii 'it is easy to say', i-ii 'it is easy to stay', etc.

Derived nouns can be made from facilitative-propensives by adding -sa, as usual for adjectives (§ 14.7): wakari-yásu-sa 'ease of understanding', ii-níkú-sa 'difficulty in saying'. But the adjuncts will normally go along only if adnominalized: sono kotoba no wakari-yásu-sa 'the difficulty of understanding (of) that word'.

Miscellaneous examples: Ása ga oki-zurái 'It is hard to get up in the morning'; ... yáya [to] mo suru to, gokai ga syoo-zi-yásúi monó de aru 'a misunderstanding is all too apt to arise' (CK 985.292); Tenkin wa sararíi-man ni tótte sakte-gatái 'It is hard for the salaried man to avoid job shifts' (SA 2674.113e). In the last example the direct subject of the facilitative (tenkin ga), which derives from the underlying object of the verb (tenkin o sakte 'avoid job shifts'), is subdued and thematicized; the indirect subject is identical to the underlying subject of the verb (sararíi-man ga sakte 'the salaried man avoid[s]') but here is converted to a dative of reference (sararíi-man ni tótte 'taking it with reference to the salaried man')—not to be confused with the ni that marks the possessor in a possessive sentence.

The following list shows theoretical combinations of Causative, Desiderative (verbalized), Excessive, and Facilitative. (The sequences F D and F C are precluded by definition, since the facilitatives are adjectival and you can not make a causative or desiderative on an adjective form.)

30. In the Japanese spoken in Hawaii the word mi-yásúi is used to mean yásasii 'is easy (to do)'; is this a Hiroshima usage? Cf. Kindaichi in Kotoba no uchu 1968/10.36.

30a. The forms with -i are used only in the meaning 'easy to do'; for 'likely' you must use -yasúi. Cf. BJ 2.169 (1980 printing).
### Facilitatives and propensives

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9.1.9. The excessive (-sugiru).

You can attach -sugiru to the infinitive of most (probably all) verbs, to produce a new verbal, the EXCESSIVE form with the meaning ‘overly’ or ‘all too (much, many, often)’. For an intransitive verb, the implication may be that a single subject overdoes the action or that too many subjects engage in the action; with an obviously plural subject a sentence can be ambiguous. There are some verbs (such as sini-sugiru ‘too many of them are dying’, umare-sugiru ‘too many are being born’, araware-sugiru ‘too many are appearing’, okori-sugiru ‘too many are happening’) that make sense only in the second meaning—unless an adverb is present to take the reference (as described just below); one can’t ‘overdie’. We find a similar problem of singular-or-plural for the representative -tāri (§9.4).

The domain of semantic reference usually includes predicate adjuncts, and the “excess” is sometimes to be taken as referring to an adverb: Hayaku tuki-sugiru no da ‘He had arrived too early’ (SA 2672.17c); Aa, watasi wa amari ni hayaku umare-sugiru ‘Ah, I was born too soon!’ (SA 2678.139—the adverb saves us from the farfetched interpretations ‘I was born too often’ and ‘Too many of me were born’); ... kootyoku-teki ni kangae-sugiru ... ‘is over-rigid in one’s thinking’ (R); ... atasari kyōiku ga, sukōsi kan-kyōiku o karaku atukai-sugiru to iu hihan(“) wa ... ‘the complaint that the new education has treated education in Chinese characters a bit too lightly’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.296); Bōkū(“), ima-made nobiri benkyō-sugite ita ‘Up till now I had been studying at too leisurely a pace’ (SA 2861.12b). The reference of the excessive can, in fact, be to any adjunct; iki-sugiru ‘goes too far’ usually refers to the allative or the traversal object—the place. When an object is present, the reference is usually to it: Bīrī o nomi-sugīta usually means ‘I drank too much beer’ though other interpretations are possible: ‘I did too much/frequent beer drinking’, ‘Too many drank beer’, etc.

The dictionary translation of English ‘too (much)’ is aanmari ni, used as an adverbial adjunct. This is more common with the negative ‘(not) too’ or with some (usually bad) consequence: Anmari tabērū to (Anmari samū to) byōōiki ni naru ‘When I eat too much (When it is too cold) I get sick’; Anmari tabe te karā (Anmari tābeta kara) byōōiki ni natā ‘After eating too much (Because I ate too much) I got sick’. The excessive verbs are in more general use; for emphasis an anticipatory anmari can be included in the sentence. For the ordinary ‘too’ + affirmative adjective, Japanese often use just the simple adjective—letting the situation take care of the implication; or, they use tyō- to ‘a bit’ with the connotation of ‘overly’; or, they use the excessive of the adjectival sentence: D’atte ookīi {zya nai ka} = D’atte tyō- to okii = D’atte ooki-sugiru ‘But it’s too big’. Cf. ... risoo to genzitu no sa(”) ga ooki-sugiru ‘the gap between ideal and reality is too large’ (SA 2673.50d). Another way to say ‘overly’ is A-kute ikenai ‘it is so A it won’t do = it is too A’ (§9.2.2); A-sugite ikenai is also possible.

Excessive verbs are also produced by attaching -sugiru to virtually any adjective base including nā: ‘lacking’, which (as with the evidential nasa- sóo da §20) takes the special shape nasa- to yield nasa-sugiru ‘is over-lacking’ [jocural]—as in Sararii-man ni nasa-sugiru no wa kane, ari-sugiru no wa mibāe(“) ‘What the salary man lacks too much is money, what he has too much of is outward appearance’ and Zikaku ga nasa-sugiru kara da ‘It’s because they are too unself-conscious’ (Fn 200b). Yō- ‘be good’ (with colloquial imperfect i—dialect ō—alongside the more literary Yōī ‘It is good’), on the other hand, produces Yō-sugiru ‘It is overly good’ despite the irregular evidential Yōsa-soo da ‘It appears to be good’:
§9.1.9. The excessive (sugiru)

Onéesan wa, hito ga yo-sugiru yó ‘You are just too nice a person[, Hamako]’ (Fn 317a); Mikake ga yo-sugite komárù ‘I am embarrassed because I look TOO good (= healthy)’ (Tk 3.179b). The third31 of the monosyllabic adjective bases kó ‘saturated’ has the excessive ko-sugiru; the evidential is either ko-sóó da or (less often) kosa-sóó da. We can also make excessives from the facilitative adjectivals: kotae-yasu-sugiru or (less commonly) kotae-yo-sugiru ‘it is too easy to answer’, [anmari] kotae-niku-sugiru ‘it is too hard to answer’, ari-gata-sugiru ‘it is too difficult to bear = obliging’.

There seems to be some resistance to making an excessive on a negative, the preference being to negativize the excessive verbal: Nómù → Nomisugiru → Nomisuginai ‘He doesn’t drink to excess’; Óó → Oo-sugiru → Oo-suginai ‘There are not too many’. But you occasionally run across sentences like these: Ano senséi ga yasumana[sa]-sugiru ‘That teacher doesn’t stay out of school as much as I would like’; Benkyo-si-sugiru gakusei mo iréba, benkyooo [sa]-sugiru gakusei mo iréba ‘There are students who study too much but there are also students who overly avoid studying’; Zibun o sirana[sa]-sugirú kara desu ‘It’s because they don’t know enough about themselves’; Mi-no-hodó(‘) o sirana-sugita ‘He was all too ignorant of his own limitations’ (Y 188); Yo-nó-naka no kótó ni tíite siran-sugiru senséi ga óóí ‘There are many teachers who are overly ignorant of society’ (SA 2666.97d); Daitai kodomo no kótó o otona wa sirana-sugiru ‘On the whole when it comes to children adults know too little about them’ (SA 2677.55a). In these cases the negative optionally follows the pattern of the adjective ná: -(a)násar + -sugiru. A further negative can be made on the excessive-made-on-a-negative to deny an accusation or the like: Benkyoo sina[sa]-suginai! ‘But I don’t excessively avoid studying!’

Although some speakers will accept such forms as yarí-ta-sugirú ka sira ‘I wonder if I am being overeager to do it’, you do not often make excessives out of desiderative adjectivals (*-ta-sugiru), though you can make desideratives out of excessives: Nomisugiru → Nomisugitai ‘I want to drink too much’ (negative → Nomisugitaku nái ‘I don’t want to drink too much’). But you can make an excessive on a desiderative verbal: Nomisugitai ‘He is overly desirous of drinking’. And this can be turned into a desiderative adjective—Nomisugitaku nái ‘He doesn’t want to be overly desirous of drinking’, though the forms are rejected by a few speakers.

It is possible to make an excessive out of a causative or a passive or even a passivized causative; you can also make a causative or passive out of an excessive verbal. It is possible to say both Nomase-sugiru ‘overcauses one to drink = does too much drink-urging’ and Nomisugi-saseru ‘causes one to overdrink’. An example: Kodomo o/ni tabe-sugisaseté wa ikenai ‘Don’t let children overeat’.

Examples of the excessive made on the passive: Yóku sirarete imášu; sirare-sugité imášu ‘It is well known; it is all too well known’; Séngeo(‘) no syakka-nin wa hógo sare-sugíte irú ‘The postwar tenants have been overprotected’ (SA 2670.40c). And on the passivized causative: ... ima-máde Nihon-zín ga rooodoo sasere-sugíte kíta ‘up to now the Japanese have been too much made to work’ (SA 2687.49c).

Most nominal sentences can not be turned into excessive verbs. Excepted are a fair number of adjectival nouns, such as hadé da ‘it is gaudy’ → hadé-sugiru, sízuka da ‘it is quiet’ → sízuka-sugiru, and kawaisóó da ‘it is pitiful’ → kawaiso(0)-sugiru; the limitations are apparently semantic. Examples include teinei-sugiru ‘is overly polite’ (= teinei ni

31. And last, since súi ‘is sour’ is normally replaced by suppáí in the spoken language.
§9. Adverbializations

sugiru 'exceeds in politeness' since téinei is an abstract noun as well as an adjectival noun) and riaru-sugiru 'is overly real' as in this sentence: Syasin wa riaru-sugite, hitóbito ga me' o somuke-gati da 'The photograph is so excessively real(istic) that people are apt to avert their eyes' (SA 2724.25ab). Another example: Issyooko-me-sugirú kara ikenai 'It's no good, because you are too intent' (Tk 2.198b). Instead of adding -sugiru directly to the adjectival noun, you can let the copula revert to its uncontracted form de aru and make an excessive on the auxiliary aru; that, of course, is more common in writing than in speech: Amari ni mo tanraku-teki de setuna-teki de ari-sugiru 'It is entirely too short-circuited and momentary' (SA 2662.33c). Notice that in this example the auxiliary-with-excessive is intended to apply to both of the de-marked adjectival nouns, but grammatically it is just as ambiguous as is the sentence resulting from the other option: ... tanraku-teki de setuna-teki-sugiru—where the excessive can apply either to the single adjectival noun or to the conjoined phrase. Evidentialized sentences [→ -(i)-söo da] are a kind of adjectival noun but they do not produce excessive verbs: there is no *-i-soo-sugiru. Instead, you adverbialize the evidential sentence with the copula infinitive (→ -i-söo ni) and use it as a putative (§9.1.11) to complement the verbal sentence Miérü 'It appears', then turn this sentence into a verbal excessive: (*Naki-soo-sugiru →) Naki-soo ni mie-sugiru 'She overly looks in tears = Her weeping appearance is overdrawn'. Similar is the lack of *V-(r)u mitai-sugiru, for which V-(r)u mitai ni mie-sugiru might be substituted, though the normal conversion would be to V-i-sugiru yō da. At least as denial in answer to a question, the adjectival-noun excessive will negativize: Hade-suginai 'You're wrong—it isn't too gaudy'. Cf. ni suginai, §14.6.2.

Excessives can be built (1) on the mutative expressions with adjectival or nominal infinitive + närü/suru (§9.1.11) as in byooki ni nari-sugiru 'too many people are getting sick', nágaku nari-sugiru 'gets too long' or 'gets long too often' or 'too many get long' (cf. naga-sugiru yō ni näru with similar meanings, §9.1.11), Gureepuhuruutu wa amari wadai ni nari-sugita ' [The importation of] grapefruit has been the subject of entirely too much discussion' (SA 2649.125e); (2) on expressions of giving and receiving favors (§10) such as V-te age-sugiru 'too many are doing it for others' or 'does too much doing it for others'; and (3) on some other auxiliaries: V-te mi-sugiru, V-te i-sugiru, V-te ari-sugiru (§9.2.4). The excessive expression, once made, can enter into a few such constructions itself, such as V-i-sugite aru 'is overdone' (e.g. Gozi ga kaki-sugite aru 'There are too many misspelled characters') in contrast with V-te ari-sugiru 'is done too much'; and V-i-sugite iru 'is being overdone, is done too much' in contrast with V-te i-sugiru 'is doing it too much, is too much done'. An example with subdued focus applied: Ningen wa sukūsū ii-ki ni nari-sugite i wa sinai daroo ka 'Perhaps human beings are becoming a bit too conceited' (SA 2663.105e—the other interpretation, 'Perhaps too many human beings are becoming a bit concealed', is unlikely). There seems to be some hesitancy about forms like V-i-sugite simau, V-i-sugite miru, V-i-sugite ageru and V-i-sugite morau, but I have these examples:

32. But perhaps I misinterpret what is going on. In print, at least, you will find risoo-teki ni sugiru 'is overly ideal' (cf. rikō-sugiru 'is too clever!'); this could perhaps be explained as a direct nominalization of a nominal sentence, the affirmative version of S ni suginai 'merely S' (§14.6.2).

33. I'ma kangaete mimāsu to, nān da ka, hāha ni yori-kakatte i-sugita yōo na ko mo mimāsu 'When I think about it now, sometimes (ma I get the feeling that I was too much dependent on my mother, somehow' (RI). Kuno 1973.143 observes that we get V-i-sugite iru when (and only when) we would get V-te iru if the excessive were not applied; hótōte iru becomes hutori-sugite iru 'is too fat' rather than hótōte i-sugiru; and there will never be the possibility of A-sugite iru, only A-sugiru.
§9.1.9. The excessive (-sugiru)

Sínsetu o si-súgitte simau 'ends up being (or is just too damn) polite'; Sínsetu ni si-súgitte agetá/moráttá no de mata koráreta 'From (our giving/his receiving) too much cordial reception, we had him on our hands again'. Notice that the excessive normally goes on the V-te iru form of durative-stative verbs: arihurete i-sugiru 'is overly hackneyed'. But with the resultative V-te iru of other verbs the excessive will usually be applied to the verb: otítuíte iru 'is quiet', otítuí-sugiru iru 'is excessively quiet'.

There is a slight hesitancy by some to apply this conversion with subject-exaltation: o-kaki ni nari-sugiru, irassyari-sugiru, nasari-sugiru; and with object-exaltation: o-kaki si-sugiru, itsi-sugiru. But acceptable examples are easy to find: O-negai si-sugiru 'I'm asking too much'; Sonna koto itasi-sugimásitara [with polite stylization + conditional] o-yuruse kudasái 'Please forgive me if I do such things too much'. The verb áru is accepted (ari-sugiru 'there's too much of it, there are too many of them') as is iru (iri-sugiru 'needs too much of it'—though tukai-sugiru 'uses too much of it' is more common in the appropriate situations). Dekiru in the meaning 'is produced' is accepted: Komúgi ga deki-sugite komátte iru no ga Kanada (dá) 'Suffering from overproduction of wheat is Canada' (SA 2664:101b). In the meaning 'can' dekiru is accepted in sentences like Deki-sugiru (kodomó mo imásu) '(There are children who) can do too much = (who are) too bright [said in envy]', but this is a derived meaning, as is that of hanase-sugiru hitó 'a person who is overly (all too) understanding'. Other potential-type meanings can be made excessive: kikoe-sugiru 'You can hear all too well/much' or 'All too many can hear/(or be heard)'; Mie-sugiru 'You can see too much' or 'Too many can see/(or be seen)'.

Excessives, once made, can take most conversions appropriate to a verbal, e.g. the concurrent-concessive (-sugi-nagara 'thou overdoing'), which can here have only the concessive meaning, regardless of the underlying verb—and that would seem to indicate that the excessive is STATIVE in aspect.

Excessives are basically involuntary, so that you can not make a potential (*nomi-sugir[ar]eru 'can overdrink'); there is no negative potential, either (*nomi-sugir[ar]enai 'can't overdrink'). And instead of the adverative passive being made on the excessive, the excessive is made on the passive: Isya ga/wa kanzya ni sinare-súgitta 'The doctor had too many patients die on him'; Onná ga/wa otto ni o-sake o nomare-sugite komátta 'The woman had a drunk husband on her hands'.

Excessives made on verb infinitives can be turned into commands and proposals, but these are nearly always negative: you will tell (or invite) people not to be excessive in their behavior, but you seldom want to tell them to overdo things. It is unusual to find even the negative commands and proposals for those excessive made on adjectives; Oso-suginai de kudasái 'Please don't be too slow/late' may be acceptable.

Apparently it is impossible to follow postadnominals (§13.2) with either -sugiru or (as we might at least expect) ni sugiru (§14.6.2), even when the postadnominal is an adjectival noun such as yóó or mitai.

34. Wareware ga Ni hô no manga ni työt-to human ná no wa, azi ga ari-sugiru n desu né, sén ya nanka ni 'What disturbs us about Japanese cartoons is that there is too much (= flavor =) expression, you see—in the line work and so on' (SA 2661:44c); ... amari supido ga ari-sugiru ... 'from having too much speed' (SA 2688:17); ... amari muudo ga ari-sugiru no de, ... 'there was too much "mood" so that ...' (SA 2680:111d).
Not all examples of V-i-sugiru are to be taken as excessives; the verb sugiru 'goes past, exceeds' (quasi-intransitive, the traversal object being a real or figurative place)\(^{35}\) is free to form lexical compounds: Kēredo mo ima wa, sāke wa nobori-sūgi, masū wa kudari-sūgita 'But now the salmon have passed upstream and the trout have passed down(stream)' (SA 2664.82c). The excessive interpretation is always possible ('too many salmon have gone up and too many trout have gone down'), but here it would not render the meaning intended by the author. A similar example: toori-sugiru 'passes by' (or 'too many pass', or 'overdoes the passing').

In accentuation the excessives are like compound verbs: they are always tonic for younger speakers; for older speakers they are tonic only when made on ATONIC verbs but atonic when made on tonic verbs or on any adjectival noun or adjective, including the verb negative and desiderative. We have followed the conservative pattern in our markings; Hamako Chaplin usually follows the newer pattern, making all excessives tonic, and that is the pattern used in BJ.

On the recursiveness of the excessive with respect to the causative, the desiderative, and the facilitatives, see §9.1.8.

When focus is applied to an excessive, the appropriate auxiliary is always suru, since the excessive itself is a verbal even if it is made from an adjective or an adjectival noun: Tasyoo yásuku wa nátte irú ga, kinroo-séinen o taishyoo ni sita kooen ni sité wa isásaka taka-sugí wa sinái ka 'They [= Tickets] HAVE become a bit cheaper, but for a performance aimed at working-class youth aren't they (still) a bit too expensive?' (SA 2671.111d).

Derived nouns (§14.6) can be made from the infinitives V-i-sugi; like all nouns derived from compound-verb infinitives they will always be atonic. Kuno 1973.147 says these forms can be used as sentence conversions of the kind we have discussed in §9.1.7, but I am unable to authenticate usages of the type suggested by Kuno: (*)hón o yomi-sugi da meaning hón o yomi-sugiru or hón o yomi-sugite iru. Hamako Chaplin uses the V-i-sugi derivative only as a noun: hón no yomi-sugi 'the over-reading of books'. Perhaps Kuno's usage is a recent innovation; if it spreads, we will want to include it in §9.1.7. The restrictive "sugi" is derived from the infinitive of sugiru, which is sugi (cf. §14.5).

9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb.

We have said that the infinitive is the form a verbal assumes in entering into a "compound verb"; each compound verb is a lexical item with a new grammar and meaning of its own, which are not predictable in whole from the two component verbs. Certain other forms are similar in a superficial way, in that each consists of an infinitive attached to one of a set of verbs (most of which occur as free nuclear sentences) and is pronounced together with the following verb as a single phonological word with the accent predictable in exactly the same way as a lexical compound. Yet these forms are to be treated differently because (1) they carry with them the grammar of the verbal from which the infinitive comes (e.g. the selection and marking of adjuncts); (2) the meanings are wholly predictable from the components; and (3) the formations are productive—some widely, some narrowly, but more productive than patterns found in compound lexical verbs. Below you will find a list of over forty auxiliary verbs which attach to infinitives; each of these can be regarded as a specific "sentence conversion", and the resulting forms need not be listed

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\(^{35}\) Also intransitive (durative-statitive like suguréru 'excels') in the usage N ni sugiru 'is more/better than N': Kore ni sugiru monó wa nåi 'There's nothing to top this'. Cf. S ni suginai (§14.6.2).
§9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb

individually in the lexicon, although some of them are homonymous with lexical compounds which must be listed. It is not clear in every case whether we might not better treat the auxiliary construction as a set of lexical compounds, despite the grammar that is shared with the infinitive. A number of other forms are on the borderline, e.g. -yoseru as in huki-yoseru ‘blows/drifts together’, kaki-yoseru ‘rakes together’, yobi-yoseru ‘calls together’, uti-yoseru ‘wash against the shore’, osi-yosérê ‘press upon’ (but no *kaki-yoseru ‘writes all together’, *nori-yoseru, *atume-yoseru, …) and ·togeru as in si-/yari-/nasi-togeru ‘accomplishes’ (but no *kuri-togeru, *tuki-togeru, …). For more examples of such cases, which call for further study, see Parker. Notice that I am treating as separate phenomena such things as V-i-ta-garē (§3.5a, §7), V-i-masū (§22.1), V-i-sugarē (§9.1.9). See §9.5 for V-i-tu and §9.2 for the gerund (V-tē) based upon it.

The list of auxiliaries groups the entries very roughly according to twelve semantic categories, for the most part corresponding to various notions of “aspect” in treatments of the verbal systems of other languages. The infinitive which enters into the conversions of this section can be causative or passive: takawarē-dasū ‘starts to get used’, sase-tuzukērē ‘continues having it done’; L-dōpā wa 1967-nen kara Amerika de kono byooki ni takawarē-haζimetā ‘L-dopa began to be used for this disease in America from (= in) 1967’ (SA 2663.33a). And the larger form that results from attaching the infinitive to the auxiliary can itself be turned into a causative or a passive: si-tuzupe-sasēru, si-tuzupe-rarēru. Since the voice conversions can operate independently on either the infinitive or the auxiliary, all the following possibilities are grammatical:

(1) sare-tuzukērēru
(2) sare-tuzupe-rarēru
(3) sare-tuzupe-sasēru
(4) sare-tuzupe-sasē-rarēru
(5) sase-tuzukērēru
(6) sase-tuzupe-rarēru
(7) sase-tuzupe-sasē-rarēru
(8) sase-tuzupe-sasē-rarēru
(9) sase-rarē-tuzukērēru
(10) sase-rarē-tuzupe-rarēru
(11) sase-rarē-tuzupe-sasēru
(12) sase-rarē-tuzupe-sasē-rarēru

As an example of the last, and most involved, we can generate a 21-syllable phonological word: Kangae-sasē-rarē-tuzupe-sasē-rarē-nākattara-ba ‘If I were not being forced (by A) to keep being forced (by B) to think about it’. Compare Okutsu’s monster: Kosikake-sasē-rarē-haζimetā ‘nasikatta daroo ka néé’ l wonder if it seemed that they did not want to start having people let them sit down’ (Kgg 59.55).

After the list below there is a recapitulation with notes on the acceptability of voice conversions for infinitive and/or auxiliary. These notes (and the complex possibilities allowed above) are based on reactions elicited from native speakers; we should seek confirmation from spontaneous texts. The recapitulatory list also indicates the productivity of these auxiliary verbs according to an unpublished study by Zino Song of the University of Hawaii, who explored the possibilities of acceptable combinations with each of one hundred common verb infinitives; this is shown in the list as a productivity index (in percentage).

Other conversions (such as exaltation, desiderative, negative, nuclear focus, etc.) seem to be freely open to the forms that result from attaching the auxiliaries to the infinitives. It is unclear what restrictions there may be on (1) multiple auxiliaries (si-ai-haζime-owari-kanerē ‘cannot finish starting to do it to each other’ seems to be grammatical), (2) single or multiple auxiliaries from this list applied to single or multiple gerund-connected auxiliaries (§9.2.4 and §10), (3) single or multiple gerund-connected auxiliaries applied
to the single or multiple infinitive-attached auxiliaries, (4) combinations of the preceding two possibilities. Nor is it clear to what extent we can apply voice conversions independently to the component parts of such combinations.

The accent pattern of infinitive-attached auxiliary is the same as for a lexical compound verb. (But -masu and -nasáru, the source of V-i-nasá, are always tonic.) For younger speakers, all such verbs are TONIC; for older speakers, whom we usually follow in our examples, the words are tonic only if the first verb (the infinitive) is ATONIC, since our speakers retain differentiations that many of the younger speakers have lost: tuke-hazimeru 'begins attaching' (from tukér) and tuke-hazimeru 'begins pickling' (from tukér) are both pronounced tuke-hazimeru by the younger speakers; iki-tuzukeru 'continues living' (from ikiru) and iki-tuzukeru 'continues to go' (from iku) are both iki-tuzukeru for the younger speakers.

The rule followed by the older speakers has the interesting result that as the speaker attaches additional auxiliaries, the tonicity will shift back and forth: suru, si-áu, siasial-nasár, siasial-nasár-wátari, siasial-nasár-wátari-owáru... (Notice how this accent pattern differs from that of such elements as the causative -sase-, the passive -rare-, the negative -ana-, and for some speakers the desiderative V-i-ta; these will retain the tonicity of the verb to which they are attached.)

In general, the infinitive + auxiliary will enter into further conversions as a unit that is not subject to insertions or separation. In the following example the auxiliary would appear to be disengaged but the correct explanation seems to be that the free verb owáru 'ends' is appearing (in its negative form owaranai) as a semantic substitute for the expected wátari-owará, a form that would be quite acceptable in the sentence: Nihyakú-nin ga kawá o watátta ga, wátari-owáru ka owaranai utí(‘) ni kaihoo-sénsen no zyuugeki ga hazimatta 'Two hundred men got across the river but they hardly got across before the [National] Liberation Front began firing' (SA 2679.39a). In an immediate reply to a question, however, the infinitive will sometimes be omitted, especially if the auxiliary makes sense as a verb itself (as just above), but sometimes in other cases, too; we even find the polite auxiliary -masu: Kaerimasén ka?—[ ]masén yó! 'Aren't you leaving? No!'

The transitivity of the free verb is not, in general, of relevance to its use as an auxiliary. But in some cases yamu 'it stops' is preferred to yameru 'stops it' when what ceases is an action beyond human control (see 8, 8a): Áme ga húri-yanda 'It has rained itself out'; Kaze ga huki-yanda 'The wind has stopped blowing'; Áka-tyan ga naki-yánda 'The baby has stopped crying'. Similarly, tuzuku 'it continues' is preferred to tuzukeru 'continues it' for the same verbs: Áme ga huri-tuzuku 'It continues to rain', Kaze ga huki-tuzuku 'The wind continues to blow'; yet speakers seem to reject *Naki-tuzuku 'continues to weep' in favor of Naki-tuzukeru. Perhaps the forms with -yamu and -tuzuku should simply be listed as lexical items—alternatives (preferred alternatives, to be sure) to the regular formations made with -yameru and -tuzukeru that are grammatically available for these verbs.

36. In general, compound verbs are hyphenated in this book; if you see a hyphenated compound verb with the atonic pattern, you will know that the innovative version treats it as tonic. Certain older compounds, however, are treated as single lexical items and do not enjoy the tonic variant; these we write without the hyphen: mitukér 'finds', oitukú 'calms down', mitomér 'recognizes', ... Cf. uke-toru 'receives', tori-kumu 'wrestles with', moti-irú 'uses', ...; these all have tonic versions in the innovative dialect. And although we would expect an atonic version, kaerimíru 'looks back' is always tonic; so also is tukiau 'associates (with)'. (Except for osore-irimasu we ignore the old-fashioned option of retaining the accent of a few infinitives, such as omó-, in certain set compounds.)
too. By way of contrast, notice that Ōme ga huri-hazimeta (or huri-dasita) ‘It started to rain’ can not be replaced by *huri-hazimatta (*huri-deta), nor can Is-syūukan huri-toosu ‘It rains for a whole week’ be replaced by *huri-tooru. The pair kakēru and kakāru seem to have slightly different meanings as auxiliaries; sini-kakēru ‘is half dead’, sini-kakāru ‘faces death’. The pair hatēru/hatāsu (34) show a different pattern of behavior: -hateru is attached to intransitive infinitives, -hatasu to transitive. What about tuki ru/tukusu (11)?

In older Japanese and in what LF calls “formal written Japanese”, the infinitive is used in place of the gerund with most of the auxiliaries that call for the gerund in the colloquial: sī oku = sīte oku; sī kitāru = sīte kuru, the verb kitāru [k kītāru(”) ‘come and reach’] being a literary version of kūru ‘comes’; etc. In older stages of Japanese the infinitive was separable from ALL auxiliaries at least by juncture (and very likely by wa/mō), so that the modern kaki-naōsu ‘rewrites’ was at one time pronounced kaki l naōsu with the same phrasing as kāite miru ‘tries reading’. The earlier phrasing is perhaps what accounts for certain now-idiomatic expressions such as hiki-mo l kira ku ‘without interruption’—also hiki-mo l kirānau and hiki-mo l kirānai ‘is uninterrupted’ as in these examples: ... kokudo hatigoo-sen wa torākku ya danpū-kāa ga hiki-mo kirānai ‘there is no break in the stream of trucks and dumpcars along Highway Eight’ (SA 2659.141b); Kaisō-sya no rēto wa, hiki-mo kirānakatta ‘The line of funeral attendants stretched unbroken’ (Fn 252a). The accentuation (hiki mo ‘even tugging’) tells us this is not a derived noun (hiki mo ‘even the pull’). Cf. hikkiri-nāši (ni da no) ‘uninterrupted’.

In the phrase mī mo siranai/siranākatta āka-no tanin ‘a complete and utter stranger’ we find a somewhat more complicated structure, either to be interpreted as mī mo {site} siranai or as mī insecure no {site} mo siranai—it is unclear which ellipsis is the likelier. In the phrase ne mo yaranu itiya ‘a night that grants no sleep = a sleepless night’ there is an adnominalization that comes from something like ne o yaru ‘gives sleep’ with the noun derived from the infinitive of neru (if it were the infinitive itself it would here carry an accent *nē mo yaranu): Eigā-hwan ni tōte wa, ne mo yaranu tōshi no ake to nari-sōo de aru ‘For the movie fan [watching TV], it will be a New Year holiday that allows no sleep’ (SA 2660.128b).

But omōi-mo yorainai/yorainu/yorazu ‘unexpected’ is like tōri-mo nāōasu (pp. 329, 400) in deriving from a compound verb omōi(-)yoru ‘thinks and approaches = hits upon an idea’ that is now obsolete (Meikai kogo jiten 198b). A like case is oyo-bi-mo tukanai ‘does not reach’ (Fn 327a); oyobi-tūkū is attested in Shimmura 321d. The example i-mo owarazu ‘without even finishing one’s say’ (Aston 31) is a similar idiom. See also āi-mo kawaranu ‘without the least change’ (§5.5).

LIST OF INFINITIVE-ATTACHED AUXILIARY VERBS

I. RECIPROCAL

1. -au ‘(o-ta-gai ni ...) does back and forth, mutually; (issyo ni ...) does together (with another); happens to do [in this meaning lexical?]’ : home-au ‘praise each other’, yari-āu ‘do to each other; [LEXICAL] quarrel’, o-ti-āu ‘fall together’, suki-āu ‘like each other’; horē-āu ‘fall in love with each other’, tagai ni sī sī-āu ‘support each other’, hanasi o sī-āu ‘exchange conversation’, hanasi-āu ‘discuss, consult’; daki-āu ‘embrace each other’ (but *kakē-āu ‘hold each other in the arms’ is impossible); o-ta-gai ni tegami o
§9. Adverbalizations

kaki-atta ‘wrote letters to each other, corresponded’; ... go-roku nin no sinrigakū-sya ga sinrigakū-sya “dōsī de tagai ni hikēn-sya ni nari-atte, ... ‘five or six psychologists took turns among themselves as (experimental) subjects for each other’ (Ōkubo in Ōno 1967.125); i-āu ‘are staying together’; ari-āu ‘happens to be/have’, ari-āu kāmī to hude o totte ... ‘taking the paper and pen that happened to be at hand’ (Fn 478b); ... Cf. the quasi-adverb āi ‘mutually’ or ‘together’ (§13.7).

1a. awaseru ‘happens to do’: toori-awaseru ‘happens to pass by’, nori-awaseru ‘happens to ride in the same vehicle’, ari-awaseru ‘happens to be/have’ (cf. ari-au), i-awaseru ‘chances to be present’, kiki-awaseru = toi-awaseru ‘makes inquiry’; ki-awasete iru hitō ‘people who happen to be here’; Sorēzore no genba/genzyō ni i-awaseta hitō-tati ... ‘the people who happened to be at the various sites ...’ (SA 2681.128d); ... Cf. the derived nouns ari-awa ‘what is ready to hand’, si-awa ‘fortunate’.—Or are these all lexical? Cf. kui-awaseru ‘eats two things together; dovetails’, nui-awaseru ‘sews together’, maze-awaseru ‘mixes together’, ...

II. INCHOATIVE—or INCEPTIVE

2. kazimeru, someru (quasi-literary) ‘begins, starts’: (a) yomi-kazimeru ‘starts to read’, yobi-kazimeru ‘begins calling/inviting’, ari-kazimeru ‘begins to exist/have’, owari-kazimeru ‘starts to end’, hazine-kazimeru ‘starts to begin it’, mondai ni nari-kazimeru ‘begins to become a problem’; ki-kazimetre iru ‘(THEY) are beginning to arrive’; mie-kazimetre iru ‘are beginning to appear’; kyōōmi o moti-kazimetre ‘started to have/take an interest in it and ...’ (SA 2662.22d); kurakun-kōkō no ure-i kigen yogen no keikō ga de-kazimetre iru ... there are beginning to appear trends toward a slackening in the sale of classical records’ (SA 2671.116c); Sūde ni wā-ga kuni no mattan no sen’sāngyō ni wa eikyō ga araware-hazimeta ‘Already the effect has started appearing on the smaller textile industries of our country’ (SA 2670.138d); Dē mo, sono kanoo-sei ga Nihon de mo dēte kihazimetre ’ru, to i ki ga surūn desu yō ‘But, you know, I get the feeling that the possibility is beginning to appear even in Japan’ (SA 2793.43c). There are derived nouns (§14.5), such as kiki-kazime ‘hearing for the first time; starting to hear’ from kiki-hazime, the infinitive of verb + auxiliary; for a special use of V-i-hazime nō, see §9.1.7: p. 424. (b) ake-someru ‘starts to dawn’, saiki-someru ‘begins to bloom’, omoi-someru ‘falls in love with’, mi-someru ‘sees for the first time, falls in love with at first sight’, ūi-someru ‘utters’, ....

3. kakkeru ‘begins; does halfway; looks to do, is ready to do’: mi-kakkeru ‘begins to look’ (as lexical compound ‘catches sight of, sees’), hataraki-kakēru ‘sets to work’ (as lexical compound ‘aite ni ~’ ‘influences, acts on’), yomi-kakkeru ‘starts to read’, iikakkeru ‘is about to say, starts to say’, sizumi-kakēru ‘starts to sink’, naori-kakkeru ‘it starts to improve’, hassya-si-kakēru ‘the hearing is about to pull out’, hasiri-kakkeru ‘breaks into a run’, sini-kakēru ‘is half-dead’, dasi-kakkeru ‘begins to put out (etc.)’, hazine-kakēru ‘is about to begin, starts to begin’, i-kakēru (ori-kakkeru) ‘is ready to stay’, kikēkeru ‘is ready to come’, kake-kakkeru ‘begins to hang it (etc.),’ kuti-kâketa (~) miki ‘a half-rotted tree trunk’, konshi ga okori-kakkeru to ‘when a coma is about to set in’; warai-kakete yameta ‘started to laugh and then stopped’ (Tk 2.102b); ... tote-mo damē daroo to akirame-kakete ita āru-hi no gōgo ‘one afternoon when I was half-resigned that it wouldn’t work out at all ...’ (SA 2665.104c); ... hāiku (~) to iu monō ga wakari-kakete kīta n desu ga nē, ... ‘I gradually started to get an understanding of (this thing called) haiku, but, you know ...’ (Tk 2.4b);
Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb

§9.1.10. ... hikátte ita mizu ga kuraku nari-kaketa tokit ... 'when the water, which had been sparkling, started to get dark ...' (SA 2664.83a); Gasorin ga ketuboo si-kakete iru 'We are running out of gas' (Kenkyusha); Senzi-tyuu, büssi ga kyūukutu ni nari-kaketa kōro, ... 'During wartime, when commodities started to get scarce, ...' (Shibata 1961.1); Tätta mamâ, koohi; o hanbûnomi-kakete, soo itta 'Standing right there, with his coffee half drunk, he said that' (Fn 241a).

From this conversion by infinitive nominalization (cf. §9.1.7), we get expressions with *-kake da, usually adnominalized to *-kake no: yari-kake no sigoto 'half-done work', tabe-kake no gōhan 'half-eaten food', sūi-kake no tabako 'a half-smoked cigarette', kaki-kake no hōn 'a half-written book', ... These expressions are always atomic; that is because derived nouns from compound infinitives are ALL atomic; see *-sasi da below and the cases in §9.1.5-7. Examples can be found that are not adnominalized. The verbal infinitive can carry with it build-up: ozi-san ga koko de pén de tomodatî ni kaki-kake no tegami 'a half-written letter in pen here from uncle to a friend'. It can be negativized (*-kake zya nai NO UN), perfectivized (*-kake datta N), ... It can be adnominalized to postadnominals (sigoto o yari-kake no tokī/tokoro/hazu/etc.), though it is easily replaced by the simpler adnominalization *-kakeru/-kaketa + postadnominal.

3a. -kakaru 'is ready/about-going to do, almost does, starts to do': sini-kakaru 'faces death', korosare-kakaru 'is nearly killed', taiyoo ga de-kakatte iru 'the sun is starting to rise', hûne ga sizumi-kakätte iru 'the boat is about to sink', sigoto ga deki-kakatte iru 'the work is nearly done', hi ga kure-kakätta 'the sun was about to set'; ki-kakaru 'is about to be here' (as lexical compound 'happens to come'); oti-kakaru 'is about to fall'; koware-kakatta doogû-bako(?) 'a toolbox that had started to fall apart' (SA 2669.91b); toki ni tûita toki nya [= ni wa] yo ga ake-kakätte 'when I got to bed dawn was starting to break' (Tk 3.121a); ... The infinitives seem to be mostly from involuntary intransitive verbs. Cf. V-i/VN ni kakâru, pp. 406-7.

4. -dasu1 'begins, starts': hurî-dasu 'starts to rain/snow'; yobi-dasu 'starts to call/invite' (as lexical compound 'calls someone out, pages, summons'—or is this a case of 40,-dasu 2); moe-dasu 'catches fire', dasi-dasu 'begins to put out (etc.)', i-dasu 'starts to stay', ari-dasu 'starts to exist/have', hazime-dasu 'starts to begin it', naki-dasu 'bursts into tears'; ... óyazi(?) no koto ga ki ni nari-dasita 'I started worrying about my father' (SA 2659.118b); yoku zîtu kara yoku nari-dasita ne 'from the next day he started to get better' (Tk 4.4a); Kono kangan wa, hazime wa umaku itte itâ ga, danda huzuyubûn-sa o simesi-dasita(?) 'This idea went well at first, but gradually it began to show its inadequacy' (SA 2677.52a); ... An unusually large number of these expressions appear in SA 2671.44-5 (and subsequent installments of this introduction to economics), e.g.: Seityoo wa niburi-dasu 'The growth starts to weaken' (44a); ... óoki na hênka ga araware-dasita 'great changes started to appear' (44b); Mâzu daî-itî ni Amerika no ziodoosya-gîsya no kakû ga heri-dasita 'First off, the number of automobile companies in America began to shrink' (44b). The lexical mi-dasu 'finds out, discovers' has the older (literary) version of the verb; cf. midasi 'headline, caption', derived noun presumably from infinitive mi-dasi 'starts to look', with the auxiliary.

III. COMPLETIVE

5. -owaru, -oeru 'finishes': yomi-owaru 'finishes reading', aruki-owaru 'finishes walking', nori-owaru 'THEY finish boarding', hazime-owaru 'finishes starting', ...; "owari-
§9. Adverbializations

owáru ‘finishes ending’, *ari-owaru ‘finishes having/existing’, ?*sini-owáru ‘finishes dying’, ...

It seems to be more colloquial to use -owaru, but with transitive infinitives some speakers may prefer -oeru: Utushi-eta yado-tyoo wa mata kesi-gomu de kesite tugi no o-kyaku ’yoo ni mawasite ira rásiku, ...

Apparently he would use a rubber eraser to erase the registry each time he had finished copying it out and then present it for the next guest to use ...‘ (SA 2665.117b).

6. -ageru ‘finishes, does completely’: yomi-ageru ‘finishes reading’, kaki-ageru ‘finishes writing’, arai-ageru ‘finishes washing’, si-ageru ‘finishes, completes (doing)’, tukuri-ageru ‘completes (making)’; uri-ageru ‘sells out’, kiri-ageru ‘finishes up’ [or is this—like the meaning ‘raises to a unit, revalues’—lexical?], ...

ari-ageru ‘finishes having/existing’, *sini-ageru ‘they die out’, ...

6a. -kir-u ‘finishes, does completely (and stops)’: tukare-kiru ‘gets tired out’, moe-kiru ‘burns out’, uri-kiru ‘sells out’,37 kai-kiru ‘buys up’, yomi-kiru ‘reads through’, oyogikiru ‘swims through (to the end)’, sini-kiru ‘they finish dying off; he ...’, nori-kiru ‘rides all the way through; weather (a storm etc.)’; yogore-kitta yubune ‘a filthy bathtub’ (SA 2672.23d); tukaikonasi-kitta ... sake-zao ‘a thoroughly mastered salmon rod’ (SA 2669.91b); ... mainiti(−) no seikatu ni taitoku si-kitte iro ‘is thoroughly bored with everyday life’ (SA 2684.120a); Boku(−) wa saká o nobori-kiru, ... ‘I climbed the slope, and ...’ (CK 985.371); Åse o dasi-kitte, dasi-kitte, turai, turai ‘You sweat and sweat; it’s tough, it’s tough’ (SA 2671.47a); Tákanosan wa Naitingéeru ni sinsui si-kitte iro ‘Miss Takano is a great admirer of Florence Nightingale’ (SA 2679.63b); Ragoşu-wannai o ittari kitari site iro watasi-büne gak kyaku gak nákute akubi site itá no de iti-ni kari-kiru kotó to sita ‘The ferry boat that goes back and forth inside the bay of Lagos was ("yawning" =) idle for lack of passengers so we decided to rent it for one whole day’ (SA 2673.71a); Yó ga mada ake-kiranu gözen yó-zi ‘sugí cara, ... ‘From (something) after four in the morning when it had not yet fully dawned ...’ (SA 2686.38a). Chaplin rejects (*))Amé ga huri-kitte sóra ga kírei da ‘The rain stopped and the sky is clear’. Cf. also 31a. A lexical compound: mi-kiru ‘abandons; sells as clearance’. Is komari-kiru ‘is greatly embarrassed’ (= komari-hateru/nuku) also lexical?

8. -yameru ‘stops, ceases abruptly’: kaki-yameru ‘stops writing’, ...; *ari-yameru ‘stops having/existing’, *sini-yamérú ‘stops dying’, *owari-yameru ‘stops ending’, ...

8a. -yamu ‘stops’ (with some involuntary verbs): kaze ga huki-yanda ‘the wind has abated’, Amé ga huri-yanda ‘it has rained itself out’; Sibáráku sita naki-yánda tokí ni ... ‘After a while when he [the old man] had stopped crying ...’ (SA 2660.50b).

9. -sasu ‘stops in the midst of doing’: si-sasu leaves work unfinished’, yomi-sasu ‘leaves it half-read’, kaki-sasu ‘leaves it half-written’, kiki-sasu ‘leaves without hearing everything’, kui-/tabe-sasu ‘stops eating (in the midst of a meal)’, ...; *ari-sasu, *sini-sasu, *owari-sasu. From this conversion, by infinitive nominalization (as with -kakeru above, cf. §9.1.7) we get expressions with -sasi d/e, usually adverbialized to the gerund -sasi de: (ii-sasu →) ii-sasi de ‘in the midst of one’s words’. The verbal infinitive can carry along its adjuncts (watasi ga káre ni sore o ii-sasi de). It can be negativized (ii-sasi zya nákute) or perfectivized (ii-sasi datta). It can be adnominalized (kaki-sasi no tegami) and followed by

37. But this is usually treated as lexical, perhaps because of the intransitive derivative uri-kirérú ‘it sells out’; cf. suri-keru ‘rubbs it out = spends it all’ (and, lexically, ‘cuts by rubbing’) and suri-kirérú ‘it wears out’ as in suri-kirera rekóodo ‘a well-worn record’ (Endö 158).
§9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb

postadnominals (tegami o kaki-sasi no tokii/tokorii/hazu/ etc.). From moe-sasi ‘half-burn ing’ there is a derived noun ‘match end’ or ‘(burned) stub’ as in … sono (=mattii no) moesasi o asimooto e suteta ‘he dropped the [match] butt at his feet’ (SA 2689.43b).

The auxiliary -sasu should not be confused with the abbreviated form of the causative -asas[eru]/-sas[eru] (§4.1). The forms will always sound different for consonant verbs (yomi-sasu ‘leaves it half-read’, yomasaasu = yomasaas eru ‘has him read it’), but vowel verbs will produce shapes that are identical except, in some cases, for accent. Thus akesasu can only be the shortening of akesaseru ‘has him open it’, since ‘leaves it half-open’ would require an accent ake-sasu both for younger speakers (who treat all compounds verbs as tonic) and for the older ones (who treat as tonic those compounds based on ATONIC infinitives); but the word /tabesasu/ will be unambiguous only from the lips of an older speaker, for whom it represents the shortening of tabesaseru ‘has him eat’ since he will pronounce tabe-sasu ‘stops eating’ atonic, unlike the younger generation who will say tabe-sasu.

10. -toosu ‘finishes with doing, is through with; carries through to completion, does all the way through (an object, a time, etc.)’: hanasi-toosu ‘is through talking’, aruki-toosu ‘is through walking’, yari-tosuu ‘does it all the way’, is-syuukan hori-toosu ‘keeps raining for a whole week’, …?: *ari-toosu, *sini-toosu, *owari-toosu, ….

11. -tukusu ‘does thoroughly; does all kinds of’: asobi-tukusu ‘tries all pleasures’, kaki-tukusu ‘writes thoroughly; writes all sorts of things’, kiki-tukusu ‘hears all sorts of things; listens thoroughly’; yomi-tukusu, tukai-tukusu, tabe-tukusu, (oya ni) tukusi-tukusu, …; *ari-tukusu, *moti-tukusu, *sini-tukusu, …; Puréeyaa to site, naga-ten, ookésutora no s yozoku site ita dakii o, ookésutora no daidokoro no naizyoo made siri-tukuisite simatta ‘Just from having belonged to the orchestra for many years as a player he has ended up knowing all sorts of things right down to the orchestra’s kitchen secrets’ (SA 2666.105e);

Sukisii noma ni atari wa kuraku nari-tukusita ‘In a short while the place got all dark’ (Kb 59b); Sin’yyuu de aru kara, o-taigai ni mō o ii-tai kotō wa ii-tukuisite iru ‘We are good friends, so by this time we have talked out everything we have to say to one another’ (Tk 3.31);

Yukii to turara ni uzumore-tukusita Takayama no matii no sugata ga … ‘The appearance of the town of Takayama all buried in snow and icicles …’ (SA 2794.70c); Yositaro wa mii mo kokōro mo Mitii no horonno sare-tukuisite ita ‘Yoshitaro, body and soul, was made a complete fool of by Mitii’ (SA 2793.105c); Gëndai no supōotu wa, samăzama(‘) na monō ni riyo soyore-tukusārete iru ‘Modern sports have been exploited for all sorts of purposes’ (SA 2671.36b). But uri-tukusu ‘sells out’ may be lexical (‘exhausts by selling’) : Äsa no zuyu-zi kara urii-hazimete, sóo, sān-zi ‘gōri ni wa uri-tukuisite simau nē ‘I start selling at ten in the morning, yes, and around three I’m all sold out, you see’ (SA 2664.101c).

IV. INTENSIVE


'a storm is raging', zuyu o uti-makuru 'fires his rifle wildly'; ... sigoto de oi-makurare, ... 'insistently pressed with all one's work' (SA 2661.100c)—also sigoto ni oi-makurare 'relentlessly driven by work' (SA 2680.24); ... uri-makutte iru no ga buutu 'boots are selling like hotcakes' (SA 2660.155b); Syöwo(aw) 'yonzyuu yo-nen wa manga ga abare-makutta tosi datta '1969 was a year of rampaging cartoons' (SA 2661.100a); Suizenji ga tokûi(“) no mûti o utai-makûri 'They sing out the marches that are [Kiyoko] Suizenji's favorites' (SA 2660.129d); ... *ari-makuru, *si-ni-makuru, ... . A common usage is V1-te V1-te V1-te makuru , e.g. Kaitõe kaitõe kakires makuru 'writes and writes and writes away'; ... kekkôn-siki de wa hôtême hôtême home-makuru no ga étîketto ... 'At a wedding ceremony it is etiquette to praise to the skies ... ' (CK 985.391). Cf. sirio o makutte 'rolling up one's skirts = assuming a defiant attitude'.

14. -kyoo-ziru 'enjoys (oneself) doing': warai-kyoo-ziru 'has a good laugh', hanashi-kyoo-ziru 'enjoys a pleasant talk', asobi-kyoo-ziru 'has a nice visit/game', nomi-kyoo-ziru 'enjoys a drink', utai-kyoo-ziru 'amuses oneself singing'. But uti-kyooziru in ... sekenbânasi ni uti-kyôozite ita 'were having a good time gossiping' (SA 2669.27d) contains the intensive prefix uti- derived from the infinitive úti 'hitting'.

V. CONTINUATIVE

15. -tuzukeru 'continues': yomi-tuzukeru 'goes on reading', i-tuzukeru 'continues staying, stays on', ari-tuzukeru 'continues existing/having', sini-tuzukeru 'they continue dying', tuzuke-tuzukeru 'continues continuing it', owari-tuzukeru 'continues ending', hazime-tuzukeru 'continues beginning it'; ... zuyu noo kaínoo(“) o moti-tuzukete iru 'is continuing to have an important function' (Nakane 148); ryôosya 'tomo sutâa de arituzukeru koto 'for both of them to go on being stars' (SA 2668.103b); Dôno-yôo de âtta ka, Dôno-yôo de ari-tuzuketâ ka 'How was it, and how did it continue to be?' (SA 2679.103e); ... ; *...-tuzukeru, ... ?

15a. -tuzuku 'continues'—with certain involuntary verbs only; see p. 440. An example with both ari- and de ari-: Sàrea to itte wareware ni kankin sarueru koto o itôu kokôro no ari-tuzuku kàgiri, "keimu-son" to i ã gô mo mâtâ(“) itowâsii monô de ari-tuzuku daroo 'And yet as long as we continue to have hearts that loathe being locked up the word "keimusho" 'prison' too [as well as kangoku 'jail'] will probably continue to be loathsome' (Maeda 1962.105—discussing euphemisms).

VI. HABITUATIVE

16. -tukeru 'accustoms oneself to doing': yobi-tukeru 'accustoms oneself to calling/inviting' [as lexical compound 'calls up, summons'], tabe-tukete iru 'is used to eating', aruki-tuketa miti 'a path familiar to one's feet', si-tuketa sigoto 'familiar work', o-kane ga ari-tukete iru (better: o-kane o moti-tukete iru) 'is used to having money', ...; (? )siní-tükérû, ...; *...-tukerû, ...? mi-tukerû 'accustoms oneself to a familiar face (= mi-narenai kao); Mini bãkari o mise-tukerarete kîta më ni wa issyu iyou na huukei de mo ãru 'It [= the max] is indeed a strange scene for the eye that has grown used to being shown mini [-garments] only' (SA 2666.100a—notice the location of the passive; we would have expected miserare-tukete). But kime-tukerû 'reprimands' is lexical. From this conversion, by infinitive nominalization (as with -kakeru and -sasu above, cf. §9.1.7) we get expressions with -tuke da, usually adnominalized to -tuke no: iki-tuke no baa 'a bar one is used to going to', kai-tuke no misë 'the shop one usually buys at', kakari-tuke no isya 'my usual doctor' (from isya ni kakâru 'consults a doctor'), ... .
§9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb

17. -nareru 'becomes accustomed to': ii-narérú 'gets used to saying', kaki-narërù 'gets used to writing', yomi-narérù 'gets used to reading', kiki-narérù 'gets used to hearing', tabe-narérù 'gets used to eating', ...; tukai-narérui zyúú 'a gun that one is not used to (using)'; *ari-narérê 'gets used to having/existing', (?)sini-narérû 'gets used to dying', ...; *?...-narérê ...

18. -na[wa]su 'does as a habit, makes it a practice to do, always does': yobinara[wasù] 'always calls/invites', aruki-narawasità miti dá karâ 'since it's a road I'm accustomed to walking', bungo yômi-narawasù 'makes it a practice to read literary Japanese', ...; *ari-narawasù 'always has/exists', *sini-narawasú 'always dies; they always die', ... .

19. -mawaru 'goes around doing, does at different places': asobi-mawâru 'goes around enjoying oneself', tobi-mawâru 'flies around', aruki-mawâru 'walks around', kake-mawaru 'runs around'; *ari-mawâru, *i-mawâru, *sini-mawâru, ... . [Physical movement need not be involved.] Cf. mawari-mawatte 'after many vicissitudes'—a derived adverb, for it would be tonic (*mawari-mawâte) if it were the gerund of mawaru + the auxiliary -mawaru.

20. -aru ku 'goes around doing [not necessarily afoot]': nomi-aruku 'goes around drinking', tabe-aruku 'goes around eating all the time', ii-aruku 'goes around saying, keeps saying', asobi-aruku 'goes around enjoying oneself', N o urî-aruku 'goes around selling N', moti-aruku 'goes around holding = carries with one', ...; *aruki-aruku 'goes around walking', 'hanasi-aruku 'goes around talking', ... . The following example is perhaps lexical: ... Bânkoku no matî o nosi-arûite itta 'he strode all over Bangkok' (SA 2669.62a).

VII. ITERATIVE

21. -kaesu 'repeats (the doing of)': yo bi-kaesu 'calls him again' [as lexical compound 'calls back'], yomi-kaesu 'reads over again, repeats the passage', kuri-kaesu 'rewinds' [as lexical compound 'repeats'], mi-kaesu 'looks at it again', kiki-kaesu 'hears it again', morai-kaesu 'receives it again', ...; *nori-kaesu 'rides it over again', *ki-kaesu 'comes again', *ari-kaesu, *i-kaesu, *sini-kaesu, ... . The infinitive must be TRANSITIVE; what is repeated is the same action with IDENTICAL subject and object. Hence *nomi-kaesu 'drinks the identical thing over again' strikes the native speaker as impossible. But it is not clear why *kimono o ki-kaesu 'puts the garment on again' is rejected. Nor is it clear why okuri-kaesu 'sends back' and buti-kaesu 'hits back' apparently occur only as lexical compounds.

22. -kaeru 'redo es DIFFERENTLY': kî-kâerû 'changes clothes', nori-kâerû 'changes vehicles'; yomi-kaerû 'rereads' (= yomi-naosu), kaki-kaerû 'rewrites' (= kaki-naosu), ...; naosi-kaerû 'reimproves', hazime-kaerû 'begins anew', ...; *ari-kaerû, *?i-kâerû, *?sini-kâerû, ... . But the mutative nî in ... atarasî kûruma nî kai-kâerû 'trades one's car in on a new one' shows that kai-kaerû is lexical; 're-buys' would require kûruma o. And akirekaerû is a synonym of akire-hatéri 'is thoroughly dumbfounded/disgusted'.

23. -naosu 'redo es DIFFERENTLY AND BETTER, does over (better)': yomi-naosu 'rereads (correctly this time)', mi-naosu 'gets a better look at', sini-naosu 'does a better job of dying the second time around', naosi-naosu 'reimproves it', kimo o sîtate-naosu 'alters a garment', tate-naosu 'rebuilt s', kazoe-naosu 'recounts', kanga-naosu 'reconsiders', morai-naosu 'receives it again' (= morai-kaesu), suwari-naosu 'reseat s oneself', tobi-naosu 'flies/jumps again', de-naosu 'comes/goes (= calls) again; makes a fresh start'; ? ki-naosu 'comes again', ...; *ari-naosu, *i-naosu, *tagari-naosu, ...; Áa, yappári nîzyuu go-nen to iú no wa nâgakatta n da nà to omoi-naosita 'I revised my ideas, thinking "Ah, after all,
twenty-five years has been a long time, hasn't it?’ (SA 2670.43c); Mata nobotte 'tte, ori-naosanakuttya naránai n desu 'You gotta climb back up and come down again [= make a new, and better, descent]' (Tk 4.44a); Kaséi-hu san wa ikí o nómi, roogan-kyoo o kákete moo iti-do nagame-naosita 'The housekeeper swallowed her breath and put on her specs to take a better look' (SA 2671.136c). Cf. the lexical compound muki-naóru 'turns around, faces about'.

VIII. EFFECTIVE

24. -ooseru 'manages to do, succeeds in doing': nige-ooseru 'effects one's escape', yari-oosérú 'manages to accomplish (despite difficult circumstances)', si-oosérú 'accomplishes', kahi-oosérú 'gets it written', ... This is somewhat literary. Notice that the equivalent literary-style form -oosu seems to be used as a synonym of -owaru (6 above).

25. -eru [written style and dialect], -uru [literary] 'can do' = potential (§4.4) or -ru kóto ga dekíru (§14.1.3). Pseudo-literary usage is -i-uru (predicative as well as attributive), but the negative is -i-enai. This seems to be the preferred modern written usage: deki-uru káigé 'as much as possible' (Y 509); ... to i kóto mo kanga-uru kóto desu ga, ... 'even such a thing as ... is thinkable, but' (Shibata in Òho 1967.74); Bunka-zinrínigaku gá tetugaku ni kawari-uru kágaku da to suréba, ... 'If cultural anthropology is considered to be a science capable of replacing philosophy, ...' (SA 2676.98d); Káre nara ari-úru kóto da 'It's something that might happen to HIM, all right' (SA 2686.26d); sake-enai zítái 'an unavoidable situation' (Kgg 81.1a); Dóró ga sekiái-túuka tari-úru [< to ari-úru] vàke 'Why (it is that) the dollar can be a world currency' (SA 2676.44a). But the literary predicative appears in ... syuusyyu si-ú 'bekarázaru zyootai ... a situation out of control' (Fn 26a) and in ... onná no kyád'dii nádó wa kangaé-u 'békú mo arimaséen kara, ... 'a female caddy being the farthest thing from one's mind, ...' (Tsukagoshi 76). On ari-é- and de-ari-é-, see §4.4. See also §4.4 for pleonastic V-i-é-rare-; K 1966.136-7 cites from modern writers examples of deki-enai, deki-uru, and even deki-e-raeru. An example made on a passive: Soo íy zuyuuskeiki-teki na kangaé-káta de wa, atasá 'sekiái-si' wa koosé sère-enai 'With such 19th-centuryish thinking, a new "world history" can not be constructed' (Tanigawa 142). On the accent, see p. 303.

25a. -atau [modern literary] 'can do': see -atawazu (31b).

26. -taríru 'does it enough' (especially common in the negative -tarínaí 'does it insufficiently'): yomi-taríru 'reads enough', ne-tarínaí 'doesn't get enough sleep', mití-taríru 'gets full enough', ...; *ari-taríru, *síni-taríru [not even with plural subject?], ... .

IX. INEFFECTIVE

27. -aguneru [semi-literary and ?dialect], -agumu [literary] '(1) wearies of doing; (2) does unsuccessfully, with no result': sagási-aguneru 'tires of looking for it', matí-aguneru 'wearies of waiting', motí-aguneru 'tires of holding', ...; ? ... ; ?*agunéru, ... .

28. -ayamaru, -matígaí (= -tigaeru) 'mis(takenly) does': mi-ayamaru 'fails to see, mistakes', kaki-ayamaru 'miswrites', ii-ayamáru 'misstates', ami-ayamaru 'miswrites', nui-ayamáru 'missews', ... .

29. -sokonau, -sokoneru [variant]; -son-zíru [semi-literary] 'misdoes (accidentally)'; (= -sobíeru) 'fails to do, unsuccessfully does/attempts': yomi-sokonau 'misreads; fails to read', oki-sokonáu 'misslays; fails to put', ii-sokonáu 'missays, makes a tongueslip', obror-e-sokonáu 'nearly drowns', yookoo si-sokonáu 'misses one's chance to go abroad', kooen o
§9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb

kiki-sokonau 'misses (hearing) a lecture', mondai o toki-sokonau 'fails to solve the problem', ate-sokonau 'guesses wrong'; sini-sokonau 'attempts suicide' (the derived noun that means 'would-be suicide' or 'damn old man' shows idiosyncratic—pejorative?—nigori: sini-zokonai); Sono tame ni atasya [= watasi wa] homere-sokonatta 'For that reason I failed to get praised' (Tk 2.222a); ...; *ari-sokonau, ...

30. -tigaeru 'does it wrong; does to the wrong (object) ': yomi-tigaeru 'reads the wrong book; erroneously reads', tori-tigaeru 'mistakenly takes, takes the wrong one, mistakes', kusuri o nomi-tigaeru 'takes the wrong medicine' [and NOT 'makes the mistake of taking medicine'], iki-tigaeru 'goes to the wrong place', suwari-tigaeru 'sits in the wrong seat', X o Y ni kiki-tigaeru 'mishears X as Y (Y for X)', ...; *ari-tigaeru, *sini-tigaeru, ...

31. -kaneru [semi-literary] (1) 'can not do' = negative potential: Osaka-kokusai-kūkō no tikaku ni sumu ni zyuu hati-nin wa, tu i ni tamari-kānete, kuni o aite-dōtō sosyo o okōsita ‘Twenty-eight persons living near the Ōsaka International Airport, finally unable to stand it [the noise], have brought suit against the government’ (SA 2678.64a). (2) 'hesitates to do, finds it difficult to do' (in this meaning often negativized 'does not hesitate to do'): dōna kotō de mo si-ikanenai ‘would stop at nothing’, ima ni mo naguri-ikanenai ‘is about to hit me any minute’, ari-kaneru ‘is hard to have, is unlikely to have’, ari-kanenai ‘is hard not to have, is likely to have’, ...

31a. -kirenai ‘it is too much for one to do, cannot’: ìkura hōmete mo home-kirenai ‘cannot speak too highly of him, is beyond praise’; hitōri de tabe-kirenai hodō no gotisoo ‘a feat too substantial for one person’; kui-kirenai hodō no pān ‘more bread than one can eat’; iti-niti de wa mi-kirenai ‘can’t see them all in one day’ (cf. mi-kiro ‘abandons etc.’—lexical, 7 above); Sono hōn wa kyōō ‘zuuu ni wa yomi-kirenai ‘I can hardly get through the book today’; Kono sitū ni hyakū-nin wa hairi-kirenai ‘This room won’t hold a hundred people’; Kore wa watasi ni wa tabe-kirenai ‘This is more than I can eat’; Tukai-kirenai hodō kane ga àru ‘I have more money than I can spend’; Dōō sitē mo, bōku(¬) wa akirame-kirenai ‘I just can’t get over it’ (Tk 4.295a); San-kai ittā kedō mii-kirenākatta ‘I went three times [to the Louvre] but I couldn’t see it all’ (Tk 2.192b); ...

31b. -atawazu [literary] ‘cannot’, negative of -atau (25a)—as an auxiliary only
the negative was used until Meiji times, when the affirmative was introduced (to the dismay of the grammarians) as a translation of the English 'can'.

32. sugosu ‘does it beyond the fixed limit; spends time in doing’: ne-sugosu ‘oversleeps (beyond the time one is supposed to wake up—regardless of when one went to bed)’ [cf. ne-sugiru, with the excessive §9.1.9, ‘sleeps too much, sleeps too many hours’], nori-sugosu ‘misses one’s stop, rides past one’s station’ [cf. nori-sugiru ‘does too much riding; too many ride’], ?tabe-sugosu ‘eats more than one is supposed to’ [cf. tabe-sugiru ‘overeats, eats too much’], ...

33. okureru ‘is too late to do; misses doing by being too late; is slow (delayed, tardy) in doing’: kisya ni nori-okureru ‘is too late to catch the train, misses the train’, tori-okureru ‘is too late to pick it up’, hanasi-okureru ‘is too late to talk’, ii-okureru ‘misses one’s chance to say it’, hazime-okureru ‘is too late to start’, owari-okureru ‘is too late to end’, yomi-okureru ‘is too late to read it’, mi-okeru ‘is too late to see it’, kiki-okureru ‘is too late to hear it’, kie-okureta kiri ‘the fog which was slow to lift’ (SA 2671.92a), ...

X. DEPLETIVE

34. VI-hateru, VT-hatasu ‘is finally reduced to’: (1) aki-hateru ‘grows sick of’, tuki-hateru ‘is exhausted, used up’, sini-hateru ‘dies, dies out’, kuti-hateru(‘) ‘rots/rusts away’, oi-hateru ‘weakens with age’, nari-hateru ‘is reduced to (being)’, kawari-hateru ‘undergoes a complete change’, akire-hateru (also akire-kare) ‘is thoroughly dumbfounded/disgusted’, ...

35. akiru ‘wearies of doing’: mi-akiru ‘wearies of seeing’, kiki-akiru ‘is tired of hearing’, tabe-akiru ‘is tired of eating’, si-akiru ‘is tired of doing’, asobi-akiru ‘wearies of playing’, hiki-akiru ‘is tired of playing (a stringed instrument)’, ki-akiru ‘is tired of wearing’, ki-akiru ‘is tired of coming’, ne-akiru ‘has had more than enough sleep’, yomi-akiru ‘is tired of reading’, aki-akiru [jocular] ‘wearies of getting weary’, ...

36. nokosu ‘skips/omits doing (of some but not all)’: tabe-nokosu ‘leaves some uneaten’, nomi-nokosu ‘leaves some undrunk’, iki-nokosu ‘leaves some places ungone to’, ?suwari-nokosu ‘leaves some seats unsat in’, ii-nokosita kotó ‘something left unsaid/omitted’, yari-nokosita sigoto ‘work left undone’, hitó-makou mi-nokosu ‘leaves the theater without seeing one (= the last) act’ (Kenkyusha); ...

37. sobireru ‘misses the chance to do, fails to do’: ii-sobiréru ‘misses saying, hesitates to say (and hence does not say)’, ne-sobiréru ‘fails to get any sleep’, Kita(?) no kuni ni kaeri-sobireta kogamo ga iti-wa màda oyoide ite ...

XI. INGRESSIVE

39. komu, ?-ireru: ‘does in(ward)’: nozoki-komu ‘peeks in’, buti-komu ‘throws in’,
§9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb

osi-kómu ‘pushes in’, moti-kómu ‘brings in’ (lexical ‘complains to’), nori-kómu ‘rides in(to)’, suwari-kómu ‘sits down’, hairi-kómu ‘slips in(to a room etc.)’, hore-kómu ‘falls in love’, oboe-kómu ‘memorizes’, (nání ka o) kangaekómu ‘is deep in thought (about something)’, mizu no náka e hoori-kómu ‘throws it into the water’, yooohuku o ki-kóndere iru ‘is bundled up in one’s clothes’, nomi-kómu ‘drinks in, swallows up’, okuri-kómu ‘sends in’, tume-kómu ‘crams/crowds/packs in’, tataki-kómu ‘hammers/drives in’; tobi-kóndere kita ‘came flying [= rushing] in’; akuseru-pédaru o humi-kómu ‘steps on the gas (pedal)’; ... byooin ni okuri-komáeru ‘gets sent to a hospital’ (SA 2670.32e); ... sai-aku no zyootai ni oti-kóndere ‘falling into the worst possible conditions’ (SA 2668.118c); ... nimotu o heyá ni hakobi-komasérü to ... ‘when we had our luggage brought into the room’ (SA 2664.82c); ... kané ga korogari-kóndere kuri ‘money comes rolling in’; ... kodomo nádó ni reigi-sáho o osi-kómu kóto ... ‘instilling etiquette in, say, children ...’ (Kotoba no yurai 82); Watasi wa damari-konda ga, óó-i ni human de áta ‘I sank [relapsed/fell] into silence but I was greatly dissatisfied’ (SA 2674.42c); ... *ari-kómu; *aruki-kómu ‘walks in’, ... But mi-kómu ‘expects; estimates; trusts’ and kime-kómu ‘takes (it) for granted, pretends, feigns’, are lexical. And -ir eru (kaki-ir eru ‘writes in’, nori-ir eru ‘rides/drives it in’, ...), is probably better treated as forming lexical compounds; the outputs are all transitive. In marí o ke-kómu ‘kicks a ball in’ we would appear to have a shortening from the infinitive kéri ‘kick’; but in literary Japanese this verb belongs to a vowel conjugation, so that the infinitive is ke and it is likely that ke-kómu was inherited intact; we can contrast keri-tuzukeru ‘keeps kicking’ etc. At first glance this would seem to be an argument against treating -komu as an active auxiliary, but it turns out that the regular formation keri-kómu is also used and perhaps is more colloquial. So we can list ke-kómu as a lexical item but feel free to make up keri-kómu as we need it.

XII. EGRESSIVE


VOICE RESTRICTIONS ON AUXILIARIES

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§9. Adverbializations

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-? + .41 12. -tateru + +
- - .36 13. -makuru + +
(-) (-) .16 14. -kyoo-ziru + +
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- + .79/.13 38. -siburu, -osimu + +
- - .33/.11 39. -komu, ?-rireru + +
- - .17/.27 40. -saru, -dasu2 + +

After completing the study above, I came across a number of additional verbs that perhaps should be treated as auxiliaries; these are listed below, with question marks before those on which I have doubts.

41. -hagureru 'mis-does': nori-hagureru 'misses (boarding) a vehicle'.

42. -isogu 'rushes to do, anxiously/eagerly does': Uri-isoidé són o sita 'I was so anxious to sell I took a loss'; Sihon-ka wa tukuri-isoidé iru; syoohí-sya wa kai-isoidé iru; kodomo wa seityoo o isoidé iru; otona wa, tümari rooka o isóide iru 'The capitalists are rushing to produce; the consumers are rushing to buy; the children are rushing to grow up; the grownups are rushing their old age' (SA 2658.53d).

42a. -aseru 'assiduously does': uri-aseru 'pushes the sale of'; ....

43. -konasu 'manages to do, masters the doing of': Tetugaku no hón o yomi-konasu
§9.1.10. Verbal infinitive + auxiliary verb

'digests a book on philosophy'; umá o nori-konasu 'gets a horse under control', genan o tukai-konasu 'manages one's servants, has one's servants well trained (to serve)'; ... ... isyoo mo ki-konasénakatta käre-ra wa ... 'they who had not been able to get their costumes on properly' (SA 2654.59b); Koo i seisaku o omó u yóo ni yari-konasu tamé ni wa, mázu käre zisin ga taiken o mótó hituyoo ga áru to kangáeta 'In order to carry out such policies the way he wanted he thought it necessary first of all for him himself to possess supreme power' (SA 2680.18d).

44. -kuraberu 'does competitively': hóra o huki-kuraberu 'sees who can brag the most'.

45. -kutabireru 'wearies of doing' (cf. -tukareru): mati-kutabireru 'wearies of waiting', naki-kutabireru 'wearies of crying', ... . But arúite kutabireru 'wearies of walking' = 'wears oneself out by walking' (instrumental gerund).

46. -magireru 'mis-does': yomi-magire-yasuí 'is easy to misread'.

47. -mayou, madou 'is mistaken in doing': dótí to mo kime-mayóatta 'both made the wrong decision' or 'made the wrong decision both ways' (?).

48. -nogasu 'neglects to do': mi-nogasu 'overlooks, misses, lets it escape one's eye'.

49. -nuku (1) 'does it all the way': (2) 'achieves' (= si-togeru): (1) tatakai-nuku 'fights it out', iki-nuku 'lives through; (?) survives', gógo o odorí-nuku 'dances away the afternoon', kangae-nuku 'thinks it over/through, reflects', komari-nuku 'is thoroughly embarrassed' (= komari-hateru/-kuru), kúroo si-nuku 'goes through all hardships = "goes through the wringer"'; ... dooraku o si-núite kíta ... 'had exhausted every amusement' (SA 2676.92c); ... gáman ni gáman ni-súite ... 'bearing up heroically' (Ariyoshi 43). (2) sútí o yari-núita 'carried out a strike' (SA 2664.17b); ... to iu koto o sirabe-núite iru kotó datta 'it was well established that ...' (SA 2663.48c). I find it difficult to draw the distinction between the two meanings as given by MKZ. The following example (with further auxiliary conversion V-i-eru) presumably represents the second meaning: ... Okinawa no nebari-zuyói minsyuu wa, sono dentó geínóo o ... 'the persistent people of Okinawa have been able to preserve from extinction their traditions and arts ... [= have been able to achieve the protection from extinction of ...]' (SA 2674.94a).

49a. -oru: see -yoru (56).

50. -otosu 'neglects to do, omits doing': kanzin no [=na] kotó o ii-otósu 'neglects to say the essential'.

51. [ÔSÅKA] -sarasu (for monosyllabic verbs also -saru), -ku/s/saru = -ya[a]garu (54) – depreciates the verb. The origin of these pejorative auxiliaries is unknown (Maeda 1961.197).38 cf. (§9.2.4) ketukaru = irú/orú 'is, stays' and V-te ketukaru = V-te irú/orú – for the speaker's actions also V-te komasu (Maeda 1961.198), for which there are also V-taru and V-tageru, abbreviations of V-te yaru/ageru, used in an extension of the "favor" meaning. Maeda 1965.162 says -kusaru is 'stronger than -yagaru, weaker than -ketukaru'.
and gives these examples: Nāni nukasi-kusarun, Nāni site ‘-kusar ‘What the shit are you doing?’; Hāyo iki-kusarun ka ‘Can’t you get this damn car going any faster?’ More examples (including one of -kusarun = -kusarun) are cited from modern fiction in Y 505-7.

52. -tukareru ‘wears oneself out doing; is tired of doing’ (cf. -kutabir eru): syaberi­
tukareru ‘wearies of chatting’, mati-tukareru ‘tires of waiting’, aruki-tukareru ‘is tired of walking’, hataraki-tukareru ‘is worn out from working’, ...

53. -wasureru ‘forgets to do’: dentoo o kesasi-wasureta ‘forgot to put out the light’, simai-wasurete āme ni nureta ‘got wet from forgetting to close up against the rain’, dasi­
wasureta hagaki ‘a post card I forgot to mail’; ... hando-bureēeki o modosi-wasurete ita ga, ...

... I had forgotten to release the hand brake, but ... (SA 2684.23b); ... .

54. -ya[a]garu—deprecates the verb (the deprecation in English will usually land on a noun): Nāni o si-yayagaru ‘What the hell are you doing?’ (Kb 20a); Baka ni syayagarute (= si-yayagatte) ‘Treatin’ me like a damn fool ... ’; Nāni itte ‘-yagān da i [= i-yagāru no da ne] ‘What the hell are you talking about?’ (KKK 25.74a); Ano kakaa mo kawatte ‘-yagaru naa [= i-yagaru naa] ‘Gee that woman’s weird!’ (Okittsu 1.161); Orē-tāti o uragiri-yagarute ...

... ‘The bastards stabbing us in the back ... ’ (SA 2651.23b); Tōtooto taihuu ni nari-yagāttā ka ‘Are we in for a damn typhoon after all?’ (SA 2662.11); ... bāka ni tikara(‘) ga ariya­garu ‘she’s got a hell of a lot of strength’ (Tk 2.53a); Nān da. Damasi-yagatta nā ‘What—
they’ve duped us!’ (SA 2674.129c). But this auxiliary, said (Y 489,504) to be from V-i-agaru (cf. -ageru), seems not to follow the usual accentuation patterns for auxiliaries; MKZ implies the accentuation hanasi-yagaru, ake-yagaru with atonic infinitive yielding atonic forms and tonic infinitives retaining theiraccents—as if yagaru were an atonic verb attached syntactically with late dropping of juncture. The appendix to K (p. 32) gives miyagaru and miyāagaru as the appropriate forms for mi- ‘look/see’. (In this book we cite the forms with the regular auxiliary-type accentuation.) In the following examples the first vowel of the auxiliary is lengthened: Nā, nāni o iyaagaru (= i-yagaru) ‘Wh-, what the hell are you saying?!’ (Kb 159a)—cf. syagaru = si-yagaru; i kotō o iyagaru ‘I’m glad to hear you say that’ (Kb 105b); Tikusyōo, dōko e iki-yagaru ‘Damn, where the hell’s he gone?’ (Kb 203b); Tumarānai kotō o itte yokei na sinpai o sase-yaagaru ‘They’re causing too damn much worry saying such stupid things’ (Kb 157a). This is not limited to Tōkyō speech; cf. Tk 3.59a where a Hiroshima-born speaker uses it together with verb forms of the V-i-yoru type. More examples (including one of -yaken = -yagaru ne) will be found in Y 501-4.

55. -yarunu—apparently quite limited, the only examples I have found are with samēru: Toso-kibun mo same-yaranu to uči no ni, ... ‘Although barely sobered up, it is said, from the New Year spirit ... ’ (SA 2661.127a); Toso-kibun mo same-yaranu uti ni ... ‘While the effects of the New Year’s wine have not yet worn off ... ‘= ‘Before the holiday spirit wears off ... ’ (SA 2665.9); Same-yaranu konpyyutā-ānetu ‘The still smoldering computer fever’ (SA 2654.140). MKZ§ 433a carries same-yaranu as a lexical entry. Under (-)yaranu MKZ§ 1124b (= MKZ 856b) lists hare-yaranu, presumably ‘not quite fully unclouded’.

56. [DIALECT] -yoru: This is from V-i [w]ōrū, a widely used dialect form that is (according to Zhs 4.161) equivalent to the simple V-ru of standard Japanese or to the V-i-ya[a]garu auxiliary that deprecates the verb. It is popular in West Central Kinki (Kōbe, Hyōgo), where Yuki ga huri-yoru is used as the progressive ‘It is snowing (now)’ and Yuki ga hūtoru (< hütte ōru) is used as a resultative ‘Snow is on the ground’ (Zhs 4.22)—both
expressed in Tōkyō by Yuki ga hûte iru. Cf. Doi (240) who tells us that the two meanings of -te iru (progressive vs. perfect-resultative) are formally distinguished in western Honshū, in Kyūshū, and in Shikoku, the distinction being made by exploiting the historical aspectuality of the gerund (as built on the infinitive). Köchi speakers distinguish huriyuu < huri-yor[u] < huri-oro < hûrû wòru ‘it is snowing/raining’ from hutyyuu < hutyor[u] < huri-te wòru ‘it has snowed/rained’. Cf. Shibata 1958.29 who gives the Köchi forms yomyuu (< yomi oru) ‘is reading’ and yondyuu (< yonde oru) ‘has read’. This distinction is maintained in similar fashion throughout the Ryûkyûs. The forms are sometimes spelled with V-i-oro, disregarding the intrud ed -y-: Koitu ‘a erái koto yari-oro ná to omóta ne ‘This fellow’s doing a fine thing, I thought to myself’ (Tk 4.181a); Bóku(‘) mo nê, ittai dòo si-ótt na yaroo [= sitâ no daroo] to omótte ita ‘I myself wondered what on earth would have happened to them’ (Tk 4.183a). (These examples are from an Okayama-born speaker who had lived in Osaka and in China.)

9.1.11. Conversions of adjectival and nominal infinitives.

A number of infinitive conversions are open only to adjectives (A-ku) and nouns (N ni). We will consider these under seven categories: (1/2) intransitive/transitive mutative; (3) subject-adverbial; (4) nuclear-adverbial (= derived adverb); (5) evaluative; (6) transitive putative; (7) intransitive putative.

9.1.11. (1/2). Intransitive/transitive mutative. One common conversion is with nárû/suru and means ‘becomes/makes-it-into’. This intransitive/transitive MUTATIVE functions for nonverbs as something of an analog to the verbal passive/causative categories of VOICE (§4); it is also possible to take a verbal and adnominalize it to the postadnominal adjectival noun yóó and use that in this conversion: V-ru yóó ni nárû/suru ‘gets (makes it) so that it does’ (see §13.2.4). The patterns for the mutatives can be seen in the following examples:

Hayâi ‘It is early/fast’.

→ Háyaku nárû ‘It gets to be early/fast’.

Sensëi da ‘He is a teacher’.

→ Sensëi ni nárû ‘He becomes a teacher’.

Byûoki da ‘He is ill’.

→ Byûoki ni nárû ‘He gets ill’.

Gënki da ‘He is well’.

→ Gënki ni nárû ‘He gets well’.

Many adjectival nouns will permit this conversion—e.g. Kîrei ni nárû ‘It becomes pretty/clean’, Kîrei ni suru ‘Makes it pretty/clean’—but it is not clear whether all will do so. One informant accepted Sîzuka ni nárû ‘It becomes quiet’ but rejected *Sîzuka ni suru ‘They make it quiet’ on the grounds that quiet is something you can’t control; yet other informants accept the sentence Mati o sîzuka ni sîyô ‘Let’s make our town quiet’, but

39. Similar phenomena in other languages are sometimes referred to as ‘transitive’ (as in the name of one of the Finnish case markers) or as ‘factitive’ (or ‘factive’).

40. But it is possible to convert N ni nárû and A-ku nárû into causatives: mûki ni naráseru ‘makes one serious’, kôphûku ni naráseru ‘makes one happy’, heitai ni naráseru ‘lets one’s child become a soldier’, nemuku naráseru ‘lets one get sleepy’. And both passive and causative conversions can be applied to N ni suru (+N ni sareru/saseru) and A-ku suru (+A-ku sareru/saseru). An example of A-ku saseru:

...bakuretû-ryoku o ôôkiku saseru tamé no monô de, ... ‘it is for the purpose of enhancing the explosive force’ (NKD 8.394d).
only as rather artificial "commercially". In rapid speech the vowel of ni often drops before a dental sound (d, t, n); it is optional in ... n[i] naru: iyâ n[i] nattâyau yô 'I'm getting disgusted, I tell you'.

The translation of naru may be 'becomes, grows (into), comes to be, gets (to be), begins/starts (to be) ... ': Sukâato wa dôô-nkurai(¬) nãgaku nirimásu ka '{Now that long skirts are coming into style} how long will skirts get?' (SA 2688.100). Notice that 'get' also sometimes translates the causative and favor-receipt conversions and enjoys many other uses in English.

A number of idiomatic turns are extensions of the mutative conversions, such as urimono ni suru 'makes it one's merchandise = sells' in Sumââto o urimono ni suru Nikkô no kokusai sen 'JAL international routes which sell (on) chic ...' (SA 2660.40) and monô ni suru 'makes it one's thing' > mono-ni-suru 'secures, masters' in Eigo o mono-ni-surû ni wa ōoku tokusyo suru hoka ni miti ga nai 'The only way to master English is by extensive reading'. Kuti ni suru 'tastes; mentions' can be taken as a similar instance, provided we first give kuti 'mouth' a more abstract meaning. Here too belongs N o tanosimî(¬) ni suru 'sets one's hopes on, aims at, expects, looks forward to'; cf. N o tanosimî(¬) to suru 'delights in, takes pleasure in'. Also N o ate ni site ru 'is counting on N'; N [or: S no] kû ni site 'taking N [or: that S] to heart'; N wa betu ni site 'apart from N'—as in Suki de tanosimu hitô wa betu ni site ... 'Leaving aside those who indulge in it because they like it ...' (SA 2679.119e); ...

Idiomatic examples with naru include these: Sôi eigan bâkâri tukutte, kane ni nirimásu ka 'Can you make money filming that sort of movie only?' (SA 2671.113d); ... bâkâ ni nará-sama syûunyu yû da is revenue not to be laughed at' (SA 2668.87a)—also tightened into a compound baka-ni-nará-sama, cf. hito o bâkâ ni surû or baka-ni-surû 'makes fun of people'; ... Namerikôgai wa katuzi ni nête, oo-sáwagi ni naru ga ... 'Lead pollution hits the press and becomes a big issue but ...' (SA 2689.140d)—katuzi means 'movable type'. The noun okizari is apparently limited to the idioms (P ni) A o okizari ni suru 'leaves/deserts A (in P)' and (P ni) A ga okizari ni naru/sareru 'A gets left/deserted (in P)'; focus can intrude. Notice also the rather tight-knit idioms ki ni naru 'feels uneasy; takes a mind to' and ki ni suru 'minds, worries about'; these can be split by focus: Yâppâri ki nî wa naru n da nàa 'It IS a worry, after all' (R). But yoko ni naru 'lies down and yoko ni surû 'lays it down' are idiomatic only in a loose sense of the term. Mû ni surû 'brings it to naught and mû ni naru 'comes to naught' can be reduced to the lexical mu-ni-suru and mu-ni-naru; cf. naku naru and naku-naru, naku suru and naku-su[ru] (p. 457). The expression zyama ni naru 'gets in the way; becomes burdensome; becomes a burden' is the mutative conversion of zyama dâ; zyama is an abstract noun 'hindrance', an adjectival noun 'burdensome', and a transitive verbal noun 'bothers'. The expression gannzigaârâmû ni naru 'gets all tied up' (SA 2664.36c) is from gannzigaârâmû ni sibâru 'ties up into a gannzigaâramû and few speakers realize that the (now idiom-bound) noun gannzigaârimô is from gannzi-kâramû 'coiling up like a gân-zi = gân-syo(¬) "wild-goose-writing" = "letter"—from a message tied to the foot of a wild goose and sent out by Sū Wû of the former Han dynasty when a captive of the Xiôngnû'. O-zyân ni naru 'comes to naught' comes from zyân (sound of Yedo fire-alarm gong).

The expression go-tisoo ni naru 'gets treated to, is entertained with' is transitive: ō-kâsi/hirumesi o go-tisoo ni nätte 'being treated to sweets/lunch'. This is merely polite—like some contemporary uses of itadaku, originally a humble or object-exalting verb—and
should not be confused with similar forms produced by the subject-exaltation conversion, such as o-morai ni nāru, go-soodan ni nāru, etc. The subject-exaltation form is go-tisoom ni o-nari ni nāru or go-tisoo ni nararema.

Even with unidiomatic examples, the mutative meaning of pure noun + ni suru has at least two nuances: (1) ‘makes (converts, turns) it into N’, (2) ‘decides on N’. Thus Heitai ni simāsu ka could be interpreted either as ‘Will you make [someone] into a soldier?’ or ‘Will you decide on soldiers [to be, to buy as a toy, to give something to, to entertain—or, even, to make someone into]?’ The second meaning can be explained as propredication (or verb ellipsis) in the underlying essive-marked sentence ‘makes it so that it is a matter of [doing ...]’. It is the second meaning that is intended in ordering food or drink: Bīru ni simasyōo ka ‘Shall we have beer [for our drink]?’ (But, faced with a surplus of malt and barley, you might use that sentence to mean ‘Shall we turn it into beer?’) This selectional or decision-taking nuance of the transitive mutative conversion will account for the following example: Hihyōo wa kanseī site kara ni simāsu keredo mo ... ‘I will reserve judgment until it [= the new building] is finished, but ...’ (SA 2669.46c). If the ni were not present, simāsu would be the predicating auxiliary for the verbal noun hihyōo, i.e. ‘I will judge after it is finished’, but the presence of ni obliges us to take the mutative interpretation, so that the verbal noun is to be regarded as a thematized (and subduced) object. An example of the meaning ‘turns it into N’: Watasi wa isya desu ga, betu ni anōko o isya ni siyō tō wa kangaeteimasen ‘I am a doctor, but I am not particularly thinking of turning him [my son] into a doctor’ (SA 2676.30c).

As shown by Omoshirōoku nāku natta ‘It got to be uninteresting’, mutatives sometimes are made on the negativizations of adjectival sentences, and occasionally on the negativizations of adjectival nouns and of pure nouns: Kantan zya nāku natta ‘It got to be so it was no longer simple’; Byooki zya nāku natta ‘He got to be no longer ill’; Syatyou zya nāku natta ‘He came to be no longer head of the firm’; Otokō wa onna no teki de nāku nāru ‘The male will stop being the enemy of the female’ (SA 2680.41d); ‘Katyo’ de nāku nāru to ... ‘When you stop being a “section head” ...’ (SA 2668.25e); Sore wa móo gakumon-teki [na] tatība de nāku nāru ‘That becomes no longer a scientific attitude = That ceases to be a scientific attitude any longer’ (SA 2671.19e); ... ingo o ingo de nāku si ... ‘makes jargon cease to be jargon and ...’ (Shibata 1966.47). The negative conversion of āru, the adjectival nai ‘is nonexistent, lacking’, will permit the mutative conversions: Nāku natta ‘It became nonexistent’, Nāku sita ‘They made it nonexistent’ (‘They got rid of it’). With loss of accent, these two expressions underly the derived verbs naku-naru ‘gets lost’ or ‘dies’ (with the subject-exalting form o-nakunari ni nāru) and naku-surū (uncolloquial = nakuusu ‘loses’ (also, more colloquially, naku-nasu, Tk 3.38a). (This may be a special case of the conservative rule for verb-compound accentuation—reverse the tonicity of the first member—but it persists with the younger speakers independently of that rule.)

The adjectival which results from negativizing a verb can be used with nāru—as in Tabēnaku nāru = Tabēnai yōo ni nāru ‘He gets so he doesn’t eat’ (cf. Tabēru yōo ni nāru ‘He gets so he eats’), inaku nātayatta ‘(a person who was with one) has disappeared’ (Tk 2.236a), and Wakai hitō ga boosi o kahirānaku nāte, boosi o kabūte iru kotō ga tyuunen no sirusi mitai ni iwarete kita ‘With young people starting to not wear hats, the wearing of hats has come to be said to be like a badge of middle age’ (SA 2820.81). Included are negatives from causatives—Koṣasanaka nāta ‘We got so we didn’t let him
come'; from adversative passives—O-kane o nusumarénaku nátta 'We got so we weren't robbed'; from all potentials—Hairénaku nátta 'It got so we couldn't enter'—and from miérú 'can see' and kikoerú 'can hear'; and for at least some speakers the negatives from pure passives—Yobarenaku nárú 'He gets so he isn't called/invited'. Yet many examples with suru are rejected (‘Tabénaku suru/saséruru ‘It makes one so one doesn't eat’→ Tabénai yóó ni suru/saséruru), though others—only/all those involving voice conversions—seem acceptable: Ikașenaku sita ‘We made it so they didn't let him/us go’; Hairénaku sita ‘We made it so they couldn't enter’; Bóku(‘) ni náhi mo miénaku surú no ka ‘Do you intend to have me see nothing?’ (Kawabata: Suigetsu). Desiderative adjectives from verbs, and their negativizations, can be used with nárú (Iki-taku nátta ‘I got so I wanted to go’ or ‘I began to want to go’, Iki-taku nákku nátta ‘I got so I didn't want to go’)—including desideratives based on causatives and the like (as in Kosase-taku nátta ‘I got so I wanted to have him come’), but they are not ordinarily used with suru except in English-flavored translation style: (* Iki-taku nákku sita = Iki-taku nái yóó ni sita/sasera [free variation] or, better yet, simply Iki-taku nákku sasera ‘It made me so I didn't want to go’. And the facilitatives (§9.1.8) freely occur in these forms: V-i-yasuku, -yoku, -nikuku, -gatu ku, -zúraku + nárú/suru. An example: Tó-ni-kaku, syúzyutu tte monó wa, mukasi to tigatte yari-yóó nátta ‘Anyway, operations have become easier to perform than they used to be’ (Tk 2.4b).

In the following examples the mutative is applied to negativized verbal sentences:

Yagate, tubuyaku kóe wa sinaku nátta ‘By and by the murmuring voice grew silent’ (lg 1962.79); Kōrētika wa móó zit[1] site irarenaku nátta ‘Korechika got so he couldn't stay still any longer’ (lg 1962.79); Mótoko wa sore ga onná[2] no monó de áru kotó o utagawanaku nárú ‘Motoko came not to doubt that it was a [the?] woman’s’ (lg 1962.79); Kono támé ni yagaté Seiiki wa hóoki sarenakereba naráhaku nátta ‘For this reason by and by so that Seiiki had to be abandoned’ (lg 1962.79); Syúpapuu wa myóotyóo máde enki sarerú yóóri síkata ga nárú nátta ‘It got so there was no alternative to the departure’s being postponed [or: to our having our departure postponed] till tomorrow morning’ (lg 1962.79); ... bungó o tukawanaku nátta kita ‘literary Japanese gradually fell into disuse’ (Onó 1966.234); DDȚ no o-kage de, sono sirami wa ip-pikito[3] mo inaku nárta ‘Thanks to DDT every last one of those [typhus-spreading] lice disappeared’ (SA 2684.45a); Iyaku-hini(‘) no gótoki wa, súde ni háyakku kara uru-tüketu, mukasi nár takezyáni surú hitó ga, ima wa sinanaku nárta irú ‘People who would have died prematurely in the old days are beginning not to die as a result of having drugs urged upon them early on’ (SA).

Negatives can be built on the mutative conversions (A-ku nárú/suru → A-ku naránai/sinai)—and even Tabénaku naránai is said as a denial of Tabénaku nárú. The mutative conversions will also convert into desideratives A-ku nárata ri/sántar, representatives A-ku náttari/sitári,42 passives (Káre wa túma ni byóoki ni náréta ‘He suffered his wife's

41. Examples of potentials: ... sono tokí ni wa ningen ga suménaku nárú to iu sétu(‘) mo áru ‘there is also the theory that at that time it will get so that people can't live [in Japan]’ (SA 2689.140a); Zigu kakénaku náréba, toozen no kotó ‘nagara yomenaku mó nárú ‘If people get so they can't write a character it is only to be expected that they will also get so they can't read it, either’ (Kaneda in Onó 1967.298); Omóó mamá na kotó wa dekinaku nárú ‘They get so they can't do just as they want’ (Onó 1966.33).

42. For example: ... sono gen’in o, háninn no izyoo-seikaku no séé ni sitári terebi ya masukomi no eikýoo no séé ni sitári surú ‘The causes for that they either attribute to morbid characteristics of the criminal or attribute to the influence of television and mass communications’ (SA 2647.113a).
getting sick’, Yōku mondai ni saseru no wa ... ‘What is often called in question ...’), causatives (Kīgyoo ni zuyoo no katō wa, yaru ki ni naraseru kotō desu ‘The important thing for an enterprise is to get people in the mood to engage in it’—SA 2668.47c); and potentials A-ku narēru—but not A-ku sarēru as potential, for that is always expressed with A-ku dekīru as in Yāsuku [suru kotō ga] dekimasē ka ‘Can you make it cheaper?’ Exaltation can be applied to the underlying sentence or to nāru/suru, or to both: O-isogasiku nāru, Isogasiku o-nari ni nāru (or Isogasiku naraeru), O-isogasiku o-nari ni nāru ‘You become busy’; O-isogasiku suru, Isogasiku nasāru, O-isogasiku nasāru ‘You make it busy’. Examples: Watashi no vōō na wakāi isya wa o-taku no o-ko- san o o-genki ni su ru/suru kotō wa dekimasēn ‘A young doctor like me can not restore your child to health’; O-kaeri ni nari-tāku o-sase itāsu(‘) tamē ni ... ‘In order for me to make it so you want to return home ...’.

Nuclear focus can be applied to the mutative verb: A-ku [or N nī] nāri wa/mo/sae suru, A-ku [or N nī] sī wa/mo/sae suru. Since the opposite application (to the underlying sentence) would produce a verbal—A-ku [or N dē] wa/mo/sae āru—the result would be available to the mutative conversions only if first adnominalized to yōō: A-ku [or N dē] wa/mo/sae āru yōō ni nāru/suru. Examples: Kono kāgu wa iti-nen tukatte iru utī(‘) ni, tasyoo kitanakū nāri WA sitā ga, māda-mada tukaeru ‘This piece of furniture did get a bit dirty during a year of use, but it can still serve for a good long while’; Ano tihōo wa, hyūū ni nāreba tasyoo sāmuku nāri MO surū ga, yuki ga hūru kotō wa māzu nāi to itte ī ‘In that area it does indeed get a bit cold when it becomes winter, but you can say there’s almost never any snow that falls’; Sore mo kokoroyōkū nāri SAE surēba ... ‘If it just become cheerful ...’ (Kb 75b.4); Mūri ni tanomarērēba, mōto kībisūku sī MO simāsū ga, sore wa watashi no hōn’i de wa arimasēn ‘If forcefully requested, I will indeed make it stricter, but that is not my desire’; Sono sukāato wa mizīkāku sī SAE surēba, gaiyutu nī mo hakēmasū ‘If I just make that skirt shorter, I can wear it also for stepping out’; Konna kīzī wa ōbi ni WA surū ga, hōri ni WA sinai ‘This sort of material will make an obi (belt) but not a hōri (coat)’; Konna kīzī wa, ōbi ni MO surū ga, kōoto ni MO dekīru ‘This material both will make an obi and can also be turned into a coat’; Sīnae no kōkī o sāyū ya kūssyōn ni SAE surū ima no wakāi monō ni wa akirēru ‘I am shocked at the young people now who will even turn the nation’s sacred flag into undershirts and cushions’.

It is also possible to apply focus, restriction, etc., within the mutative itself: A-ku [or N nī] wa/mo/sae nāru, A-ku [or N nī] wa/mo/sae suru. Examples: Sēn no wāi hu ga māda ikite ‘ta yō. Mōo byoooki ni WA nātte ‘ta ga nē ‘My former wife was still alive, you see. She HAD already become ill, of course’ (Tk 3.36a); Sensē ni WA hazīmete nāta hīto de aru ‘He is a person who has just now for the first time become a teacher’ (Zhs 1.145 n.2)—notice the intervening adverb; Tasyoo yāsuku WA nātte irū ga, kīnroo-seīnen o taisyoo ni nī sīta kōoen ni sitē wa isāaka taka-sugi wa sināi ka ‘They [= the tickets] have become a bit cheaper, but for a performance aimed at working-class youth aren’t they (still) a bit too expensive?’ (SA 2671.111d); ‘Ittai dōō suryō [= surēba] ōn dā’ to donarī-tāku MO nāru ‘You get so you want to shout “What in the world should one do?”’ (SA 2678.16a); ... dokū ni MO kusūri ni MO nārānai kanzī [dā] ‘it gives me the feeling it’s neither (“poison nor medicine” =) harmful nor helpful’ (SA 2686.116e)—an adnominalization of the structure dokū ni mo [nākereba] kusūri ni mo nārānai; Tōotoo zyuusabū-tyōo ni MO nārazu ni, hira-zyūnsa de tōositamatta [= tōosite simattā] kedō mo, keisatu no nāka de mo yuumei na oto kō desita ‘Finally instead of actually becoming the head of the patrol
section he wound up as an ordinary patrolman, yet he was one of the most famous men on the police force’ (Tk 3.10).

Below are examples illustrating various combinations that result from applying markers of focus, restriction, etc.

... *ni DE MO naru*: Byooki ni DE MO náreba ... ‘If I should get ill or anything ...’;... biyóo-si ni DE MO nari-tái to iú n da kara ... ‘He says that he wants to become a beautician or something, so ...’ (SA 2658.130a); ... háru ni DE MO narimasita ‘it got to be spring and all!’ (Kb 139a); Ishihara-san no yóó na íken dattara, anáta wa syuugi-in ni dête daizin ni DE MO náte nóoryoku o hakki sita hóó ga à n zya nái ka ‘With views like yours, Mr Ishihara, wouldn’t you have done better to run for the lower house and become a cabinet minister or the like, demonstrating your competence?’ (from an interview); Kono tegata ga hu-watari ni DE MO náttara, too-san-gáisya ga zokusyutu site, sore kóó pánikku ‘If these checks should happen to be dishonored or anything, bankrupt companies would appear one after another, and precisely THAT would be a panic’ (SA 2679.30c); Máa, iyóo yóo ite ’Well, you can (wait and) go when he gets really critical, say’ (SA 2793.98b).

... *ni MADE nár*: Edo-zidai ni katuyaku o sita rikisu(*) de, òozeki ni MADE náta to iu taihen na hitó da ‘He was a sumó wrestler active in the Edo period and a figure so formidable he got to be a champion’ (Okitsu 1.152); ... “Yoaké no kóohii’” to iú káá si ga, hitótó no syákai-teki ryuuukoo ni MADE náta ‘... the lyrics of “Coffee at Dawn” even became a social fad’ (SA 2654.58b); Gá, ima no káre-ra wa, òette yakuza-teki ni MADE náte, yowayowsii seiyyun-sa no náka ni otíru no o kirau ‘But those of today [= the student activists] dare to turn even hoodlumish and hate to fall into frail purity’ (SA 2687.116d); Dá ga, koo sita kóó ga (hónsyó ni wa soko mááde kákárete ináí ga) káisya nottori ni Haabaado-daígaku no sikitó ga riyyo saranu to iu genzyoo ni MADE náta no de aru ‘But things have even reached the point where (though it is not touched upon in this book) the Harvard University endowment funds are used to take over companies’ (SA 2673.96b); ... Sánbyaku “ámari ni MADE náta kaiín ga ... ‘The membership, which had grown all the way up to more than three hundred ...’ (Kb 31a); ... sihai suru yóó ni MADE náta ... ‘actually came into control of ...’ (Fn 70a).

... *ni DAKÉ WA nár*: Soko de, hahaoya ni(*) DAKÉ WA nár wáke da ga, kono hahaoya wa Ameríka no tizín(*) no íe ni kodómo-táá tó o azüküte oite, dokusin-zyossei no yóó ni hooroo-seikatu o tanosímu “huuten-máma” na no de aru ‘Therefore she means to BECOME exactly (neither more nor less than) a mother, but this mother is a “hobo mother” who leaves her children in the home of an American acquaintance so as to enjoy a Bohemian life like a single woman’ (SA 2664.92a).

... *ni SÍKA nár*: ... kite kara mááda hitó-tuki “ámari ni SÍKA náte inákatta ‘... it was still not more than a month since she had arrived’ (Ig 68); ... sono toki kara, anáta, zyuugónen ni SÍKA narimasen ‘... it’s no more than fifteen years, you know, since then’ (Kb 130-1); Betonamu e kaku-heiki o tukau nádo to iu kóó o Ameríka ga yaréba, kyodai na mainasu ni SÍKA náránai ... ‘If America engages in using nuclear weapons in Vietnam, it will only become a disadvantage to her ...’ (Tanigawa 27)—the é suggests that tukau implies ‘introduces into’.

... *ni SAE nár*: ... Okinawa-hóogen no sийyó ni SAE nárú ga ... ‘even gets to using Okinawan dialect’ (SA 2793.95d); Nán da ka Sinderéa ni náta yóó na kibun ni SAE nari-kaketa ‘I started to get even into a feeling as if I had somehow become Cinderella’ (SA 2674.122c).
Conversions of adjectival and nominal infinitives

... ni SAE suru: ... sakuhiin o hu-káñoo ni SAE siyoo to suru ‘... it is about to make the work [= composition] actually impossible’ (SA 2674.92d).

... ni SURA naru: ... tokí ni wa reikoku ni SURA naránakereba naránu kotó ga áru ‘... at times it happens that you have to become even callous’ (SA 2688.45d).

... ni NÁNZO/NÁZO (= NÁDO) naru: Sore wa, móo, sore-daké no neuti no áru monó desitaara sore-kkiri ni NÁNZO náru wáke ga arimasén ‘If it were something of that much value there’d be no reason for it now to come to an end and all’ (Kb 134a); Dá kara, hontoo no geizyutu-ka de áru nara-ba, tengu ni NÁZÓ nárenái wáke desu ‘So if you are a true artist, you cannot become a bragart or anything’ (Tk 4.93).

The new sentence that results from the mutative conversion can be made imperative (A-ku náre, A-ku si ró; N ni náre, N ni si ró), as in ... ore no desí ni náre ‘become my disciple’ (Kb 114a), or hortative (A-ku náró/siyóo to omóú, N ni náró/siyóo to omóú). For a special use of ni si ró or ni sé yo to mean ‘though, whether’—the equivalent of dé mo, V-té mo, A-kúté mo or d’átte, V-t’átte, A-kút’átte—see pp. 893, 962.

The new sentence can be adnominalized, with extrusion and epithematization of included adjuncts: Syáín(‘) sén-nín(‘) o taisyoo ni sita tyóosa-kkéka ni yoru to ‘... According to the results of a study that took a thousand employees as subjects ...’ (SA 2668.25c); on the problem posed by -kéka, see p. 134 (§2.4). See also §13.1.2.(6).

As remarked earlier, a verbal sentence can be converted to a mutative only after being first adnominalized to the postadnominal yö (which then has the grammar of an adjectival noun): Tabérú yöo ni náru/suru. This device is also available for adjectives and nominals: Tabénáyi yöo ni náru is more or less equivalent to Tabénaku náru, and Yasuí yöo ni suru is much the same as Yásuku suru. Sometimes VERB + yöo ni suru can be replaced by a simple causative (saseru etc., §4.1) but the meaning is usually somewhat different, the longer expression implying ‘gets him/it so that he/it does (or will do)’. Notice that in the quotation of commands (§16.1, §21) we may wish to consider that a command form of suru has obligatorily dropped: V-ru yöo }.{sí ró fto IU ‘tells one to do it’. The application of yöo + MUTATIVE to the adjective excessive, as in naga-sugirú yöo ni náru ‘gets to be too long’ = gets so it is too long; gets so it is long too often; gets so too many are long’, is virtually equivalent to much of the meaning obtained by applying the EXCESSIVE to a MUTATIVE made on an adjective: nágaku nari-sugirú ‘does too much lengthening = gets too long; gets long too often; too many get long’.43 Similar remarks will obtain for yari-tái yöo ni náru ‘gets so one wants to do it’ and yari-taku náru ‘comes to want to do it’, for yari-yasuí yöo ni náru ‘gets so it is easy/likely for one to do it’ and yari-yásuku náru ‘comes to be easy/likely for one to do it’, etc.

See also the expressions ... kotó ni náru/suru described in §14.1.2, and contrast the expressions ... tó náru/suru described in §21.4. Notice also kotó-ní-suru [literary] ‘treats as different’ and [*kotó ni náru >] koto-náru ‘differs’. Semantically weak uses of N ni náru (virtually equivalent to N dá) are described in §6.1; here are additional examples: Amerika e kíte kara nán-nen ni nairimáus ka ‘How many years is it that you have been in America?’; Atorie(‘) o tukútte kara, móo yuu-nen ni náru ‘It is now ten years since I built my art studio’ (SA 2670.156); Nigátu ni náru ima mo ... ‘Now that it is February ...’ (SA 2666.108b—the issue is dated 20 Feb 1970). Compare the use of ni sité as a

43. An example of the excessive applied to a mutative conversion of an adjectival noun: Yo-nó­naka ga hukuzatu ni nari-sugita sei daroo ka ‘I wonder if it’s because society has grown too complic­cated’ (SA 2688.29e).
§9. Adverbializations

dictionary of de (mentioned below) and áto ni náte = áto de 'later on'. And notice the frequent use of nárú without a subject: Áki ni náta 'It has become autumn', Heike-monogatóri ní nárú to 'When we come to the Tale of the Taira Clan', etc.

In addition to nárú/suru there are other verbs of change-of-state which are similar in their behavior: hanasi o kore ni kagiru 'limits the discussion to [being] this', titi ni kawatte 'in place of my father', kimono o akaku (or: makká ni) someru 'dyes the garment red', etc. The number of these mutative verbs may be much larger than would seem likely at first thought; V 110 quotes a single sentence from Hino Ashihei that contains three examples: Basyoo no hirói ha o HÖSOKU SÀITE, sono sén'i o hazime HUTATÚ NI NAI-AWASE, sore o árata ni WARAZI NI KÚNDÁ 'I split the broad banana leaf INTO NARROW (STRIPS) and PLAITING its fibers first INTO TWO [BRAIDS], then WOVE them (= the braids) INTO SANDALS'. More examples from V 110: kami o nágaku hayásite 'growing one's hair long'; mizikáku katta kami 'hair cut short'; utukúsiku ki-kazáta hitó-táti 'people dressed up to look beautiful'; hó(h)o ga akaku hotétte kúru 'the cheeks flush red'; mé ga pattiri to haná no yóo ni óökiku síróku híráita 'the eyes brightly opened [to become] large and white like blossoms'; dandón tooku hedatóri-hazimeta 'began to drift gradually off (so as to be distant = into the distance'.

The following examples would seem to belong here, too: Amerika o réi ni tótte (miru to) ... 'Taking America as/for an example ... '; ... kurói l kami o nágaku l tarási, ... 'letting her black hair hang down long' (SA 2650.104a); Miti tó no sakai ni úeta mómi-no-ki ga, óökiku sodátte ita 'The fire trees planted at the boundary with the road had grown big' (Ig 162.75); Ûmi mo, sóra mo, sirátýaketa iró de dadáníiro ku hirogatte ita 'Both sea and sky, of a brownish cast, were spread out in a vast expanse' (Ig 162.75); Masúnaga wa tegami o konagona ni yábúita 'Masunaga tore the letter to shreds' (Ig 162.76); Zí o hótóku káita 'I wrote the character(s) thick'; Yamá ga takaku sobíete iru 'The mountains rise tall'; Ha o síróku migáita 'I brushed my teeth white'; Óökiku seityoo suru to 'When one grows big ... '; Minami no hóo no yózóra ga kásái(*) no hónóo de orenzi-iro ni akarúnde ita 'The night sky to the south had turned a bright orange from the flames of the fire' (Ig 162.78); Káre ga l káno-zyo o l l yóönin ni tánanda 'He asked (for) her to be a witness'; Tatóéba rakuyóó-zyu wa mukási ni kurabete táda no go-pasénto ni hette simátte ita 'Deciduous trees, for example, had dwindled to a mere five percent of their former number' (SA 2659.111a); Kuti o l he-nó-zi ni l magete, ... 'Bending his mouth into a shape like hiragana HE (i.e. turned down at both ends), ... ' (SA 2687.139a); ... o-zóókin o l kíréi ni l aratte ... 'washing the mop out (clean)' (SA 2672.6oc); ... san bun no ití ni l hette simátta 'shrank to a third' (SA 2688.26a); Gá, ooyooso no tokoró tugi no sán-syu ni wakarérú 'But roughly speaking they divide into the following three types' (SA 2673.112a); ... siti-nin no kyásuto no utí(*) no ití-in(*) ni erábáréta 'got selected as (or: to be) one of the seven-person cast' (SA 2677.172); Nihón no ryuugákú-sei ga Pêntagon ni heitai ni toráetó kotó mo áru soó desu 'They say there have even been instances where Japanese exchange students got drafted as soldiers by the Pentagon'; ... hutokoro kara yóottu ni tanda te-hukí o dásité ... 'taking out of his bosom a hand-towel folded (into four =) double' (Kb 317b); ... káre no, nukeru yóó ni sírói hádá ga, kogane-iro ni hi ni yaketa 'his skin [that had been] so white it seemed about to shed was now burned copper by the sun' (Fn 451a). The verb modoru has two meanings: as 'returns, goes back (= káer-u) it is a motion verb (PLACE e/ni ... ), but as
'reverts (to), resumes (being)' it is a mutative verb that will take the adjunct N ní ‘being N’ but not N e/ní ‘to N’.

Verbal nouns can also be mutative, as in kărē o katyoo ni suisen/ninmei suru ‘recommends/appoints him to [come] section head’ and these examples: Betonamu-sénsoo wa, “Indosina-sénsoo” ni kakudai sitá no de aru ‘The Vietnam War has expanded into an “Indochina War”’ (SA 2679.19bc); ... kanzi o Tooyoo-kánzi dáke ní seigen surú no wa ... ‘to limit the characters to just the Tôyô Kanji’ (Kaneda in Ôno 1967.271); ... “kokusaimôndai” ni made hatten site simatta ‘it ended up developing all the way into an “international problem”’ (SA 2672.145a). Because rùsu has two grammars—Dàre ga rùsu desu ka? ‘Who is away from his post?’ and Dóko ga rùsu desu ka? ‘What post is unattended?’—the transitive mutative conversion uti(-) o rúsù ni suru ‘leaves the house unattended (i.e. with no one in it)’ is possible: Utii(−) o rúsù ni sita syûzin da ‘The master left the house with no one there to look after things’.

The quotational tô is sometimes used to emphasize the mutation (V-ru yóô ni TO utúru ‘shifts so as to ...’); an example will be found in §21.1.(5a). In the literary language N ni sité is used as a stylistic variant of (N ni-te >) N dé ‘its being N’ (the essive gerund); see remarks on this in §9.1. But not all cases of ni sité are to be so interpreted. In’yoo ni sité wa naga-sugi, ... ‘It is too long to quote, and ...’ (Maeda 1962.83) contains the putative conversion (‘considered to be a quotation’), and in the following example there is an extended use of the mutative: Íma ni site [= Íma ni nátte, ≠ Íma de] omoeba, ano tokí o sakáí ni site hutari no aida ní wa bímyoo na mizo ga horare-hazimétá no da ‘Thought of from the viewpoint of today, that time became a turning-point when a subtle gulf began to be dug between them’ (Fn). The first phrase means ‘If we let the time be the present’, and the second part contains a transitive mutative ‘letting that time be a boundary’.

Another extended use of the mutative will be found in expressions like watáši-tátì ni súréba ‘(if you make it us [who view the matter] = as far as WE are concerned, from OUR point of view, as WE see it’—cf. watáši-tátì ni tótte [wa] ‘for/to us’. See §21.4 for N ni/to site wa ‘(considered) as N’ and for S ni/to sité mo ‘even if/though, allowing/granted that’—the equivalent of N dé mo, V-té mo, A-kute mo—with N ãdã ni sité mo obligatorily dropping the dà, in contrast with N ãdã to sité mo. Notice also Pikaðo ni sité=teté (= ni sité mo = dé mo) ‘for Picasso too’ (Tk 3.260a). On A-ku site = A-kute in written Japanese and also in Kyûshû speech, see p. 488.

The adverbs kúoo/kúoo ‘this way’, súoo/sóo ‘that way’, áa/aa ‘that way’, and dóo ‘what way, how’ can be DIRECTLY followed by náru or suru: Soo nátha ‘It got to be like that’ and Soo sita ‘I made it like that’ where we would expect *Sóo NÍ nátha=sita from the predicative adverb in Soo da. (It is helpful to recall that kúoo comes from ka-’ú = ka-[k]ú with the same etymological suffix -ku as the adjective infinitive.) Sonna ni suru has two interpretations, ‘does in such a way’ or ‘makes it be such’.

You will find that suru has somewhat wider uses than náru; in addition to its function in the transitive mutative conversion, suru also serves as a generalized (or “pro-”) verb and as an auxiliary that underlies the finite verb forms as explained in §5, as well as the predicator for verbal nouns. In the colloquial language náru is largely limited to the intransitive mutative conversion but it also occurs in V-(a)nákereba naránaí (p. 559); and notice the use of ... ni náru to mean ‘comprises’ in contrast with ... kara náru ‘consists of’: A ga X Y Z

44. On the accent of these words see p. 1067n7.
kara náru ‘A consists of X Y Z’ = X Y Z ga A ni náru ‘X Y Z comprise A’. In the literary language many of the forms of náru fall together with those of the contracted copula n[í] á- = nár-. The syntax differentiates the two when focus is applied (see p. 555) and also when sentence-final, where nár- ‘become’ will be in its predicative form (like other verbs) which happens to coincide with its attributive form náru, but the copula will replace the expected form with its infinitive nári = n[í] ári.

Sometimes it will be unclear whether suru is to be interpreted as mutative or as pro-verbal; this leads to the following ambiguities:

Issyo ni simasýó ka ‘Shall I put them together?’ (mutative)
‘Shall we do it together?’ (adverbial + pro-verbal)

Betu ni simasýó ka ‘Shall I separate them?’ (mutative)
‘Shall we do it separately?’ (adverbial + pro-verbal)

Ambiguities with náru are much less likely. In their mutative uses, náru and suru do not normally occur unless the infinitive is present somewhere earlier in the sentence; but ellipsis is possible in replies to questions and the like: Are wa mondai ni náru?—Narimásu yó ‘Is that a problem?—It is indeed’ (SA 2663.20a); ... are wa moto-dóori(”) ni wa narimásen ka.—Nárú to oomémóshu né ‘... won’t it go back to the way it was?—I think it will, you know’ (Tk 2.83b); ... kénji to iu sigoto ga oséróshu narimásen ka née?—Narimásu né ‘... doesn’t the job of public prosecutor get to be horrible?—It does, yes’ (SA 2650.44a); Sono genba o mítara, sikei-háisi-rónsya ni náru n zya nái ka ná.—Bóku(”) wa naránakatta né ‘Seeing the actual scene (of an execution), wouldn’t one become an advocate of abolishing capital punishment?’—Well, I didn’t become one’ (SA 2650.44d); Bóku(”) tyúgaku ití-nen da kedo, mei-tántei ni nari-tái. Dóó sitára nárérú? ‘I’m in my first year of junior high school and I want to become a famous detective. How can I become one?’ (SA 2677.57b); ... gesyuku ni oita nimotu no azukári(”) [no] syookó-nin(”) ga ná ni no de, watasi ga [sore ni] náttá ‘... as there was no one to sign for the luggage she had left in the boarding house, I became it’ (Endó 148). In the following example, the nátte begins a new paragraph in the original text: Tenzyoo no goku raku wa tizyoo no monó ni náttá no de aru. ¶ Nátte, kono teitaraku de aru. Huhei human no kóe o kikanu hí wa nái ‘The heavenly paradise has become an earthly thing. ¶ Having become it, this is the situation. Not a day goes by that we don’t hear the voices of grumbling and discontent’ (SA 2672.128b).

Provided no restrictive or focus particle intervenes, the infinitive and the mutative verb will be separated by minor juncture, as is usual for auxiliaries. This use of minor, rather than major, juncture will sometimes help disambiguate the mutative from other conversions below; but different prosodic reductions or reinforcements will often obscure the picture, so that you can not rely upon the juncture as a cue.45

Speakers of northern Ryūkyū dialects use forms that correspond to A-ku NI [mo] náru in free variation with the expected A-ku náru, but the ni is apparently not used with the TRANSITIVE mutative (*A-ku NI mo suru); see Martin 1970. In Kansai dialects, too, an optional ni occurs after A-ku in the mutative conversions, apparently both intransitive and transitive: A-ku {ni} náru/suru—see Doi 271-2.

45. Moreover, for reasons of emphasis the subject will sometimes appear directly before the auxiliary: Sono toki dóó iu roožin(”) ni zibun ga nátte irú ka, ... ‘What kind of old person would she herself have become by that time ...’ (Ariyoshi 295).
In §3.8 we spoke of the MUTATIVE-LOCATIVE as a contraction of the static-locative ni with the mutativized copula ni (in effect, the essive) into a single ni meaning 'into, onto' and the like. This is one way to account for the ni which marks the new location of something relocated by a verb expressing change of position: teebaru no uē ni oku 'puts it on the table', densya(ー) ni noru 'boards the train', etc. Normally the ni-marked adjunct will be either a place noun or some other noun thought of as a location, but occasionally you will find the infinitive of an adjectival noun or an adjective (AN ni or A-ku) used in a similar way: tikaku oku 'puts it near', tākaku ageru 'lifts it high', etc. These cases can be regarded as the simple transitive mutative ('puts it so that it is near, lifts it so that it is high' etc.), an explanation somewhat more difficult for the place nouns: 'puts it so that it is [on] the table' etc.

As is true for the mutatives in general, a direct object will usually come BEFORE the ni-marked phrase: sore o teebaru no uē ni oku 'puts that on the table', zyookyaku o 'densya(ー) ni noseru 'takes the passengers aboard the train'. But the opposite order is possible: teebaru no uē ni sore o oku, densya(ー) ni zyookyaku o noseru.

There are a wide variety of verbs that express a change of position, including some you might not readily think of: ... sensēi ga, sēito o koote ni atūmete ... 'the teacher gathered the pupils into the schoolyard and ...' (Shibata 1961.2.10); Kono zī o kokuban ni kāite kudasai 'Write this character on the blackboard'; Tikā ni tosyō-kan o tukutta 'They built a library (so it would be) underground'. For certain examples, it is necessary to assume an ellipsis of sitē (§9.1.12): ... mākura o tākaku [site] neru wāke ni wa ikanai 'can not sleep [with one's pillow high =] in peace' (Fn 368b).

An unusual type is the CORELATIONAL MUTATIVE, which has the pattern A ga B o X ni mōtu 'A has B as his/her X'; the X must be a CORELATIONAL noun—one that implies an opposite number, such as 'father(: :child), husband(: :wife), friend(: :friend)'. An example was given on p. 42 (under ni 15); more examples: ... Zyerārudo ... o koibito ni mōte iru 'has Gerard for/as a lover' (SA 2681.108c); Huziwara Syūnzei/Tosinari o titi ni mōtta Tēikaku(ー)/Sadaie ga ... 'Teika who had Fujiwara Shunzei as his father' (Ōno 1966.140); ... sakkaku(ー) o otoōsan ni mōtta musumē wa ... 'a girl who had a writer for her father' (SA 2639.45b). The ni in these expressions would seem to mean something like 'tō sitē 'as'. But we can not explain the structure as an optional ellipsis of ni [sitē] since you can not say *o koibito ni sitē mōtu. It seems to be unacceptable to permute the adjuncts, so that yuumei-zin o yuuzin ni mōtu 'has a celebrity for a friend' can not be said as *yuuzin ni yuumei-zin o mōtu 'has for a friend a celebrity', but it is possible to focus either or both of the adjuncts and to conjoin two such expressions with a shared adjunct: Sakenōmi o/wa syūzin ni wa moti-tāku nai 'I don't want to have a drunkard for a husband'; Oṣyāberi onnā wa tomodati ni wa [mōte mo] kamawanai kedo tūma ni wa moti-tāku nai 'To have for a friend is all right but I don't want to have a chatterbox of a woman for a wife'; Oṣyāberi onnā wa, tomodati ni mo [moti-tāku nākerēba] tūma ni mo moti-tāku nai 'I don't want to have a chatterbox of a woman or a friend, either'; Asanēboo mo [syūzin ni wa moti-tāku nākerēba] sakenōmi

46. In the TRANSITIVE mutative. In the intransitive, the subject can be delayed (thereby thematizing the mutative): ... sore no tyōonan ni, watakusi ga umaremasita ga ... 'his oldest son was what I was born to be' (R).
Adverbializations

mo syūzin ni wa moti-tāku nai ‘I don’t want to have either a slugabed or a drunkard for a husband’.

The sentence Kāno-zyo wa yuumei na gakusya no musumé ni umareta can be given three interpretations: (1) as a corelational mutative, ‘She was born (as) the daughter of a famous scholar’; (2) as a pure passive, ‘She was given birth by the daughter of a famous scholar’; or, (3) as a passive-derived intransitive (§4.5), ‘She was born to the daughter of a famous scholar’.

9.1.11.(3). Subject-adverbial. The SUBJECT-ADVERBIAL conversion is confined to adjectives and adjectival nouns. The infinitive is used as an adverbial adjunct that refers to the state of the subject, and any verb may follow, including the pro-verb suru ‘does (it)’:

Hayāi ‘He is early/fast’. → Hāyaku suru ‘They do it early/fast’.  
Gēnki da ‘He is healthy/vigorous’. → Gēnki ni suru ‘He does it in good health (vigorously)’.47

The difference between the mutative conversion and the subject-adverbial conversion is seen somewhat more clearly when the sentences are expanded with adjuncts:

A ga hayāi ‘A is fast’ as object of transitive mutative with B ga for subject = B ga A o hāyaku suru ‘B (speeds) A up’.

A ga hayāi ‘A is fast’ as subject-adverbial + A ga X o suru ‘A does X’ = A ga hāyaku X o suru (or: A ga X o hāyaku suru) ‘A does X fast’.

With the subject-adverbial (and with the nuclear-adverbial—and most other conversions below), the order of the adjuncts is free to express relative emphasis. With the mutative conversions it is uncommon—though not unacceptable—for the infinitive to precede either the subject or the object, which retain free order relative to each other: A ga hirune o nāgaku suru and Hirune o A ga nāgaku suru can both mean ‘A prolongs his nap’ (MUTATIVE) as well as (= Nāgaku A ga hirune o suru, Nāgaku hirune o A ga suru) ‘A naps for a long time’ (NUCLEAR-ADVERBIAL, below). Here is an example of the adjectival infinitive (in the EVALUATIVE conversion, below) before the immediate subject (= underlying object) of the potential of kau ‘buys’: Soko de én kiriage no ōrei-tūmari YĀSUKU monō ga kaeru-sosite, sore ni motorōku anteika-kōoka wa kānari ōoku no hitō ni amanēku eikyōo suru ‘The advantage of raising the exchange value of the yen—viz., (that) things can be bought cheaper—and the stabilization effect based on that will extensively affect a considerable number of people’ (SA 2679.25c). And N2 ni N1 ga nāru ‘N1 becomes N2’ is acceptable: Sono kaitōo ni, Nihōn no sarāri-man ga natta ‘The president of that group—a Japanese salary worker has become it’ (SA 2671.62a—sic, kaitōo = kaityōo); cf. Mio 328.

It is not entirely clear that adjuncts are carried with the infinitive in the subject-adverbial conversion, but the subject of the resulting sentence is identical with that of the infinitive, so that it would seem best derived (as here) from a reduction of two identical subjects. Not all cases of the subject-adverbial conversion are ambiguous; it is the only interpretation possible for the examples (from V 115) Ume no hanā ga sirōku hikātte iru ‘The plum blossoms are shining white’ (= Hanā ga sirōi ‘The blossoms are white’) and...

47. But the antonym of gēnki is not an adjectival noun, so that Byooki ni suru can only be interpreted as ‘It makes him sick’ (as a precopular noun) or as ‘They turn it into an illness’ (as a pure abstract noun), and not as ‘He does it in ill health (unvigorously)’.
'The moon is beautiful'). Similar examples are Nisi no sóra ga kin-iro ni hikatte iru 'The western sky is shining golden' (lg 1962.74) and perhaps Kono syussan wa karuku súnda 'This birth of a baby ended (up) light [= easy]' (lg 1962.75).

9.1.11. (4). Nuclear-adverbial (= derived adverb). The infinitives of at least some adjectives and adjectival nouns can be used as adverbial adjuncts with reference to the MANNER in which the action expressed by the verbal is carried out, independently from the state of the subject or object. (Observe the necessity to set up a class of ADVERBS, § 13.7, some of which can not be predicated and hence can not be derived from a real nominal sentence.) In addition to the meanings 'They make it [so that it is] early/fast' (transitive mutative, with object complement) and 'They do it [and they are] early/fast' (subject-adverbial, with subject complement), Háyaku suru can also mean 'They do it [and the action itself is] early/fast = They do it quickly' (nuclear-adverbial, with nuclear complement). The following example will show the contrast:

Watasi ga benkyoo o háyaku suru
(1) 'I speed up the studying' ← Benkyoo ga háyai 'The study is early/fast'.
(2) 'I study early' ← Watasi ga háyai 'I am early/fast'.
(3) 'I study quickly' ← Háyai 'It is early/fast'.

In this example, it might be thought that the second semantic interpretation (subject-adverbial) could perhaps be stretched to include the third interpretation (nuclear-adverbial), but there are other examples which will bring home the difficulty of trying to pin the reference of the infinitive down to either the subject or the object:

Watasi ga benkyoo o yóko suru
(1) 'I make the study [so it is] good = I improve my studying' ← Benkyoo ga yóí 'The study is good'.
(2) 'I study [and I am good =] well' ← Watasi ga yóí 'I am good (at it)'.
(3) 'I study often/lots' ← 'It is [enough to be] good'.

What we seem to have in the third case (the nuclear-adverbial) is an adverb that is lexically derived from the infinitive—and is identical with it in pronunciation; each such DERIVED ADVERB, while superficially distinguished in no way from the infinitive, should probably be listed separately in the lexicon, in order to show that the nuclear-adverbial interpretation is possible for such sentences. Sentence adverbials—such as igai(‘) ni mo ‘unexpectedly enough’ and yóko ‘luckily’—can be treated as an extension of the nuclear adverbialization.

If the view taken here is correct, it should be possible to generate a sentence like [Ása] háyaku || [watasi ga |] háyaku | benkyoo o háyaku sita *'I quickly speeded up the studying early *[in the morning]*', reducible by optional ellipsis to Háyaku I háyaku I háyaku sita—with any one of the háyaku's interpretable (in theory, at least) as any one of the English adverbs (including the one hiding in the verb 'speed'). An additional interpretation would be iteration ("fast–fast–fast!").

Examples derived from adjectives: nágaku 'for a long time'; atarášiku 'newly, recently, freshly, anew'; hágésiku 'fiercely'; [mono-]isgóku 'dreadfully = very'; yasasiku 'easily, simply' (cf. 'gently', subject-adverbial); karuku 'lighty; easily'—Gomi no ryóo ni mi-atta syookyaku-zyoo o tukuróo to suréba zyuusigó-oku no kane wa karuku kakáru 'To build

48. A semantic extension leads to the idiomatic meaning 'is proficient at N' as in bünsyoo o yóko suru 'is a proficient writer'. (Grammatically this might also be interpreted as 'improves the sentences'.)
an incinerator adequate for the quantity of trash will easily require fourteen or fifteen hundred million [yen] in money' (SA 2668.30a); kuwásiku 'in detail; precisely'—Móóto kuwásiku íéba ... 'To put the matter more precisely ...' seems to belong here rather than with the mutative, as does also óókiku in Nobí-ritu wa óókiku oíru 'The growth rate falls in a big way' (SA 2671.45d); ititìrúsiku ‘remarkably’—... kikáí(“) ga ititìrúsiku hútea kotó ... 'that opportunities have remarkably increased in number' (K 1966.176).

Examples derived from adjectival nouns: génki ni ‘vigorously’; kírei ni ‘neatly, nicely’; hízyoo ni ‘extraordinarily = exceedingly’; yáke ni ‘desperately = horribly, terribly’—Yáke ni átukátta ‘It was dreadfully hot’; seikaku ni [iéba] ‘exactly [speaking]’.

Negatives occur with all three interpretations, though there may be some restrictions as nuclear-adverbials that should be explored: Utíúsiku náku káita ‘He wrote unbeauti-

fully’; Kírei zya náku káita ‘He wrote unneatly’; Sízuka zya náku syáberú ‘He talks un-

quietly’; Omosírókú náku sugósita ‘He passed the time uninterestingly’. But some are re-

jected: ‘Génki zya náku is replaced by Genki-náku in the sentence Genki-náku sigoto o sita ‘He did his work unenergetically’. Genki-náku is the infinitive of Genki-nái, an ad-

jective derived from Génki [ga] ná ‘Energy is lacking = [One] lacks energy’. The oppo-

site expression Génki [ga] yói will not reduce to an adjective; it can only undergo

the normal juncture reduction to Genki I yóku, and there is no *genki-yóku.

More examples of nuclear-adverbials (from V 118): Hídóku níte íru ‘They are terribly

alike’; Tumetaku waratta ‘She smiled coolly’; Sízuka ni husúmá(“) o akete ... ‘Opening

the opaque sliding door quietly ...’; Nikutai-teki ni yówátte ... ‘Weakening physically ...’;
Tóbi wa le no úe o óókiku mawatte úmi no hóó e déte yuku ráskátta ‘The kite [bird]

made a big circle above the house and seemed to be heading out to sea’. The examples
given here are all single-word adverbs, but phrases sometimes occur: Kono hi wa, sootyoo
kara OTÓ MO NÁKU áme ga ótite itá ga, úmi wa súzuka datta ‘On this day rain was falling
WITHOUT A SOUND (= silently) from early morning, but the sea was calm’ (SA 2670.42d);
the manner interpretation somehow seems better than the subject-adverbial interpretation,
though the latter is conceivable, from something like ‘the rain has no sound’. Notice that
in húkaku kan-zíru ‘feels it deeply’ neither IT nor YOU are “deep”; the depth refers to the
feeling itself. And in híroku aruki-mawaru ‘walks around extensively’ the limitation is on

the act itself.

9.11.11.(5). Evaluative. The EVALUATIVE conversion blends a statement of evaluation
(predicated by an adjective or an adjectival noun) with a sentence that uses the evaluated
as direct object: Tanin no kotó ga yói/wárú ‘Things about other people are good/bad’ +
Tanin no kotó o iu ‘says things about other people’ → Tanin no kotó o yóku/wárúku iu
’says good/bad things about others = speaks well/ill of others’.49 The infinitive can be nega-

tivized: Hi o omósírókú náku sugósita ‘I passed the days in dull fashion’; Sore o tanóšiku náku mítá ‘I watched that without enjoyment’. Other examples are Sore o utukúsiku káita in the meaning ‘I wrote it [so that it would be] beautiful’ and Sore o kírei ni káita in the meaning ‘I wrote it [so that it would be] neat’—somehow to be connected with Sore ga utukúsí ‘That is beautiful’ and Sore ga kírei da ‘That is neat’ rather than with Sono kotó ga utukúsí ‘That act is beautiful’ and Sono kotó ga kírei da

49. Presumably this underlies the following passivized example: Káre hodo zainín-tyuu wáruku
iwàreta syusyoo wa náí ‘No prime minister was so ill-spoken of while in office as was he’ (SA 2668.40a).
§9.1.11. Conversions of adjectival and nominal infinitives

‘That act is neat’ (which would indicate the nuclear-adverbial conversion). And Sore ga yasui ‘That is cheap’ somehow underlies Sore o yasuku kau ‘buys it cheap’.

9.1.11.(6). Transitive putative. The TRANSITIVE PUTATIVE results from putting together two sentences of the types shown below: Sore ga arigatai/uresii/kanasii ‘That is obliging/pleasant/sad’ + Sore o omotta ‘I thought/felt that’ → Sore o/wa arigatakuri/uresikik/anasi omotta ‘I thought that obliging/pleasant/sad’. The adjectival need not be emotional: Siken-mondai o yasasiku omotta ‘I thought the exam questions easy’. Instead of an adjectival you may find an adjectival noun: Sore o husigini kangae ru ‘I find that strange’ (= Sore ga husigita da to kangae ru); Sore o koo huku ni kan-zita ‘I felt that to be (fortunate =) a blessing’. And occasionally you will find a noun, especially if modified by an adjectival, though it is more common to use N no yoo ni: Hitobito wa sore o yoi koto no yoo ni omou ‘People feel that to be a good thing’ (Ono 1966.13); Watasi no koto o o-tetudai-san ‘gurai ni sika omotte inai n desu yo ‘They think of me as nothing more than a housemaid, I tell you’ (SA 2671.130c).50

In the following example the conversion is adnominalized to its epithematised object: Kondo hodo wakai onnai no-ko ga kire de naku kan-zita tabi wa arimasen desita ‘I never had a trip on which I felt the young girls were so unpretty as this time’ (SA 2688.100b); the immediately underlying sentence is tabi o ... kan-zita ‘about the trip I felt that ... ’ but the deeper relationship between ‘trip’ and ‘girls’ is vague.

The transitive putative is largely limited to the verbs omou ‘thinks, feels’ (and its synonyms), kangae ru ‘thinks, figures, reckons’, kan-ziru ‘feels’, and miru ‘regards as, thinks of as’—as in Sore o omosiroku mita ‘I thought that enjoyable’ rather than (with the evaluative) ‘I watched that with enjoyment’, cf. Kotira no seihin omou ‘They highly regarded our products’. But there are a few other verbs of similar meaning which can be used with the transitive putative: Hôn o ta setu ni atukau ‘We treat the book as valuable’; Sore o wäru tōru ‘[One] takes that badly’; Kore o réi ni tōrea ... ‘If we take this as an example ... ’—perhaps this is a mutative, like Onnai o hotoziti ni tōru ‘I will take the woman as a hostage’; Tōyoo de wa yuuzyoo to iu monó o taka ku hyōoka(=) suru ‘In the Orient friendship is something highly valued’ (Maeda 1962.60); Watakusi wa ningen no tie to iu monó o, mōto taka ku katte imasu ‘I (buy =) value human wisdom higher (than that)’ (Tk 2.154a).

A transitive putative sentence such as Hanā o utukusiku omou ‘I think the flowers beautiful’ is equivalent in meaning to a quotative sentence Hanā o utukusūi to omou ‘I think the flowers to be beautiful’, which—in turn—can be taken as roughly the equivalent of Hanā ga utukusūi omou ‘I think that the flowers are beautiful’. Cf. §21.1.

There are negatives: Sore o/wa anmari arigatakuri/uresikik/anasi omosiroku naku omotta ‘I thought that none too obliging/pleasant/sad/interesting’. The Kansai infinitive (A-[k]u, p. 392n) is used with the humble verb xon-ziru(= omou), and the verb itself is sometimes omitted: Sore o arigatoo [xon- zimāsu] ‘I appreciate that’.


50. But the noun o-tetudai-san becomes part of an adjectival-noun phrase by adding the restrictive gurai [na ...].
omoēru 'can be thought/felt, is thought/felt; seems', mirarēru 'is regarded as', nagamarēru 'is viewed as', kan-zi-razurēru 'is felt (as)'

Examples: Omosirōku mieta 'It seemed fun'; Myōō ni omowāreta 'It felt strange'; Kao ga nagaku miēru (= nāgai to miēru) 'The face looks long'; Ōsō ni wa hutari no musumē ga keihāku ni omōēta 'To Shingo the two girls appeared flippant' (Kawabata in V 113); Sirāume ga anzu ka nanī ka no hanā ni miēta 'The white plum blossoms looked like apricot blossoms or something' (Kawabata in Vardul 119); Watasi wa hizyō ni sore ga omosirōi booken-teki ni sigoto ni omowāreta 'To me that seemed extremely interesting adventurous work' (Kikuchi Kan in V 119); ... seīnen no gōtoku [= no yō ni] miēta ga 'he looked like a youth but ...' (Tk 2.295); Íma de wa, huyū ni de-kasegi ni ikanai to, yohodo namake-monō(‘) ka byōoin ni mirarēru, to iu hodo de-kasegi wa atarimae no kotō ni nātte iru 'At present, if you don’t go out for work in the winter, it has got so that hiring out is the expected thing—so much so that if you don’t hire out in the winter you are regarded as lazy or sick' (SA 2684.18e). There are negatives: Sore ga/wa anmari omosirōku nāku omowāreta 'It was thought not overly amusing'.

Cf. -te miēru, §9.2.4.(8); ... (A-i, N da) to wakāru/kangaerarēru/omowārēru/omoēru, §21.1; N ni sitewakaru/kangaeru/kan-gaeru/omoēru, ... . Notice that Ōtoosa n ni miēru can be interpreted either as 'It looks like (or: looks to be) father' or 'It is visible to (can be seen by) father'.

Both of the last two conversions are usually only for adjectives or adjectival nouns; nouns will normally occur as N no yōo ni, though a few examples of simple N ni will be found above. Verbs can also appear if mediated by adnominalization to yōo ni: Sore wa Kōtakē no kekkon ni gen' in ga āru yōo ni omowarēru 'It appears that that has its roots in Kotake’s marriage' (Ig 1962.92); the sore wa is a subdued thematization of a genitive, i.e. sore no [+ sono] gen'in. Or, the verb can be evidentialized (V-i-soo da, §20): Āme ga hurī-soo ni l omowarēru 'It appears to look like rain', Āme ga hurī-soo ni l omōō 'I think it looks like rain'.

Although the negative of a verbal is by form an adjective, and hence susceptible to the conversions, it seems to be more common to use V-(a)nai yōo ni miēru etc. than to use V-(a)naku miēru (for which I have no example): ... amari nagāi aida wa l l tuzukanakatta l yōo ni l miēru 'It seems not to have continued for too long a time ...' (Ōno 1966.83)—but yōo here is needed in order to preserve the perfect.

In addition to the seven conversions described above, see also S karā ni [wa], §17.1.


The gerund form of some of the sentences made by the transitive mutative conversion of the preceding section (X o Y ni suru 'makes X into Y') can be used adverbially with an optional dropping of the gerund site. The resulting pattern X o Y ni [site] 'with X as Y' (or the like) is illustrated in these examples: Kore o kikkake ni [site] 'This (was what) started me succeeding',52 Toodai no akari o täyori ni [ ] kookō suru 'They navigate

51. The usually transitive kan-zirēru 'feels' is sometimes used as equivalent to the passive (or spontaneous potential) kan-zi-razurēru: Gaikoku no kyarameru wa, Nihon-zen ni wa situkkōkō kan-zimāsu ne 'To Japanese, foreign caramels taste too strong' (Tk 4.194b) —note the marker NI.

52. Cf. Ano sōdoo ga kikake de Noorin-syoo ni santi-haikki-sēido o tukurāseta 'With that disturbance as excuse they had the Agriculture Ministry prepare a system for soil retirement' (SA 2689.145c); de is the copula gerund.
§9.1.12. Verb dropping

by the light from the lighthouse'; Anó-hito o usiro-date ni [ ] ... ‘With him for a backer ...'; With his support ...'; Kore o kikái(−) ni [ ] ... ‘Taking this opportunity ...'; Kane o mé-ate ni [ ] ... ‘With money as one’s object ...'; Musuko o oyō no kawari ni [ ] ... ‘Letting son stand in for father ...'; Kono ten o saká ni [ ] ... ‘With this point as a boundary’ (SA 2671.44b).53 Many of these expressions are like the phrasal postpositions of §9.7: Sore o itògúti ni [ ] ... ‘With that as a clue ...’; Sore o kawakirí(−) ni [ ] ... ‘With that as a starter ...’.

We are forced to recognize the dropping of sité by the presence of the stranded direct object. If ni were simply the infinitive of the copula ‘its being (a case of)’ the nouns would be marked as subjects (X ga Y ni ...): compare the two examples cited in §9.1, Sore ga munén-sa ni ... ‘With that as a resentment ...’ and ... hó[h]o dokê ga momoiro ni, sikáíi ... ‘just her cheeks were pink, (but ...),’ and the more common examples with the copula gerund, such as zíkó ga gen’in de sinda hitó ‘a person who died as the result of an accident’. Our ellipsis is not a fictive process introduced merely to explain away the anomaly of a direct object in the absence of a transitive verb, since the dropping is optional and sité can always be put back: Sénbe[i] o tumami ni {site} utsukii no mizuwari o nomi-nágar ... ‘While drinking whiskey-and-water with rice crackers to nibble on ...’. Since sité can NOT be added to Sore tó wa betu ni ... ‘Quite apart from that ...’ (p. 396), that expression must be an infinitive adverbialization of the copula. Cf. N wa [−o] betu ni/ito site (pp. 456, 579).

A few examples (from KKK 3.141-2): ... sono akazi o koozitu ni [ ] ... ‘with that deficit as a pretext’; ... meisin-bukái dozin o aité ni [ ] syóobai o site iku ‘is doing business with superstitious natives as customers’; ... ‘12725’ no bangoo o tegákari ni [ ] sóosa “tyuu no tokoro ... ‘while investigating with the number ’12725’ as a clue’; ... kore o tane ni [ ] Seiio ‘gawa ni hutatabi younko-kaigi o hirakásete ... ‘will use this as an excuse to force the Western European powers to reopen a Four Power Conference’. More examples, from various sources: Sore o ii kotô(−) ni [ ] ... ‘Taking advantage of that = Finding it a good excuse ...’ (Fn 229a); Koo sita zizyoo o haikei ni [ ], ... ‘With this sort of situation as a background, ...’ (SA 2664.122a); Aakú-too no densín-básira o usiro ni [ ], bóku(−) wa gunsyuu o nirami-tuketa ‘With arc-light pole behind me, I glared at the crowd’ (Tk 3.71a); Kono zyookyo o haikei ni [ ], roomazi-rónsyaa, kanamozi-rónsyaa wa óoi ni katudoo sita ‘With this situation for a background the advocates of romanization and the advocates of kana engaged in great activity’; ... Gaburiéru wa byooki o riyuu ni [ ] gakkoo o kekkin sita ‘Gabrielle stayed away from her school job, giving illness as the reason’ (SA 2649.105c); Mái ni hitó ga tízu o táyori ni [ ], áru ié o sagasite ita ‘A person from the town was looking for a certain house, with a map to rely on’ (Shibata 1961.71); ... káre ga sakunen zyuugatú no Pári kokusai-gitaa-konkúuru ití-i nyuuysyoo o o-miyage ni [ ] sakigóro kikoku sita ‘he recently returned to Japan with, as a memento of his travels, the winning of first prize in the Paris International Guitar Competition of October of last year’ (SA 2679.119a); Soko de bóku(−) wa, sono Amerikázín no senséi ga han-tóshi hodo site kikoku sityáttá no o ii kotô(−) ni [ ], yamete simata no da keredo ... ‘Then I took advantage (making a good thing) of that American teacher’s going home after half a year, and quit’ (CK 985.372); Undóó-in hutari ga ihan o kú ni [ ] zisatu ‘Two party workers commit suicide, anxious over (election) irregularities’ (SA 2663.126—a headline with ellipsis of final suru/sita after verbal noun, on which see

53. With sité intact: Sore ga haisen o saká ni site itten si, ... ‘That all changed with the war defeat (as the dividing line), and ...’ (SA 2688.89c).
§9. Adverbializations

§28; Koten sansiku o tōwazu(‘) sēkā ‘zyuu no suiri-syōosetu o senmon ni [ ] hon’yaku site iru sirizū de, ... ‘It is a series that specializes in translating mystery stories from all over the world, both classic and new works’ (SA 2679.143a). In the last example, since ... o tōwazu(‘) ‘not discriminating between ...’ typically takes as its object a pair of contrasting semantic entities—either lexicalized (dānzyō ‘men and/or women’) or conjoined as questions, we can assume that the direct conjoining at the beginning of the sentence represents something like Koten [de āru ka] sansiku [de āru ka] ... ‘whether it be classics or be new works’. In ... kakioki o tāte ni [ ], ... ‘on the strength of his deathbed note’ (Kb 176) we might prefer to assume ellipsis of the specific verb tōtte (< “taking it as a shield’), but site is also used.

In the following example (perhaps a blend with §9.1.13?) the ni is dropped along with site: Bakānsu ni haitta no o saiwai [ ], R-hūsai wa Kurisutian o saisyo wa Dōitu, tugi ni Itaria e to tabi-datāsena ‘Taking advantage of the fact that vacation time had set in, M. and Mme R. sent Christian off traveling, first to Germany and then to Italy’ (SA 2649.105c).

An example of N o A-ku [site] was given in §9.1.11: mākura o tākaku [site] neru ‘sleeps with one’s pillow high (= in peace’). For an example of VN [site] irai ‘since VN-ing’, see §9.2.3.

A similar ellipsis occurs for the copula gerund de in Sore mo sono hazu [de], ... ‘And that being only natural, ...’ (SA 2680.116c) and in conjoined sentences of the type A ga X [de], B ga Y dā; the final dā can drop also/instead, so that we also get both (1) A ga X [ ] , B ga Y [ ] and (2) A ga X de, B ga Y [ ]. In the same way, a final suru or sita will drop in certain styles, e.g. that of newspaper headlines. For omission of other forms of suru, see §14.1.3, §14.3, §21.4, §28. Here is an example of nuclear ellipsis (§28) that removes naru from an intransitive mutative conversion: Tookyōo-to no tizi-kōōho ni [naru], to iu hanasi ga āru yōō desu ke re o mo ‘There seems to be some talk about [your undertaking] candidacy for the Ōkyōō governorship’ (SA 2678.46b). And for a dropping of the subject-exalting (o-V-i) ni naru in its gerund form nāte, see §10, p. 599.

Other places where the copula gerund is optional (but usually omitted) include the expression X wa mōryō/oroka/mōtōyori [de] Y ‘to say nothing of X’, as in: Kono hōn wa hīyōo wa mōtōyori [ ], syookai suru kōto mo muzukashī(‘) ‘This book is difficult to introduce, to say nothing of critically review’ (SA 2679.103a).

Cf. N o hazime {to site}, p. 578 in §9.7; Sore wa tō-mo-kaku {to site} ‘Be that as it may’; ... .


Expressions of time and place often consist of a noun preceded by an adnominal expression: Sono toki da ‘It is that time’, Nagāi aida da ‘It is a long interval (of time)’, Tooi tokorō da ‘It is a far-off place’, etc. We expect these to adverbialize by converting the copula into its infinitive form ni. But sometimes, either optionally or obligatorily, the ni drops, leaving the underlying nominal sentence DIRECTLY ADVERBIALIZED. (Cf. direct nominalization, §14.6.)

It is usual to drop the temporal-locative ni with certain expressions of RELATIVE time (such as kinō ‘yesterday’, kyōnen ‘last year’, etc.) but not with those of SPECIFIC time (yō-zi ni ‘at four o’clock’, gozyū-nen ni ‘in [19]50’, etc.), as pointed out in BJ 1.124. Notice that the time noun ima ‘present (time)’ splits into different meanings depending on the presence of the ni: (1) ima da → ima ni ‘soon, presently, by and by’;
§9.1.13. Direct adverbialization of nominals

(2) İma da (→ İma ni) → İma 'now, at present'—or, when followed by a quantity word and stripped of accent, '(some) more' (= moo) as in İma sukoshi 'a little more' and İma hitotu 'one more'. As Jorden notes, certain time expressions (e.g. those ending with "gorö 'about') optionally take the marker ni. The names of the seasons belong in this group, but they are more common without ni, as are the parts of the day: härö 'in spring', natö 'in summer', akö 'in autumn', huuyö 'in winter'; aśa 'in the morning', hirö 'during the day', görö 'in the afternoon', ban 'in the evening'. Similar is hazeı ni wa 'at first, in the beginning'.

Expressions of duration are often directly adverbialized: nágä aida 'for a long time', san-zikän [−gùrai] 'for three hours'; Koko [or: Kono] ni-sansyuukan 'me ga nai 'There has been no rain for the last few weeks'.

There are other kinds of optionally omitted ni. These are to be treated as words belonging to the class of adverbs as well as to some other class (usually that of adjectival noun or of precopular noun): amari ni 'overly', tyokuseı ni 'directly', tugì-tugì ni/toj 'one after another', ...; Siwai ni kazaıku wa miı̇n-genki desu 'Happily, the whole family is well'. (Siwai is an adverb, an adjectival noun, and also a pure abstract noun—as in siwai on inöru 'prays for happiness'). Sometimes there is a difference of meaning: as an adverb zyun zinö means 'gradually', but zyuın zinö ni means 'consecutively'. Two ways to say 'comparatively' are optionally marked by ni, wariai ni and hi kakü-teki ni: hikaku-teki yooı ni zikkuoo sareru 'is accomplished comparatively easily'. See also kotö ni in § 14.1, p. 843.

Cerıın adverbial expressions permit you to use either ni or de (cf. Alfonso 305): óogöe ni/de 'loudly', genki ni/de 'vigorously'; zyooodän ni/de 'jokingly' (ni preferred), buzı ni/de 'safely' (ni preferred), naisıo ni/de 'secretly' (de preferred); ... Ellipsis of something like surö no 'doing it' can leave these copula-marked adverbializations stranded directly before another copula (usually propredicative), as observed on p. 242 (§3.10).

There are a number of postadnominals that undergo direct adverbialization either obligatorily or (more often) optionally:

tokorö: Genzai no tokorö, ... 'At present, ...'; Mókkı no tokorö, ... 'At the moment, ...'; Kkekkyoku no tokorö, ... 'In the last/final analysis, ...'; Ooyoosı no tokorö, ... 'Roughly speaking, ...'; Tumáru tokorö, ... [oratorıcal] = Tümari, ... 'In short/brief/sum, ...'; Anzen na tokorö, ... 'To be on the safe side, ...'; Sirabeta tokorö, ... 'Upon inquiry/examination, ...' (SA 2672.29d); Sas-suru tokorö, ... 'Presumably, ...'; Mattaku no tokorö, ... 'To tell the truth, ...'; Zitu/Zissai no tokorö, ... 'In reality, ...'; ... syooziki na tokorö komatte simatta 'to be honest about it, I was most embarrassed' (SA 2673.143c); Tábete mita tokorö, ŭmakatta 'When I sampled it, it was delicious'; Kärera wa ikken sita tokorö, Betonamu seihù-gun to kawaranai 'They are, at first glance, no different from the Vietnames government forces' (SA 2672.23c); Saiyöo mita tokorö yosasıo datta kedo ni-dö 'mé kara wa anmari ii to omowàнакatta 'When I first saw it [= the film] it seemed good but after the second time I decided it wasn't very good'; Sassoku tyóoa sita tokorö,

54. The accentuation tells us that ima-made 'up to now', ima-mötte 'as yet', and ima-goro 'about now' are lexical derivatives, obligatorily replacing their sources *ima made, *ima motte, and *ima-goro.
55. In written Japanese this is also directly adverbialized: ... buzi doosen ni kyùuzyo sareta 'were saved without harm by the same ship' (SA 2674.129c).
§9. Adverbalizations

kono uetōresu wa arubaito no tandai-sei to wakatta ‘Upon a quick check, this waitress turned out to be a junior college student working on the side’ (SA 2674.99d).\footnote{The following are treated as lexical derivatives: kono-tokorō ‘lately; for the present’ (adverb), kokonō-tokoro ‘right here/now; lately’ (noun/adverb), ima-nō-tokoro ‘at present’ (adverb), hayai-tokoro ‘promptly’ (adverb); sünde-no-tokorō ‘änder any moment (now/then), very nearly’ (adverb).}

koto: Kyōnen no koto, ‘[It is a matter of] last year, ...’. Expressions such as nagai koto ‘for a long time’, hayai koto ‘promptly’, and isso no koto ‘preferably, rather’ are often treated as lexical adverbs (see §14.1) as is sünde-no-koto (ni/de) (§13.7).

toki: Watasi wa kore o kiita toki, taisoo hara ga tatta ‘When I heard this I got quite angry’ (SA 2685.119b); Wánman no toki, o-ori no katā wa kono botan o osite kudasai ‘When the bus is one-man operated, persons wishing to get off will please press this button’ (sign in bus).

zibun(’): Sore de, kui-owatta zibun(’), hizagásira o idaki-nágara Mitomi ga tubuyáku ‘Then when through eating, hands on knees, Mitomi mumbles’ (Ig 37).

sai: O-ori no sai, otosimono(’) wasuremono gozaimásem yō go-tyūui kudasai ‘Upon departure from vehicle, please see that you have not dropped anything nor left anything behind’.

uti(’): Wakái musumé-tati to asonde iru uti(’), Itíroo wa omosirói [ákúgi = itazura o hakken sita ‘While playing with the young girls, Ichirō discovered an amusing bit of mischief’ (Ig 37); ... zisátù-sya wa 4635-nin ni nobotte iru. [Sono] uti(’) [ni] yozsei wa 2332’nin [de], ... ‘suicides have risen to 4635 persons. Among them are 2322 women, and ...’ (SA 2671.129b).

hoka: Tyúugoku no hoka, Nan’yoo no hoo ni mo ikaretá n desu né ‘In addition to China, you also went to the South Seas, didn’t you’ (Tk 2.261a); Tozan no hoka, supóotto de wa dónna koto o— ‘Aside from mountain climbing, what sort of thing in the way of sports (do you do)’? (Tk 3.178b).
	
tame: ... Norio san no yukue ga wakarána tamé, keisatu de sagasite imášu ‘owing to the fact that Norio’s whereabouts are unknown, the police are looking for him’ (R).

kekka: Zitti-kensyoo no kekka, hakkiri sita ketúron(’) ga dēta ‘As the result of an on-the-spot investigation, there emerged an obvious conclusion’ (Ig 36).

There are several other types, as the examples below illustrate:

(1) Omitting the temporal-locative marker: Tikái syóorai [ni], ... ‘In the near future ...’; Bókú(’) wa sono ban [ni] inákatta kara, bókú(’) no bán dáke noksíšit oíte, minná de tábeta n da ‘They all ate it leaving only a portion for me, since I wasn’t there that evening’ (Tk 1.22); Áru ban, otkóo wa onná o utí(’) e sasotta ‘One evening, a man invited a woman to his house’ (Ig 36); Watasi no pátoron(’) wa watasi no túíta hi, sigoto o setumei sita ‘My patron explained the job to me [on] the day I arrived’ (Endō 194); Yat-tó ni-zikan –bákari tátta íma, Husae wa tobosíi(’) yúuki o u bathtub sore o tazúneta ‘At last now that some two hours had passed, Fusae seized her feeble courage and inquired (about it)’ (Ig 37).

(2) Omitting the copula gerund dé: Útta áto [de] ... ‘After shooting ...’ (SA 2685.99c); Tó omótta no mo tuka-no-ma [de], ... ‘With that as but a passing thought, ...’ (SA 2673.94b); ... nainái(’) [de] utomášiku omó ‘secretly dislikes’ (SA 2685.130b); Syóobai “gara [de] Tyuu-Nánbei, Ahurika no minato de yóku kuruma ni norimášu ‘By
9.2. The gerund

The gerund has the shape -kute (lively form -kutte) for adjectival sentences and de (= literary nite) for nominal sentences. But in western Japan the ending -te is attached to the Kansai abbreviated infinitive -[k]u so that you get forms with the history ...akute > ...a’ute and ...okute > ...o’ute (both pronounced ...oote); ...ukute > ...u’ute (pronounced ...uute); and ...ikute > ...i’ute (pronounced ...yuute). Thus nöote is the Kansai form for nakute and yari-töote is the form for yari-takute. The velar stop in -[k]u drops sporadically in various other areas, including Chiba (see Zhs). For an adjectival gerund like uresi[k]ute, according to Maeda 1961.20, Kyōto has two pronunciations uresyuute and uresite; Ōsaka takes the latter and shortens it to uresite.

Verb gerunds are more complicated. Vowel verbs simply add -te to the base (or, rather, to the infinitive which is the same in shape); consonant verbs add -te or -de depending on the base type and undergo certain morphophonemic alternations (essentially, reductions from the infinitive):

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57. E.g. Nagoya (hana[s]ite, Kgg 81.49a), Ishikawa (okó[s]ite, Zhs 3.95), Yamanashi (da[s]ite, Zhs 2.424), N. E. Hyōgo (oku[s]ite > okeeete, Zhs 3.307 n. 2). Forms such as tu[glide and o[k]ite can be found in texts as early as 830 AD (Kokugogaku jiten 1047a). Cf. the Kansai adjective infinitive -(k)u.
58. In parts of central and southern Japan pronounced kóo (but nowadays usually kau and kou in Kansai). In Aomori w- verbs become r- verbs.
59. E.g. Kōchi (H 1968.150); Kyūshū (H 1968.166); Ishikawa (nômite > nóode, Zhs 3.96).
Adverbializations

(The basic final accent on the imperfect -u and gerund -te forms of atonic bases will be heard only before a particle or the like; elsewhere it will be cancelled by an underlying juncture.)

The verb ik-u ‘goes’ is irregular; instead of the expected *ii-te, the gerund is it-te, homonymous with the gerund of i-ú (pronounced yuu) ‘says’—but the latter gerund is often pronounced yut-te, homonymous with the gerund of yu-ú ‘dresses hair’ (both yuu-te in Kansai). In certain dialects (Tottori, Izumo, Oki—Zhs 3.307 n. 1; N. E. Hyogo, Zhs 3.318) the verb ‘go’ preserves the literary form yuki-te > ik-i-te, differing from ik-i-te ‘living’ (a vowel verb) only by accent. Other k verbs in these dialects apparently drop the velar: kiit... ‘hear(ing)’ (Zhs 3.308). And ‘saying’ is it-te (Zhs 3.306 n. 2). There are Kanto dialects that treat at least some other k verbs as Tôkyô treats ‘go’, e.g. aruki-te > arut-te ‘walking’ (Zhs 2.17)—as in arut-te = aruite = arui-te mo ‘even walking’ (Ibaragi, Zhs 2.47).

The literary gerund for the copula is made by attaching -te to the infinitive ni (= the objective essive), and modern dé is a reduction from ní-te in all its uses, including those treated as a particle in §2.2. In Literary Japanese the verb gerund is made by attaching -te with no changes in the infinitive, so that the literary forms corresponding to the ones given above are kaki-te, kagi-te, kiasi-te, kári-te, káhi-te, káhi-te, káhi-te, ihi-te, yuhi-te, yobi-te, yómi-te, sini-te, and (for ‘going’) yuki-te > iki-te. There are dialects in the southern Ryûkûys (Yaeyama and Yonaguni) which show a regular formation similar to that of the literary language. The gerund ending -te is palatalized to -tye or -ti in northern Kyûshû, according to Zhs 6.19; and palatalization of the ending (to -cil) is widespread in the Ryûkûys, assimilating the syllable to the preceding /i/ of the infinitive on which the gerund was formed.

The Kansai versions of the -w verbs (ká-u etc.) carry a certain literary prestige and you will sometimes run across them in print, especially if the preceding vowel is -o-: kó-u ‘begs, loves’ and tó-u(‘) ‘asks’ (both rather uncolloquial) are usually given the gerunds kóote and tóote, respectively, instead of kóte and tóte.63 And the same situation obtains for other forms based on the gerund, such as the perfect: ... kokumin ni tóo no daroo ka ‘will they ask the people of the nation?’ More colloquial verbs are not so likely to be given the Kansai treatment in writing; in the following passage we find simatta not simo(o)ta, despite notamóota = notamatta: ... kietä ui’sukii ni tóo wa, “Mõo tókkú-ni(‘) döko ka e simi-kônde simattâ ‘rôô yô’ to notamóota ‘with respect to the vanished whiskey, he stated ‘It must have been soaked up some place long ago’’” (SA 2670.107d).

In colloquial Kansai speech (cf. Zhs 4.16) the long oo is often shortened, especially in polysyllabic verbs and you will sometimes see in print such forms as morote = moratte ‘getting’,64 simota for simoota = simatta ‘finished’, and warota for waroota = waratta ‘laughed’: Soo omôte ‘ru desu wa ‘That’s what I think, you see’ (SA 2684.103a) –< omôote = omôote.

61. The “h” represents the orthographic form of what was earlier pronounced [F] and still earlier [p], here the source of the modern intervocalic /w/ now heard only before /a/ as in kawânai ‘does not raise’.
62. But these Ryûkûys gerunds appear to be derived from infinitive + sité rather than -te.
63. In Literary Japanese, forms that end in ...a-u and ...o-u are pronounced /...ool/.
64. For this verb, the forms are often further contracted to moote, moota, etc. (cf. Inokuchi 101).
Originally the gerund was itself the infinitive form of an auxiliary verb t(e)-, which underlies the literary perfect forms túru (attributive) and tú (predicative) as in saki-túru hanā ‘the flowers in bloom, the flowers which have bloomed’ (= saita hanā or saite iru hanā) and hanā saki-tú ‘the flowers are in bloom, the flowers have bloomed’ (= hanā ga saita or hanā ga saite iru). On the use of paired verbs in the (V-i)-tú form as an equivalent of modern -tāri, see §9.5. The auxiliary verb t(e)- itself might be a development from some earlier *ti á(r)-. In any event, once it was made, the literary gerund combined anew with á(r)- to produce the forms -tāra or -tāra-ba, the conditional and (with -ba) also the literary perfect hypothetical; -tāreba, the literary perfect provisional; -tā, the perfect; -tāru, the attributive literary perfect; and -tāri, the modern representational and the predicative literary perfect.

In addition to forming the gerund, -tē is apparently present in the particle tō-te (§21.3) and in the adverb sā-te (unless that is the quotative tē = tō?); it also attaches to the literary adverb kāku ‘thus’ to form kāku-te. The older literary language had V-(a)zu-te, corresponding to modern V-(a)nāde or V-(a)nākute.

Martin 1967 (255 fn. 15) attempted to set up an ordered series of rules to convert the literary gerund into the modern standard forms, but it is easier to use a straightforward model that works by analogy, saying to yourself such things as “since sakēbu ends in -bu like yobu and the gerund of yobu must be sakēnde”. (On a different set of ordered rules that explain the gerund, see also McCawley.)

The verb sin- ‘die’ forms a single-member class in standard Japanese; an interesting regularization apparently under way in downtown Tōkyō (according to Shibata 1965.34) treats the verb as sim-, thereby eliminating the class. In Fukushima the verb sin- is sometimes treated as sig- with a velar nasal (Zhs 1.296 n. 3); on this and sim-, see also Kgg 82.111-2. In Literary Japanese and in some of the modern dialects there is another verb in the same class with sin-, but it is somewhat similar both in form (in-) and in meaning (‘go, go away; pass’) so that we suspect a common origin for the two etyma.

The negative gerund for verbals appears in two forms. Typically V-(a)nā[ku]t[te] (and nā[ku]t[te] for āru) is used before the particles wā and mō (but note remarks in §9.2.2) provided these are not followed by an auxiliary verb—see just below; but a clause-final ‘does not and/but/so’ is expressed either by that form or, more commonly, by V-(a)nāi de (but nā[ku]t[te] for āru since nāi de is normally used only before auxiliaries65)—for which there is an older-generation abbreviation -(ā)n de. (We assume this is the imperfect + the copula/essive gerund. The derivation is confirmed by the polite stylization often used when the final sentence is honorific: -masēn de or -masēn desite.66 But it is questionable whether these are used before auxiliaries.) Examples: ... sō o sīrān de ‘without knowing that’ (SA 2639.44b); ... syūzūyū sen de mo [= sinākute mo] tasukatta ‘was saved without an operation’ (Tk 4.3a); ‘Enryo sen de ii, tōtō o yō ‘You needn’t be shy;
take it [= the overgenerous tip I am professing]’ (SA 2641.54a–sén de = sináí de); ... hóteru nánka ni tomarán de, yasumono no yadoya e tomarú n desu ‘stayed at a cheap inn instead of staying at a hotel or the like’ (Tk 4.35a). There is also a literary and/or dialect form -(a)de equivalent to -(a)n de = -(a)ní de; this is an oldish form, thought to be from -(a)zu-te (Sató 1.228), which you are unlikely to come across except in ... nárade-wa ‘unique to ...,’ for which see §2.3.3. There is also a Kansai form -(a)[n]a de as in yomá’i de ‘not reading’, according to Zhs 4.16; similar forms are attested from the 16th century (Sató 1.235). 66a An example of this (baffling on first encounter) is ... soko e tē ga deide [= dě’i de = děnai de] ‘unable to afford it’ (Tk 4.75b). Shikoku uses sen duku ni for sínáí de, and Yaeyama has san tuku ni (Miyara 1930.149).

The replacement of the negative gerund -(a)náke by the negative imperfect + the copula/essive gerund is to be distinguished from:

(1) -(a)náí n[ó] de meaning both ‘it is the one/fact/act of not ...’, with its optionally omitted n[ó] as in Mimi ni sínáí [n] de wa náí ga ... ‘It isn’t that I don’t hear it, but ...’, and ‘as/since it is a fact that ...’ with n[ó] apparently obligatory (§14.2.1); and from

(2) -(a)náí de wa arimaseñ, the negative of -(a)náí desu (an alternative to -masén, §22.1), i.e. the polite double negative of -rú.

With auxiliary verbs, only the -(a)náí de form is used: Himitu o hanásánaí de kureta ‘He did us the favor of not telling our secret’. And that is true even when the gerund is focused: ... hanásánaí de wa kurena kátt ‘did not do us the favor of not telling’. But you will also run across -(a)zu ni: tukawazu ni oku = tukawánaí de oku ‘leaves it unused’, tukawazu ni wa okanaí = tukawanáí de wa okanan ‘does not leave it unused’.

Another form that is interchangeable with V-(a)náke and V-(a)náí de at the end of a clause is the literary negative infinitive (what we are calling the ‘negative precopular noun’ for the colloquial): V-(a)zu with optional ni or direct adverbialization. ‘He didn’t become a doctor, he became a lawyer’ could be said as Isya ni náran[aí] de bengō-si ni nátta or as Isya ni náraiu [ni] bengō-si ni nátta, though the latter is a bit stiff. However, the unacceptability of *Isya ni náraínabengō-si ni nátta indicates that the two colloquial forms for the negative gerund are not completely interchangeable as clause-final connectors. From the discussion and examples given in Alfonso (507 ff) it appears that the V-(a)náke form is used primarily for CONSEQUENCE, as in Kaban ni hairánakute utí(‘”) ni óte kímásita ‘It wouldn’t go in my briefcase so I left it at home’ and Básu ga kónakute arúte kímásita ‘The bus didn’t come so I walked’. But the other meanings of the gerund—in so far as they occur with the negative—are expressed by V-(a)náí de. And Alfonso (509) says that V-(a)zu ni is an exact synonym of V-(a)náí de; thus it should not be used for V-(a)náke ‘not ..., consequently’. An example of the MANNER meaning of the gerund: isogánaí de káku = isogázu ni káku ‘writes unhastily’. And an example of a negative gerund of CONDITION: ... Moo káeru món ka.—Káeranaí de, dōo surú no ‘Why should I go home any more?!—If you don’t go home, what will you do?’ (SA 2677.56a—a counselor is talking to a young woman would be runaway).

Observe that negative gerunds—like all negatives—will enter into only those further constructions that are appropriate to ADJECTIVAL sentences. But the V-(a)náí de form will take auxiliary verbs in the same way as the affirmative V-té form. Remember that, though V-(a)náí de is equivalent to V-(a)náke, you cannot say *N ga náí de ‘not having N’, for this must be said (in the standard language) as N ga náke. And *A-ku náí de will not be accepted for A-ku náke; nor will speakers allow N/AN de náí de for N/AN de náke.

66a. But Kansai V-(a)-ide cannot be historically a contraction of V-(a)-náí de, since V-(a)náí itself is an eastern form for V-(a)nú. The derivation must be <-(a)nde <*(a)ni-te or <-(a)zu-te <*(a)n[su]-te. Cf. Hamada 1952.205, 211n15.
§9.2. The gerund

In Literary Japanese *site*, the gerund of *suru* (that all-purpose dummy or pro-verb) can be used as a stylistic variant for *ni* and *ni-te (= de)* as sentence-connectives; thus you will find *ni site* mo used in the several meanings of *de mo* and you may run across written sentences with *V-(a)naku site* for *V-(a)nai de* (or *naku site* for *naku*te) and with *V-(a)zu site* for *V-(a)zu ni*-[te] and *A-kara*zu site* for *A-ku naku*-[te]. (Cf. p. 488.) For example: Kózin no seizitu nádo nán-i-hodo(-) no kóto de mo nai; ga, sore naku site kózin wa ikirarénu nómi-narazu, syáka mo máta(-), sore naku site sonritu si-énu de aróó 'The honesty of an individual is nothing special; but not only could the individual not live without it but the society too would be unable to exist without it' (KKK 3.79).

It is easy to find at least three meanings for the gerund, and these are discussed in considerable detail below. But a number of other, less well known meanings must also be taken into account, so that nine are eventually mentioned in the following discussion:

1. temporal sequence: 'and then'
2. consequence: 'and so'
3. manner or appearance: '-ing; -like' (for which the concurrent form *V-i-nagara* 'while ...-ing' can often be substituted)
4. contrast: 'and/but'
5. concession: 'and yet, even so'
6. condition: '—ing = if/when'
7. instrument: 'by ...-ing'
8. witness or exemplification: 'and in proof thereof'
9. simple conjoining: 'and', ' ;'

The TEMPORAL meaning is clear when complicated directions are given, e.g. Sono mító ho hidari e itte, tuki-atátte, migi é órete, massúgu o-ide nasái 'Go to the left on that street, and when you get to the end of it, turn right and go straight ahead'. It is also clearly felt in sentences with some explicit reference to time in what follows, as in:

...-te ma-mó-naku, ...-te hodó-naku 'Shortly after ...-ing'.
...-te má mo nái kóro wa ‘A time shortly after ...-ing'.
...-te sibáruku suréba ‘A little while after ...-ing'.
...-te sugú datta ‘It was right after ...-ing'.
...-te hazímete ‘Not until ...-ing'.
...-te sore ga hazímete da ‘It is the first one since ...-ing'.
...-te sore ga zyú-ru-né ‘buri da ‘It has been ten years since ...-ing'.

Cf. *V-te kara*, §9.2.3. Examples: Sigoto o hazímete ni-nen, káno-zyo wa yooyaku sigoto no ími o taitoku sita ‘Two years after we started the work she finally comprehended the meaning of what we were doing' (SA 2658.133a); Kekkon site nízyuu go-nen, hazímete mótu mai-hóoomu ... ‘A home of one’s own that one acquires for the first time 25 years after getting married ...' (SA 2659.118a); Titióya wa watasi ga umarete rok-káhetu de naku-narímasíta ‘My father died six months after I was born' (SA 2689.53a)—both umarete and dé are examples (‘I am born and then it is six months and then ...’); ... umarete hazímete no kaigai-séikatu ‘living abroad for the first time in his life' (SA 2699.61d); umarete hazímete no taikín ‘the biggest sum (seen) in all my life' (SA 2642.56c); Kirete is-syúukán ni narímasú ‘We’ve been [sold] out of them for a week' (SA 2831.37b); Táppi

67. Mio 103 lists four meanings for the gerund: simple sequence, cause or instrument, contrast, and simple conjunction.
§9. Adverbalizations

e kîte tyoedo go-nen ni náru ‘It is just five years since I came to (= that I have been here in) Tappi’ (SA 2668.59a); ... gakusei ga Kooti-si de gesyuku-seikatu o suru yóó ni nátte ma-mô-naku no kotô de aru ‘It happened shortly after a student had taken up boarding-house life in Köchi city’ (Shibata 1961.183). In written Japanese the gerund site is sometimes optionally omitted after a verbal noun: Nyuusya [site] ni-kagetu ‘gô(‘) no sigatsu ni wa ... ‘In April, two months after joining the company, ... ’ (SA 2670.26e); cf. § 9.1.12.

There are other examples where the temporal sequence is implied by the logic of the situation: Suu-byoo tätte ... ‘After a few seconds (elapse) ... ’; Hón o kari te yônda ‘I borrowed a book and read it’; Ðenîya(‘) wa eki ni hâtte tomatta ‘The train entered the station and stopped’ (Ig 1962.95); Ningen wa umarete sinu monô de âru ‘Man lives and (then) dies’; Kaba no gensoku wa, yásuku katte tâkaku urêba mookâru ‘The principle of stocks is that you make money if you buy cheap and (then) sell dear’ (SA 2684.48a) — notice that the provisionalization (-réba) is applied to the conjoined sentence as a unit.

Here belong expressions with gerund + owari/o-simai da ‘(does) and that’s the end of it’: Dé mo îza owatta toki wa, nódo ga kawaîte ‘masu kara, mízu îp-pai nônde owari ‘But once I’m finished I’m thirsty, so I have a glass of water and that’s it’ (SA 2671.47a); Kore de o-simai ësu ‘We’ll stop with this’.

We might wish to set up a subcategory of temporal sequence to cover purposive movements: Tosyô-kan e itte hón o kari ta ‘I went to the library and borrowed (= to borrow) a book’—cf. Hón o kari ni tosyô-kan e itta; Mégane o kakete nage-mae-naósaîta ‘She put on her glasses and had (= to have) a better look’. But this is perhaps a matter of translational equivalence, with loose reference making for smoother transition.

The CONSEQUENCE (or “cause-and-result”) meaning sometimes carries quite a strong flavor of “because”, equivalent to that of -ru/-tâ kara (§ 17.1); the gerundized sentence can take a different subject from that of the sentence to which it is attached: Âme ga hûtte [watá-si-tâti ga] ikenâkatta ‘It rained so we couldn’t go’; Kure kara Syoogatû(‘) ni kåde yopparai ga óokute [= òoi no de] komarîmásu ‘Over the New Year celebration period there are so many drunks it is a problem’ (SA 2661.111a). The consequence meaning is present in such examples as Anmari yasukute (kantan de, tigat te ite) bikkuri suî desyoo ‘It’s so cheap (simple, different) that you’ll probably be amazed’ and Anmari zikan ga kakätte bikkûri surû desyoo ‘You’ll be surprised at how much time it takes’ (B J 2.189-B).

From the consequence meaning we are led into the following expressions:

(1) -te/-kute/de + ii ‘it is nice that (it does/is) ...’, ‘It is nice and ... ’ (with English adjective): ... arâsikute ii monô ‘a nice fresh one’; Nakanna inase de ii wakamonô(‘) désitá yó ‘He was quite a nice dashing young man’ (SA 2665.117e). With the verb gerund V-te yókatta often means ‘I’m glad that ... does/did’: Tasukätte yókatta ‘I’m glad that I was saved’ or ‘Fortunately I was saved’ (SA 2642.36c); ... kono dôkai de kui-tomeru kotô ga dékite yókatta ‘it is good that [or: I am glad that] we have been able to stop it [= a case of juvenile delinquency] at this stage’ (SA 2647.119c). Cf. Hayashi 88 who notes a gerund use where an emotional state results from the event and gives these examples: Minnâ ni âete yókatta ‘I am glad I was able to see everyone’; O-tegami kudasâtte, arigatoo gozaimásu ‘Thank you for favoring me with a letter’; Gookkoo nasátte o-medetoo ‘Congratulations on passing your examination’.

(2) -te/-kute/de + tamaranai/naranai/yarikirenai/irarenai/yamanai/kanawanai ‘does/is unbearably = intensely’: Hébi nânka ga kôwakute tamaranai ‘I’m terribly frightened of snakes’; Tokidoki kâzoku ni ai-tâkute tamaranaku nárû ‘Sometimes I get terribly anxious to
see (= get terribly homesick for) my family’ (SA 2688.40e); ... hará ga tätte näránai ‘I get terribly angry’ (SA 2640.105d); Hará ga hette näránai no de koo hoku sitá no desu ...

‘I surrendered, being terribly hungry’ (SA 2647.88c); Kanásíkute näránai ‘It’s terribly sad’; ... kokóró ga ugoíte näránakkata ‘she was very perturbed’ (Fn 410b); Kookiti wa, ki ga tätte kité näránakkata ‘Kókichi started to get terribly excited’ (Fn 108a); ... mune ga hazunde näránakkata ‘he was terribly elated’ (Fn 142a); Sore ga tabe-tákute näránai ‘I’m dying to eat it’; ... hassó wa dóó-mo kakuít-teki de katá ni hamatte kíte irú yó ni omóte näránai ‘the expressions somehow seem terribly as though they were becoming standardized and stereotyped’ (SA 2689.43a); Omoi-da su tabi ni, watasi wa kuyásíkute näránakkata ‘Every time I thought about it I was extremely vexed’ (SA 2666.110e);

... sági ni kakká yó ni omóte närímasén ‘it looks terribly as though I’ve been swindled’ (SA 2670.115b); ... sinpái de närímasén ‘... is terribly worried’ (SA 2661.110a); ... husígi de tamarannai yoosu dátta ‘... was a terribly odd situation’ (SA 2663.129b); ... no ga ki ni nátte näránai ‘is terribly concerned that ...’ (SA 2684.120b); ... hazíme san-zíkan sanzíp-pun ni tuku-ráreta kono éiga(‘) ga ... ni-zíkan zyuugó-hun ni oohába(‘) ni kátto sarete kookái saréru no ga zannén de näránai ‘It is most regrettable that this film was initially made to be three hours and thirty minutes (in length) is being shown drastically cut to two hours and fifteen minutes ...’ (SA 2672.118b); Tokóró-ga hitóbíto wa zíyyú na seikáto o motóméte yamanai ‘But people constantly seek a free, creative life’ (SA 2671.28a); ... o negáte yamímasén ‘I DO hope that/for ...’; Rippa na gakusya wa ákú-máde kenkyyuu site yamanai ‘A fine scholar pursues his research to the end’; Sono zíken o tuikyuu site yamanu kénzi wa ... ‘The prosecutor, unlenting in his investigation of that case ...’ (SA); ... tûne ni hu-ántei o motóméte yamanu seisín ni tótte wa ... ‘for a spirit that is always seeking instability’ (KKK 3.38). Sometimes the translation is better with ‘can’t help doing/being’ or the like: Míte irarénákatá ‘I couldn’t (stand to) look’;

Kinodóku de näránakkata ‘I couldn’t forbear expressing my concern (sympathy)’ (Kenkyusha); Dóó-mo soó omówárete näránai ‘I can’t help thinking that way’; ... móto taisetu na môná ga árú yóó ni omóte näránai ‘I can’t help feeling there is something more important’ (Ôño 1966.35); Nakete näránai ‘I can’t help crying’. An extension of this will be found in A-kúte ikenai ‘is so A it won’t do = is too A’ (roughly equivalent to A-sugíró): Ómókute íkásemén ‘It’s too heavy’; Sírókute ikenai ‘It is too white’ or ‘Too white will not do = Don’t make it too white’; Hará ga itákute ikenai ‘I have such a stomachache I can’t work’. (For more examples, see Alfonso 478; Hayashi 134; Ig 24; KKK 44.194-5; Parker 119-28, 170.) Cf. -té wa näránai, p. 498.

In addition to the expected negatives, there is also V-(a)zu ní wa irareni or V-(a)nái de wa irarenai ‘can’t help ...-ing’ and V-(a)naí de irareru ‘can stand it without ...-ing; can get by without ...-ing’. For these, see §9.2.4(1).

These superficially ‘negative’ forms are not normally converted to the affirmative as a rhetorical question (*-te nárú món ka can not be made from -te näránai); nor can -te wa näránai and -naí de näránai and -(a)nakereba näránai be phrased as rhetorical questions. On the other hand -té mo kamawána ‘it doesn’t matter if you do it’ can be rhetorically questioned -té mo kamáu món ka ‘does it matter ...?‘ = ‘surely it doesn’t matter!’’. In other meanings, tamaru món ka and (N ni or A-ku +) nárú món ka are both possible, as is irareru món ka; cf. §8.7.68.

68. But I have elicited Yúurei nánka ga köwákute tamaru món ka ‘What is there to be terribly afraid of about ghosts?’ = ‘Who’s (I’m not) afraid of ghosts!’ ... Observe the difference between Samu-ke ga sité näránai ‘I feel awfully chilly’ and Kánki ga sité wa näránai (= ikenai/dame) ‘Cold weather is no good’.
§9. Adverbializations

(3) (-te/-kute/de + taihen da or sikata/s[i]yo ga nai ‘it is terribly (= ever so) ...’:
Muzu kasf kute taihen da ‘It is ever so difficult’ (= Taihen muzu kasii(‘’)), or—with looser connection—‘It is difficult and so it is terrible = It is terrible that it is (so) difficult’; Kore ga husigi de siyoo ga nai ‘This is terribly odd’ (Tk 4.225ab); Nizyuu hás-sai no otokó o tukamaete, bóóya to iwareta kotó ga kuyásikute sikata ga nakkatta ‘It was quite miserable for a 28-year-old man to be called ‘Sonny’!’ (SA 2642.55c); Koko no tókó wa ziddo-sya(‘’) ga supiiido dása kara né, abunakkute siyoo ga nái n da ‘In this place the cars put on the speed so it’s terribly dangerous’ (Tk 3.32a). Alfonso 478 has an example with a verb gerund (kabi ga háete ‘gets moldy’) + sikata ga nái, as does Hayashi 134 (hará ga tátte ‘gets angry’) but the examples offered involve verbal idioms that function as semantic attributes, as in the following instances, too: Hazime no utìn wa syaku ni sawatte siyoo ga nakkatta keredo ... ‘At first I was terribly vexed but ...’ (SA 2662.105d); ... utì(‘’) no yoosu ga dōo-mo ki-ni-nátte syoo ga nái ‘... felt terribly uneasy about the appearance of the family group’ (SA 2662.120a); ... Itigóoro no hanasì ‘buri wa aware-póoku kikoete sikata ga nakkatta ‘the way Ichigoro was talking sounded terribly plaintive’ (Fn 160b); ... bóoku(‘’) wa dōo-mo kokkei o kan-zityatte syoo ga nái n da yó ‘I somehow find it terribly funny, I tell you’ (Tk 3.34a). These expressions can not be rephrased as rhetorical questions: ‘-kute s[i]yo ga áru món ka. I am unsure about Áme ga hútte taihen dátta ‘It rained terribly’ (= Taihen áme ga húttta) or—looser connection—‘It rained and so it was terrible =We had an awful time with the rain’; is the first interpretation valid? Cf. V-té mo sikata ga nái ‘There is nothing can be done about it[s happening]’.

Notice that the ‘intensive’ predicate follows the gerund DIRECTLY; apparently we are not allowed to apply focus to the gerund: ‘uréshikute wà/mo tamaranei. That is in contrast with the separability of gerund + auxiliary in §9.2.4. However, there is one quasi-idiomatic example that highlights focused gerunds: ité mo tátte mo irarenai ‘(can’t stand it whether staying or departing =) is terribly restless’. (Do some speakers lexicalize this to ite-mo-tátte-mo as Kenkyusha’s accentuation would lead us to believe?)

Sometimes the causal element is made explicit: Nihón de kootu-zíko ga gen’in de sinda Huroorensu-Hówáto zyósi ‘Miss Florence White who died in Japan as the result of a traffic accident’. Notice that Nihón de modifies sindá and the gerundized sentence ‘a traffic accident being the cause’ is embedded as a separate adverbial modifier.

In various social forms, the causal meaning is clear: O-matase site dōo-mo sumimasén desita ‘Excuse me for keeping you waiting’. And similarly Anáta ga kíte kurete hontoo ni yókkatta ‘It was very nice of you to come’. Sometimes the causal or temporal element is weak: Natú ga kíte kaki no haná ga itimen ni tiri-hirogátte iru ‘Summer is here and persimmon flowers are scattered all over the ground’; Nízis-sai ni náte káre mo yohodo zibun o mi-tumeru yóô ni náte iru ‘Now that he is twenty he is taking a closer look at himself’. And sometimes the reference is loose (compare loose reference with focus §5.4): Anmari goori-teki-sugite, waka-dósiyori ga óôí ‘From being overly rational, there are many who are old before their years’ (SA 2655.102e)—it is unclear whether the gerund might conceivably be taken to refer to óôí, but here it would seem to refer to some phrase like wákákute mo tosiyóri [da] that underlies the noun waka-dósiyori.

Hayashi 89 provides good examples to illustrate the meaning ‘consequently’: Así-átó kara mite, kore wa, inú daroo ‘From the appearance of the tracks, it must be a dog’; Ízyoo, mittu no ten kara kangaéte, koo kimemásita ‘In consideration of the above three
The gerund points, we have decided as follows': Dóo-mo, tyoosi ga wárukute, sippai bákari sita ‘I wasn’t feeling at all well and made one mistake after another’. Often the temporal and causal meanings shade into each other: Sono tegami o yónde omówazu námida o nagásita ‘I read the letter and (then/?/so?) could not help shedding tears’; Sono otokó wa watai o mite itimókusun ni nige-dasita ‘The man saw me and (then/?/so?) started to run away at full speed’.

Sometimes the gerundized sentence expresses an INSTRUMENTAL method (cf. N de ‘with [using] N’): Kisyo-zyóóhoo o atúmete tenki-zu o tukuróó ‘Let’s collect weather information and (that way—using it) make a weather map’; Yóóba wa husíga na zyumon o tonáete haná o isí ni sita ‘The witch murmured a magic spell and (thereby) changed the flower into a stone’; Hiru-yásúmi no sánzíp-pun o syábëtte sugóso ‘I spend the half-hour lunch break chattering’; Akanbóo o utatte nekasita ‘I put the baby to sleep by singing’; Kimi o nokósite wareware wa mi-garu ni syúppatu suru ‘By leaving you here we will start with a lighter load’; Zísyo o hiite sirabe-násái ‘Look it up in the dictionary’ (Hayashi 87); Ukemoti no ō̄ki ni tyuuzai si, zitaku kara tyóókusetu tokui-saki o hoomon site sigoto o suru ‘He [the salesman] lives in his assigned territory, and does his job by directly visiting customers from his own home’ (SA 2679.36b); Mata, sono apááto no urinuši(‘) ga, anatá-gáta(‘) o damášite urí-tüketa to sureba ... ‘Further, if you consider that you were sold by the owner of the apartment having deceived you, ...’ (SA 2687.119e).

Even when a temporal interpretation looks likely, it does not always turn out to be appropriate: Sono tosí ni wa Torusútoi ga naku-natte Naitingééru ga naku-natta ‘In that year [1901] Tolstoy died and Nightingale died’. (Tolstoy’s death was on the 20th of November, and Florence Nightingale died on the 13th of August.)

In many instances the gerund simply links two sentences with very little—or very vague—connection. When the gerund merely links two unrelated attributes the meaning is ‘and (also)’: ... ano toomei de tuyói kóe wa wasurerarenai ‘I can not forget that clear strong voice’ (SA 2664.42c); Arasuka no huyú wa nágakute kurái ‘Alaska’s winters are long and dark’ (SA 2687.122a); Syuzinóo no Hamasima wa, áru ryókóó-sya ni tumómerú ‘súnào de heibon na sararií-man de arú ‘Hamashima, the hero, is a meek and ordinary salaried man employed by a certain travel agency’ (SA 2684.120a); Mázuku nátte tákaku narimásita ‘They have grown poor in flavor and have become expensive’ (SA 2689.55b).

Sometimes the connection is one of CONTRAST: Musuko wa doobútú-en e [itte] musúmé wa syókubutú-en e itta ‘My son went to the zoo and my daughter [went] to the botanical garden’; Káre wa gakkóo o sáte(‘) watasi wa gakkóo ni todómmáta ‘He left school and I stayed there’. Here belong expressions of the type ‘not ... but rather ...’: Dénşya(‘) de kónai de [or: kónakute] kurumá de yatte kíta ‘He came by taxi (rather than =) not by train’; Kyóó zya nákute ašitá na n desu ‘It’s tomorrow, not today’; Yóóku míru to, sore wa hitó de wa nákute, tunó no héta oni de atta ‘On close examination, it was not a human being but a devil with horns’ (Hayashi 89); Inú wa, dóó sitá no ka, syúzín no hóó e wa ikánái de, kyaku no hóó ni, surí-yotte itta ‘For some reason the dog did not go toward his master but edged up to the visitor’ (Hayashi 89).

And in some instances we might regard the gerunds as having a dropped mó with CONCESSIVE meaning (cf. the optional omission of mó in expressions of permission, -té mo i, §9.2.2): ... yónde mikka to kakaránái ‘it wouldn’t take three days to read it’ (SA 2657.120b); ... sore ni nite ite tigau monó ‘things that resemble it but differ from it’; Úmaku itte, gobu-gobu desyóó ‘If all goes well it’s 50-50 = It’s even odds at best’.
Adverbializations

(Hayashi 89): Yókute, sán-tén to iu tokoró ka 'Is it a matter of three points at best?'
(Hayashi 89): Húrukute atarasi téema de aru 'It is an old yet new theme' (SA 2792.28e);
Uwayaku ni tatetuíte sikaranénkatta 1 was insubordinate to the boss but was not scolded';
Káre wa abunai to kízui 'He noticed it was dangerous but did not hesitate';
Ee-gumi Bii-gumi awáséte gozyūu-nin ni mitáñ'i 'Even if Classes A and B are combined there will still be under fifty people';
Watasi nára ittyúuya nezu káite go-mai mo dekkain 'In my case, even if I wrote all day and all night without sleeping I couldn’t get five pages done';
Daigákú-sei de àtte hízyoo ni hi-zýóosíki na no de komáru 'It is distressing that, being a college student, he is yet so lacking in common sense' ;
Anna mukuzasi(-) kóto o saibète máda zuyuús-sai da 'He talks on such difficult topics and yet he is only eleven years old';
Katta hón wa sukkoki mo yomárete inai de Marúzen kara sára ni sán-satu todóíta 'With the books already bought still totally unread, three more arrived from Marúzen'.

In a number of examples that seem to convey the CONCESSIVE meaning, the addition of mó is decidedly unusual: Káre ni itta tokoró de, damé daroo 'I bet it won’t do any good for you to tell him';
Kími ga tazúnete itta tokoró de, káre ni au hazu wa áru 'mái 'You might go call on him but you’re unlikely to see him' (cf. § 13.2.2).

Sometimes the gerund, while interpretable as “manner”, seems to set up a CONDITION: Ái o kaite ningen wa ikíru kóto ga dekkain 'Lacking love man cannot live' (Ono 1966.77);
Aruíté 1 sánzíp-pun ‘gurai la kákarú ’If you walk it takes thirty minutes’. Compare the uses of the focused gerund -té wa/no §9.2.2. Here belong such examples as yónde tanosíi hón 'a book that is pleasant to read' (= yómú to tanosíi, yónde wa tanosíi 'if/when you read it it is pleasant'),
kiite kanasíi hanasí 'a sad tale to hear', hanásite omosíró hitó 'a person that (it) is fun to talk to', nónde oisíi mônó 'something delicious to drink', etc. The condition will sometimes function like a thematization: Sekkęusu o tanosinde náni ga warúi 'What’s the matter with enjoying sex?' (SA 2687.43ab);
Zibun ga zibun no kodomo sikatte náni/dóko ga warúi [ka] 'What’s wrong with scolding one’s own child?'

And in Mimi de kiite wakáru 'They are understood upon hearing them with your ears' (Ono 1966.231) the interpretation could be instrumental-manner, temporal sequence, causal consequence, or condition; was the intention of the writer specific or was it vague enough to cover the range of these interpretations? 68a

Hayashi 88 points out that the gerund is sometimes used to link a subject situation with an objective statement offered in proof or WITNESS: Kono heyá wa zītu ni átukute, itu mo sanzyūu-do izzyoo áru 'This room is really hot—always over 30 degrees [centigrade]';
Yamamoto san wa seizitu na hitó de, hikí-úketa kóto wa kanarazu yari-togemášu 'Mr Y is a reliable man who is sure to accomplish whatever he undertakes' (note the English use of adnominalization for the same purpose);
Kono hen wa tóoyoo ití no koogyoo-tíitái to iwáreite ite mi-watáus káigirí kooyžýoó(-) no entotu désu 'This area is said to be the prime industrial belt of the Orient—there are chimneys as far as the eye can see'.

In the MANNER meaning, the phrase is often a lone verb gerund, such as isóde 'hastily',
but the verb can carry adverbs and other adjuncts of the usual sort: ... áme ni nurete káerú 'returns wet by the rain';
... kippu o tótte tátte iru 'stands holding his ticket';
... té o tazúsáéte(-) Supéín e ittá n désu 'they went to Spain together (hand-in-hand)' (Tk 2.325a);
Hutari wa té o tori-átté neta 'The two slept hand in hand' (Ig 1962.95): Sono sibaúho o hunde Húkuko ga yatte káru 'Hukuko approaches, stepping on the lawn'

68a. Perhaps this is best taken as an OBSERVATIONAL CONDITION (p. 557), like Ano hái o watatte tugí no yóto-kado ni ooki gásoarin-sutándo ga arímášu yó 'You go over that bridge and (you'll find) there’s a big gasoline station at the next intersection' (BJ 1.367).
§9.2. The gerund

(Ig 1962.97). Yóku sutékki o tazusáret<v<sup>−</sup>) sanpo sita monó da ‘I often used to take walks with stick in hand’; Hízi o tuite e-hon o mita ‘I looked at the picture book leaning my elbow on the desk’; Hará o yozitte/kakae tte waratta ‘I split my sides laughing’; Híbana o tira sítate tatakátta ‘They fought with sparks flying (= furiously)’; Tásiro-sí wa masumúsau netú o kómete katarú no de aru ‘Mr Tashiro talks on with increasing enthusiasm’ (SA 2689.140c). More examples of a lone gerund used for manner (quoted from V 120-1): Mukáši buke(‘) no musumé-táti wa, ittá yome-ittá nara-bá, ÍKITE hutabi o yá no ié ni káeru kótó wa yurusárénakattá ‘In former days the daughters of samurai, once married, were not allowed to return again to the parent’s house [while] ALIVE’ (Ishikawa Tatsuzó). Syuuiti wa DAMÁTTE sono sakura no wakági o kítta ‘Shuíchi SILENTLY cut the cherry sapling’ (Kawabata).

On the iteration of the gerund in V₁-te V₁-te V₁-i-maku ru as in hanásíté hanásíté hanásí-te maku ru ‘talks a blue streak’, see §9.1.10.

Occasionally a nominal sentence can be used in the gerund form (N de) to express manner: Sore ga, Gínza —cita ri o tuké-matúge de arui te ‘ru zyose i ga, kono -goroni ku ra iru ‘But, lately there are ever so many women strolling around the Ginza in false eyelashes’ (Tk 2.103a). Is this due to a propredication that represents tuké-mátuge o tukete ‘putting on false eyelas hes’?

From these various uses of the gerund it is easy to understand the development of the phrasal postpositions (§9.7) such as ... ni tuite/tukimásíte ‘dealing with, about’ etc. For most of the phrasal postpositions, focus can not be applied on the phrase before the gerund (‘N ni mo/wa tuite → N ni tuite mo/wa), and that is one reason for according them a special treatment separate from that of an ordinary verb gerund such as that in kodomo ni (mo/wa) hanásí-te ‘speaking to the child’. The gerunds used in phrasal postpositions would seem to be following the same path that earlier led the essive gerund ni-te (now dé) into the particle dé with its diverse meanings that include location, instrument, manner, and cause. Since it is possible to paraphrase Síken-bénkyóo de isogásíkatta ‘I have been busy with exam study’ as Síkén no benkyóo o site isogásíkatta ‘I have been busy studying for the exams’ it seems unnecessary to set up a ‘causal particle’ dé rather than assign the meaning to the gerund of the copula; this is true, perhaps to a lesser extent, of the instrumental use also. Similar cases are ... ni/to site, ... o site, ... o motte site, ... kara site, etc.; see the remarks on site earlier in this section. For some of the phrasal postpositions (as indicated in §9.7) other paradigmatic forms will occur, as well as the gerund: Káre wa dâre NI TÁI-SÚRUYori, Hídeko NI TÁI-SITE waga-mámâ datta ‘He was more willful toward Hideko than toward anyone else’ (Ig 1962.96).

The gerund being timeless and moodless, it takes from the final predicate the tense or mood required by the translation: Úti(‘) e káette góhan o tábete neta ‘I went home, ate, and went to bed’; ... neyou ‘I guess I’ll go home, eat, and go to bed’; ... netá daroo ‘He probably went home, ate, and went to bed’; ... netá kudásái ‘Go home, eat, and go to bed’; etc. Even with major—and exaggerated—juncture, the final tense and mood are carried through the gerundized sentence.

But such categories as negative, desiderative, excessive, passive, causative, and auxiliary conversions are quite another matter. These may be applied independently before gerundization to either sentence (or to each); or, they may be applied to the whole AFTER gerundization and conjoining. As a result, such sentences are potentially ambiguous, though a major juncture will often signal independent conversions. Certain expressions that consist
of gerund + verb tend to be treated as a unit, with the conversions applied to the verb but intended to refer to the entire unit, e.g. turete kuru passivized in this example: ... koo i k o wa kono kyoanpu e musuu("") ni turete korarete sine de itta ga ... 'children of this sort in untold numbers were brought to this camp and died off one after another' (SA 2674.89c).

In a sentence like Tomodati ga kite korarenakatta 'My friend came so [I] couldn’t come’ only one interpretation would make sense. On the other hand, it seems obvious that the desiderative is intended to carry back through to the beginning of the following sentence:

Syoosen-gakkoo o sutugyou site, zen-sekai no umi o kookai(~) site, zen-sekai no hitobito to naka-yoku si-tai to, tiisa-na munee o todorokase ete ita 'My little heart was pounding with the desire to graduate from merchant marine school, sail the seven seas, and make friends with people all over the world’ (SA 2650.58a).

Although the passive and the causative can carry back through earlier gerunds, it is common to repeat the voice conversion for each phrase: Miyamoto san wa koko kara Koozimati-syo ni renkoo SARETE syasinn to TORARETA ato, tezyoo(~) o KAKERARETE, keibi-sya de Ayase-syo ni gosoo SARETA 'Mr Miyamoto was taken from here to the Kojimachi police station and photographed, after which he was handcuffed and escorted by police car to the Ayase station’ (SA 2650.122d).

Mikami 1963a.36-7 suggests that the usual pattern is for the NEGATIVE not to carry back through the earlier gerunds: Kii o miite, mori o minai kara, komaru 'He sees the trees and does not see the forest, so it’s a problem’. Where the negative does carry through, the phrase is often a rather tight idiom: Hito miite hoo o tokanai kara, komaru 'He doesn’t “look at people and then preach his doctrine” (= choose his words according to his audience), so it’s a problem’. But if the sentence is recast as Hito o minai de hoo o toku kara komaru 'He preaches his doctrine without looking at people so it’s a problem’ no possibility of ambiguity arises.

Mikami says there are three interpretations for Kare ni atte, sore o tutanakatta kara .... (1) = Kare ni aitta; sore o tutanakatta 'I met him and didn’t tell him that'; (2) = Kare ni awanakatta; sore o (kansetu ni) tuteta 'I didn’t tell him that face to face (doing it indirectly, instead)'; (3) = Kare ni aii mo sezu, tutae mo sina katta 'I didn’t meet him and (I didn’t) tell him, (either)’. The difference between the last two lies in the interpretation of the gerund as (2) INSTRUMENTAL or as (3) CONJOINING; in both, the negative carries back through the gerund. What differentiates the first interpretation from the second is the more limited domain that the negative enjoys, and the variability of domain constitutes a fundamental ambiguity with the negative conversion, as Mikami points out: Tyokusetu ni wa tutanakatta can mean either ‘I didn’t tell him DIRECTLY (though I did tell him)’ or ‘I didn’t TELL HIM DIRECTLY (or any other way)’. Cf. p. 373 (§8). A similar example is Tete o tunaidete arukana, which can mean (1) ‘We join hands and do not walk’, (2) ‘We don’t walk HAND-IN-HAND (but we DO walk)’, (3) ‘We don’t WALK HAND-IN-HAND (in fact, we don’t walk at all)’; arukana will normally be preceded by a major juncture in the first meaning, by a minor juncture in the other meanings. Nagano (1966.92) gives the example Aratte irenakatta desuyoo which can mean either ‘I guess you didn’t put them in washed (= you put them in unwashed)’ or ‘I guess you washed them and/but then didn’t put them in’.

The gerund of suru (cf. p. 479) has a number of uses one would hardly expect from those of the rest of the paradigm, including these:
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(1) Site is equivalent to de ‘as’ in such expressions as hutari site ‘as a couple’, san-nin site ‘as a threesome’, huuhu site ‘(as) husband and wife’, kyóodai site ‘as brothers (and sisters)’. This seems to be limited to a very few expressions in the colloquial; these should be listed in the dictionary.\(^69\)

(2) Site adds light emphasis to the particle kará in some of its uses: nameke kara site ‘from the name’; [sore] dá kara site ‘because it is that; therefore’ (Tk 2.206a);
Káigé no kyúmbi kara site, kíwámete nonbíri sita móndó datta ‘From the viewpoint of preparing for the talks, they [= the Americans] had been very dilatory’ (SA 2637.119b). Perhaps this should be derived by way of ... ni site ‘making it into’ or ‘treating it as’ (§9.1.11); cf. ... ni sité mo = dé mo ‘even (treating it as =) being’. (2a) In ... issyún ni site wáka-sa o ubawaréru ‘gets robbed of one’s youth in an instant’ (SA 2639.34a) the use would appear similar to the preceding; site could be omitted. A like example is the adverb éte(‘) [site] ‘often, frequently’ (= yóku) or ‘apt/prone/liable to’ (= yaya [to] mo súreba ‘at the drop of a hat’).

(3) The sequence ... o site is an old-fashioned or literary way to make explicit the underlying subject of a causativized verb. In more colloquial usage this is marked by ni (or sometimes by ó—see §4.1): Watakusi o site iwasiéméshita nara-ba ... = Watakusi ni iwáserú nara ‘If you ask me ...’. And the sequence ... ni site is sometimes used for the same function.

(4) In addition to other uses (‘making it into, treating it as, as’) and the use mentioned just above (to mark the underlying subject of a causativized verb), the sequence ... ni site is used in Literary Japanese to mean just ‘being’, equivalent to ni-te = modern de; the corresponding negative form is ... ni árazú site. (See remarks in §9.1.11.) An example: Nání ka ii-soo ni site (= ii-soo de], nakanaka ii-dásánai ‘He seems to want to say something but he finds it hard to begin’. The conjunction so[=o]-site means ‘(it’s being) thus’ as well as ‘(happening) and then’, and in that meaning there is a literary equivalent siká site ‘thus’: cf. sikáši ‘but’, which looks to be the infinitive siká si; siká-nághara ‘though being thus’ is probably a later formation (adverb + concurrent-concessive, see §9.1.3).

(4a) The expressions N ni site kara ga/mo/sae are used to mean N de sae mo ‘even (being) N’, §2.2 (kará 8). In downtown Tókyó, N ni site ga is used in the same way (without kará): Gén ni Yamázáki no utí(‘) no zyótyuu ni site ga sóo datta ‘As a matter of fact even the maid at the Yamazakis’ was like that’ (Kb 259a).
In the example Hukóó ni site atasi wa iti-dó mo kiita kotó ga nái n desu ga, ... ‘Unfortunately I have never once heard him, but ...’ (Tk 3.31a) we find AN ni site used in place of AN ni mo; notice that neither *hukóó ni nor *hukóó de are acceptable here—nor is *hukóó ni wa.

* (5) The literary sequence V-(a)zu site (§9.5) is equivalent to V-(a)zu ni or just V-(a)zu when a negative sentence is loosely conjoined; the colloquial equivalent is V-(a)náí de, in dialects sometimes -(a)nde or -(a)de, and the latter form turns up in written Japanese especially in certain clichés such as ... nárade-wa = de nákute wa or de nákereba ‘unless it be; except for’ as we have observed earlier (§2.3.3).

\(^{69}\) In this usage site is attached (like dé) as a particle with no juncture and that is what accounts for the accentuation of hutari site. In all other uses, site is preceded by an underlying juncture which will cancel a preceding final accent (before itself disappearing)—and that accounts for the accentuation of kore o site (not *kore o site).
§9. Adverbializations

(6) N de [wa] naku site (is sometimes written as an equivalent of N de [wa] naku late "it is not (and/but)" as in this example: ... gen’ei ni mukatte hanasi-kakete iru no de wa naku site, ... "It is not a matter of addressing a phantom but ..." (Maeda 1962.55). And N naku site is sometimes written for N [ga] naku late ‘without N’: sore naku site ‘without that’ (KKK 3.79).

(7) On site mo = de mo, see remarks at the end of §9.2.2 and compare s’i mo = dé mo in certain clichés (p. 501). Cf. ni sité mo §9.1.11; ni s’i ro, ni s’É yo (§16.1)—all equivalents of dé mo ‘even being’.

In written Japanese, you will discover that sité sometimes substitutes for -té in the following forms:

- A-ku sité = A-kute
- V-(a)zu sité = V-(a)nakute, V-(a)nái de
- AN ni sité = AN ni-te = AN de
- AN to sité = AN to/de

Examples of A-ku sité = A-kute (not to be confused with the mutative ‘making it into A’):
... wakaku sité sinda mumei no sizin ... ‘an obscure poet who died young’ (SA 2672.101d);
... sore naku sité wa ningen sonzai ga kangaerárenu sekái de aru kara, ... ‘since it is a world in which you can not think of human existence if that does not exist’ (SA 2676.97d); cf.
sore [o] naku-sité wa ‘if one loses that’. In Kyūshū speech A-[k]u sité is still in colloquial use for A-kute (Zhs 6.16 n. 5, also 23). It has been suggested that the lively Tókyó variant A-küte came into being from a shortening of A-ku sité (Zhs 2.17), and some speakers have expressed a feeling that A-küte itself has the same origin; but examples of A-küte can be found from as early as the Man’yō-shū.

The gerund of mótu ‘has, holds’ also enjoys a number of special uses.69a In the semi-literary language, and thus occasionally in modern written Japanese, N o mótté means something like N o tukatte or N o moti-ite ‘using N’; it functions as an equivalent of the INSTRUMENTAL dé ‘by means of, with’. (Compare moti-iru = tukau ‘uses’, a compound verb that contains the infinitive of mótu.) In the following example ... o mótté is followed by sité, but we might assume some sort of ellipsis, perhaps [sore o (setumei)]:
... kono Nihon-zin no seikoo wa zyukyoo nómi o mótté [ ] sité wa, setumei si-Énai ‘We can not explain this tendency of the Japanese [by explaining it with] Confucianism alone’ (KKK 3.190). But the expression N o mótté sité mo seems to be used more generally, to mean something like N no réi o tótté mo ‘Even if we take the example of N’ or just N dé mo ‘even N’ as in Dai-gakusya o mótté sité mo setumei dekínai mondai da ‘It is a problem that even a great scholar could not explain’. (An example will be found in Tk 4.161a.)

The CAUSAL dé ‘owing to, because of’ can also be replaced by ... o mótté in the semi-literary language: kore o mótté mireba ‘in view of this fact, such being the case’. A more colloquial usage will retain dé [1] and add mótté purely for emphasis: Sore de mótté ... (or still more colloquially Soi de mótté ...) ‘For that reason’; syakkín de [mótté] komáru ‘is troubled because of the debt’. This is possible also for the INSTRUMENTAL dé: enpitu de [mótté] káku ‘writes in/with pencil’; Nihon-go de [mótté] hanáu ‘speaks in Japanese’: Dóno hóteru mo utukusii syooomei ni terasaére, samázáma(‘) na syukóol(‘) de mótté kazari-tateráreté ita ‘Every hotel was illuminated with beautiful lighting and decorated up with all sorts of devices’ (SA 2659.131a). And it is possible for other uses

69a. And in these uses mótté can be shortened to mótté. The short form is also used as prefix in a number of compound verbs, such as mote-asobu ‘plays’ and mote-násu(‘) ‘entertains’. 
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of de, as well: Gúnsoo de motte Hwiúpin ni itte ita 'He had gone to the Philippines as a sergeant’ (Morishige 128, who attributes this somewhat literary usage to a blend of dé + o motte). In fact (cf. Terase 133) it appears to be possible to add motte after MOST uses of dé, as a colloquial emphaser: informants find quite acceptable such phrases as densya(“) de motte iku ‘goes by train’ and hutari de motte kita ‘they came as a couple’. Examples with the locative-marker dé: Kono-aida nē, Gion no toori dé motte, hyokkūri, Yosuke ni āta n da ‘The other day on an avenue in Gion I bumped into Yosuke’ (Fn 161a); Zūsi de motte ... ‘In Zushi’ (Tk 4.151b). Other examples of de motte: ... zyúugo de motte hito to kekkon site simai ‘ending up married to someone at the age of fifteen’ (R); Ōyazi ga naku-narimāita, hotondo, hahaha, hitōri de motte, ee, sōobai o site ōta yō na wāke de ..., désu kara ‘My father died, so my mother almost single-handed, uh, carried on the business, and ... consequently ...’ (R). None of the uses of de motte will permit the addition of focus (*de motte wa/mo, *dé wa/mo motte). It has been suggested that motte can be added to Sn [o] de in the causal meaning: (?) Kirai na mōn “bākari tugi kara tugi ni susumeraretā n de motte, komātta nā n désu tte ‘They said they were embarrassed from being urged to do one unpleasant thing after another’. Motte is attached to an adverb purely for emphasis in Hanahada(-)motte kesikaran ‘it is most outrageous!’ and in mazu(-) motte = māzu ‘first of all’, mattaku(-)motte ‘indeed, truly’ (Tk 3.273), māe(-)motte ‘beforehand’ (= māe kara), and ima-motte ‘still’ (= ima de mo, ima sae, ima ya).

The copula/essive gerund de also has a few special uses, e.g. in the expression N1 wa N1 de (see p. 244, §3.10). A noun or adjectival noun followed by de + iru/oru/irassyāru/o-ide usually means ‘remains/stays ...’ as in this example: ... bōku(“) wa toobun hūri de i-tai ‘I want to remain freelance for the time being’ (SA 2666.105e). More examples will be found on p. 519, §9.2.4.(1). It is unclear whether we should regard the copula de in such sentences as representing MANNER or SIMPLE JOINING or some new meaning of the gerund. The animate concord of iru vs. āru that is usual for modern standard Japanese (but not for older stages nor for all dialects) will not normally hold for the copula, which is de āru (→ da) for animate and inanimate alike, though with exaltation we find de irassyāru for animates. That is why we must treat sore de ite ‘and yet’ as an idiom, since it is used in sentences where it would be difficult to assume an animate subject, e.g.: ‘Yomi-yasūi, kanketu na būnsyō—sore de ite zusit to omoi naiyou ‘Easy-to-read, concise sentences—and yet heavily laden with content’ (SA 2647.101a—from a book review).

In §2.2 we observed that a number of the “particle”-like uses of dé can be treated as the gerund of the copula (or of the essive), that being the ultimate origin of ALL uses of dé. Accordingly, we can say that the subject of the following sentence is marked by the gerund of the copula (‘it being oneself’): Zibun de iū no mo l nān désu ga, l māa ... ‘I shouldn’t say so myself, but, well, ...’ (SA 2679.119c). This explanation is particularly attractive in view of such sentences as ... onnā wa ZIBUN DE ZIBUN GA, dō ni mo narānaku nāte simau ‘a woman ends up getting herself into a dreadful fix’ (Fn 331b); the two phrases can be reversed (zibun ga zibun de). The same explanation would apply to the other examples of exclusive agent (cf. §2.2, dé 9) and to Atas ya atari de (= Watasi wa watasi de) ... ‘For my part, I ...’ (Tk 4.35b) and similar expressions discussed in §3.10.

In some cases treatment as the copula is more obvious if we assume propredication. Thus the difference between N māde de ‘being all the way to N’ and N māde ni ‘at a point before reaching N’ is the propredicative copula gerund versus the time-locative marker n'
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(in origin the essive itself, or copula infinitive); cf. Alfonso 326-7. In Hyaku-peezi made de yameta ‘I stopped after [reading] 100 pages’ the copula gerund represents yonde ‘reading’; in Sinzyuku mäde de kaeru ‘I’ll be back when I’ve been to Shinjuku’ the gerund represents itte ‘going’. O-hiru made ni site kudasai means ‘Do it by noon [= at some time before noon]’;70 O-hiru made de yamete kudasai means ‘Do it till noon and then stop’, with the copula gerund propredicating sité ‘doing’—compare O-hiru made site kudasai ‘Do it till noon’, O-hiru made sinai de kudasai ‘Don’t do it before noon’.71

The gerund âtte (< ári-úte) ‘existing, having’ sometimes appears directly after a noun through ellipsis of ga, and N [ga] âtte often translates as ‘with’: Sono kai [ga] âtte ... ‘With that success ...’ (SA 2659.110b); Kokorozanó tokoró [ga] âtte ... ‘With an aim in view ...’ (SA 2674.113c). The antonymous expression is N [ga] nási [ni/de] ‘without N’. Like other gerunds âtte can occur as a stranded cause in a propredicative sentence: Sen’yaku ga âtte [da] da ‘It’s that I have a prior engagement’. With ellipsis of the copula: Hoka ni sen’yaku ga âtte [da] ka, káre wa kesseki sitá ‘He was absent, perhaps with some previous engagement’ (Mikami 1963.85). On N [ga] âtte no ... ‘with; ONLY with’, see §9.2.1; and observe that the antonymous meaning is expressed by N [gá] nási no ... ‘without’: ... kurezitto-káado nási no seikatu ... ‘living without credit cards’ (SA 2660.26d); ... térébí nási no seikatu wa kangaerênai ‘life without television is inconceivable’ (Kotoba no yurai 194a). Observe also the use of âtte as an equivalent of ni in S dáké ni/àt te, §13.2. See p. 1002 (§21) for N to âtte; see p. 581 for N ni âtte.

You will sometimes come across N de âtte written where you would expect de as the gerund of the copula; what has been gerundized is the formal (uncontracted) copula de áru: ... iwayuru ‘Kyooiku-kânzi’ de âtte, ... ‘are among the so-called ‘Education characters’ and (so) ...’ (K 1966.54); Yo-nin wa izure mo, hito ‘nami ‘izyoo ni tuyoi ziga no moti-nusi de âtte, kessite dakyoo nádo sinai ‘Each of the four is the possessor of a stronger ego than the average man and never makes compromises’ (SA 2681.108a).

A few nouns and adverbs are derived from gerunds. The ADVERBS include the sentence adverbs hazimete ‘for the first time’ (differently accentuated from hazimete, ‘beginning it’), másite (MKZ has másite(-)) ‘much more/less’ (from atonic másite(-) increasing), sitagatté ‘consequently’ (for younger speakers sitagätte—and this is also used for sitagatté ‘complying’), hatásite ‘sure enough’, kæette ‘on the contrary, rather’, kíwamâte ‘extremely’, itaté ‘extremely’, wakéte [mo] ‘above all’, toriwakéte ‘especially’, toritaté ‘in particular’, zu-[ba]-nukéte ‘exceptionally’, sóo-zite(-) ‘in general’, tutómate ‘bending every effort’, magéte ‘forcibly’, siite ‘forcibly’, híite-wa ‘and by extension, furthermore, moreover’ (also—with irregular accentuation—híte-wa), otte ‘later on’, kóto-[hara]mâte ‘again, anew’, awaséte ‘altogether’, konónde ‘with pleasure, by choice; often’, kuwaéte(-) ‘additionally’, tuzukéte ‘next, to continue’, séméte ‘at least’, táete ‘(not) at all; (hardly) ever’, medâtte ‘markedly, conspicuously’, sugúte ‘surpassingly’,

70. Under a mutative interpretation this could be taken as ‘Make it [so that it is] till noon’, with ni being the copula infinitive in a propredicative use: o-hiru made da = o-hiru made surú no da ‘does it till noon’.

71. But in print you will sometimes see TIME mäde [ni] with omission of ni; only the aspect of the verb (or other context) will make it clear that the intention is made ni ‘by’ rather than unelliptical mäde ‘until’. Cf. Nagano 1970.215-23.
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Colloquially, the gerund can be used in a nominal sentence with the meaning 'It is because ...': 'It is because it is raining': 'It's that (= because) I have no time'. We can perhaps regard this as a propredicative shortening from something like 'It's raining and so things are that way': 'It is raining and so things are that way'. Compare 'It's nice and big' = 'It's nice because it's big'. Ellipsis of the copula will account for expressions of the type ...-te [da] ka 'perhaps [it's] because' as in 'Is it [that you were] carrying guns as a soldier?' they would answer 'Yes, it was as a soldier [that I was ...]' (SA 2647.89a).

Another nice example: 'Was your

72. In Sore ni tūide(") 'Next/Secondly after that' the atomic version can be taken as the verb gerund, but the tonic version (does it occur?) would have to be an adverb, leaving a problem in explaining the ni.
becoming a sumō wrestler the result of people urging you?' (Tk 3.15a). The following exchange includes three examples, the first two (identical) being converted to V-te na no [da] ka ‘is it (the case that it is) that/because V’: Aa iu hantai o suru no wa, kuni no tamē o omotte na no ka, zinkū zentai no tamē o omotte na no ka.—Zibun no tamē o omotte desyoo ‘Is that sort of opposition the result of thinking of the good of the country or of thinking of the good of all mankind?—It’s from thinking of one’s own good, I’d say’ (Tk 2.144a).

There are dialects in Hyōgo that use -tē zya (= -tē da) and -tē ka as a polite stylization for the ends of sentences (Zhs 4.289 n. 1). According to Yoshida (261) -tē desu and -tē no are often used to end a sentence politely in the dialects of the area stretching from Kōbe to Hiroshima; his three examples are questions. On an earlier Ōsaka usage of -tē ya (= -tē da) and -tē ya omahēn (= -tē zya nāi) to end a sentence with medium politeness, see Maeda 1961.29-31, 227.

A number of adnominalized gerunds would be expected to derive by way of -tē da; but many are cliché-like in nature and lack the nuclear form (-tē da), e.g. some of the phrasal postpositions (§ 9.7): Hito ni yotte no tigai wa āru ga ... ‘There are differences dependent on the person, to be sure, but ...’; Bangōo ni sitagātē no hairutu ... ‘Arrangement in accordance with number ...’; Gokai ni motozūite no hāndān wa ... ‘A judgment based on misunderstanding ...’; Réi o agegū no setumei ... ‘An explanation citing an example ...’; Sensoo ni tuite no kūsi ... ‘An article about the war ...’ (but the nuclear sentence can be used—Sensoo ni tuite da ‘It is about the war’); Itō-izī karā ni-izī ni kākete no kūrasu ... ‘The class from one to two o’clock ...’; “Harā” o tukattē no kan’yōo-ku ... ‘An idiom using the word “belly” ...’; Syōouwata(”) sānzyūu yo-nen no sangiin-senkyō o meguttē no senkyō-sīkin-mōndai de āru ‘It is the election-funds problem connected with (centering/revolving around) the election of 1959’; Kore wa nāni mo ore ni kāgitte no kōto de wa nai ‘This is in no wise limited to me’ (SA 2659.35b).

In addition, there are those with kekka, such as kangaetē no kekka ‘(as) a result of thinking’, asobi- sugite no kekka ‘(as) a result of playing/loafing too much’, yōkudo o tutikawāretē no kekka ‘(as) a result of cultivating rich soil’, and special cases like warukuti/ warūguti o ittē no tātari ‘retribution for saying ill of people’; these can perhaps all be regarded as deriving from ...-tē da in the meaning ‘because’. The other cases, however, will require some different explanation; perhaps an ultimate derivation from -te iru.

A special meaning attaches to N īgan-ātte no (with the gerund of āru ‘exists’)—‘ONLY if there exists’, as in these examples: Oyā ga ātte no anāta āru yō ‘Where would you be without your father?’; Syōohi-sya ātte no seisān-sya āru ‘Producers can not exist without consumers’ (SA 2684.65ab); Sīki-sya wa ookēsutora ātte no sīki-sya āru ‘You can’t be a conductor without an orchestra (to conduct)’ (SA 2795.114a); Sore wa kīgyō(”) no sonritu ga ātte no hanāsī āru nē ‘That enters the picture only with the existence of an enterprise’ (SA 2681.26d); ... okyakusāmē ātte no syōōbai na n daka ... ‘since it is a business that can exist only if there are customers (= that depends on customers for its very existence)’ (Tk 2.190b); Tamasima nādo wa Kurāsī ātte no Tamasima de, ... ‘When it comes to the likes of Tamashima, why Tamashima would be nothing if it weren’t for Kurashiki and ...’ (SA 2658.135b—arguing over the location of a new rail station); Toonan-Āzīa no kōnnī no Nihōn o kūsūta no mo, Nihōn-źīn no kōko no dōryōkū(”) ga ātte no kōto āru ‘The building of today’s [Little] Japan in Southeast Asia is something
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done only (= done after all) through the efforts of individual Japanese' (SA 2660.38); Kane âtte no tanosimī(‘) désu ‘It is an amusement that takes money’. The gerund âtte ‘existing’ need not include the meaning ‘ONLY’, of course; it is possible to adnominalize săkūi âtte ‘on purpose, intentionally’. With ellipsis of the copula 《だ》 we find âtte
normalized before kā in this sentence: Sono tamē mo âtte ka, sen-en no raisu-kārē o suisyoo sitāri, timā-en mo suru syokuze o suru ningen nī wa harā ga tātte naranai ‘Maybe that’s ONE reason [...] why I get terribly angry with human beings who recommend thousand-yen rice curry and have meals that cost as much as ten-thousand yen’ (SA 2640.105d).

The following are miscellaneous examples of predicated gerunds that have been adnominalized: Taikin o mōte no ryokō-sya wa tyūū!! ‘Travelers carrying large sums of money—caution!’; Umare-tūtē no oo-usōtuki ... ‘A born prevaricator’; Iki-wakārēte no wā-ko ga kōsikute ... ‘Longing for our child that we are separated from for life’; Tādasi, āsā siti-zi kara yōru zuuyūti-zi ‘gōro made hataraitē no suyuunyuu da ‘But it is an income (that results) from working from seven in the morning till eleven at night’ (SA 2672.137c); Āse-mizu tarāsīte (= nagāsīte) no kinrōo-sya de nākerēba, kane no arigātā-mī(‘) ga wa kawārānai ‘Only the toiler who has dripped sweat appreciates the welcomeness of money’; Sasimō o tābete no tyūudoku ... ‘Food-poisoning from eating raw fish’; Zyūu ōri o arūte no hīroo ... ‘Wearness from walking a distance of ten ri’; Nōnde no uē de ... ‘Under the influence of drink ...’; Torāete no kansu ... ‘Investigation upon capture ...’; Uti(‘) e kāette no kōto ni siyō ‘Let’s do it after we return home’; Tābete no uē de benkyō simyōō (= Tābeta uē de benkyō simasyōō) ‘Let’s study after we eat’; Ano tokū[ l]Indo e itta NHK no lida anāunssaa ga kāette kīte no hanasi ni, ...

‘According to what NHK announcer Lida said after returning from being in India at that time ...’ (Tk 3.74b); Nanāzyūu-en wa koohīi ga hāitte no nedan nān de, kami-kōppu wa gēnka ga tatta no yō-en [da] ‘Seventy yen is the price with coffee in it, and the paper cup has an original cost price of only four yen’ (SA 2674.99d); Kore wa rekisi-teki ni ittē no hanasi desu ga ... ‘This is speaking historically but ...’ (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.225); Pān o haitatsu sitē no kaeri desīa ‘I was on my way back from delivering bread’ (SA 2676.127c)—cf. §13.2; Atama-kīn dake hārēte, nokori wa tanonsinde no o-kaeri ni ‘Pay only a down payment, and the rest after you return from enjoying [the trip]’ (SA 2673.26); Genba tīkāku de yōosueto no sīgō o sitē no kaeri datta n desu ‘I was on my way back from doing a welding job near the site [of the accident]’ (SA 2676.126c); Tooyoo Asakusa no āru syōogakūko no kootei ni zenkō(‘) no zīdoo ga atumātte no tyooere de āru ‘It is the morning ceremony after all the children have gathered in the court yard of a certain elementary school in Asakusa, Tōkyō’ (Shibata 1961.212); ... sindē no no[ o] ‘after he died’ (= sinda no[ ~]); ... ānta sitē no tōōri, ... ‘as you know’ (Tk 4.314a); Kenka sitē no rikon(‘) ... ‘A divorce (that results) from quarreling ...’; Kuruma ni nōtē no soodan ... ‘A talk in the car ...’; Nihōn ni itē no seikatsu ... ‘Life in Japan ...’; ... kyodai-kikāi o tukattē no buturigakū-sya no kenkyuu ‘buri ... ‘the research style of physicists using the big machines’ (SA 2676.97c); Ozi-san kara kane o morātē no (= moratta uē de no) ryuuugaku ... ‘Study abroad financed by money received from his uncle ...’; ... bōdōi na syakkōk i kakētē no keiei nā no da kara, ... ‘because it is a business [that operates by] employing large sums of borrowed money’ (SA 2671.107d); Nāihu o tukattē no tatakai ... ‘A fight using knives ...’; Kodomo o turetē no sanpo ... ‘A walk accompanied by the children ...’ (and, for some speakers, Kodomo o turetē no okāasan ... ‘A mother accompanied by her
children’); Anáta no kimoti o osi-hakátte no syóri ... ‘Treatment taking your feelings into consideration ...’; Hón o yónde no benkyoo dáke de wa náhi mo wakaránnai ‘We understand nothing by just reading books’; ... to iú no mo, koo iú mi-toosí ni tátte no hatugen désu ‘(his) saying that ... is an assertion based on this sort of outlook’; Kore wa zibun de mite kíte no hanasi da ‘This is a story based on my observations’; Íkka sórotte no o-syoogátu ‘New Year’s day with all the family gathered together’; Syókuzi o síté no hanasi ni siyóo ‘Let’s talk about it after we’ve eaten’; Sono hón o yónde no kansoo ... ‘Impressions from having read that book ...’; Genbakú ni átte no byooki ... ‘Illness from being exposed [áu] to the atomic blast ...’; Kázi ni átte no hukóó ... ‘Misfortune as a result of having [áu] a fire ...’; Sensoo ga hazimátte no nishannén-kan to iú monó wa ... ‘For some two or three years after the war began ...’; ... átte no tatibá ni tátte no háiryó ... ‘consideration from the standpoint of the other person’ (Tsukagoshi 175).

These sentences illustrate most of the meanings of the gerund, and many can be interpreted in more than one way. Sake o nonde no kenka may mean ‘a quarrel AFTER drinking’, ‘a quarrel BECAUSE of drinking’, or ‘a quarrel WHILE drinking’. And Áme ga hútte no dekigótó datta can mean ‘It was an incident that occurred BECAUSE OF the rain’, ‘It was an incident that occurred IN the rain’, or ‘It was an incident that occurred AFTER the rain’. The particular noun that follows will often leave only one of the meanings appropriate: gakkoo e itté no benkyoo is probably to be interpreted as ‘studying by going to school’ (INSTRUMENTAL) and gakkoo e itté no mikká-kan as ‘the three days at the school’ (TEMPORAL SEQUENCE). See also tó síté nò (§21.4).

When the gerund is adnominalized to a verbal noun, the immediately underlying predication (V-té da) often represents suru or site iru. While kodomo o tureté no sanpo ‘a walk accompanied by the children’ would seem to come immediately from sanpo ga kodomo o tureté da ‘the walk is accompanied by the children’, the implication of that sentence is sanpo surú no ga kodomo o tureté da ‘the taking of the walk is accompanied by the children’; it might be better to skip the intermediate stage and derive the first sentence directly from kodomo o turete suru sanpo ‘a walk that one does accompanied by the children’, a sentence that can be taken back to kodomo o turete sanpo (o) suru ‘takes a walk accompanied by the children’. This is true in general for the phrasal postpositions of §9.7: Tokidoki gésuto o mukaeté no tyuusyók-úkai ga hirakárérú ‘They sometimes hold a luncheon to welcome a guest’ (SA 2658.62); Kuni o ageté no kangeí ... ‘A welcome from the entire nation ...’; Anó-hito o sásíte no warúkuti/warúgúti o itta ‘He spoke abuse about that person’.

The predicated gerund can be compared with predications of the alternative (-tári da/no), the negative provisional (-nákeréba da/no), and the various "adverbial nominals" made from verbal infinitives (§9.1.2-7). These are for the most part adverbializations that function as PREDICABLE ADVERBS.

9.2.1a. Sentence-final gerunds.

When a gerund occurs at the end of a sentence, we usually assume that it represents a fragment of a larger sentence with some sort of ellipsis implied: Tyót-to mátte [kudasái] ‘Wait a minute’, Dóó-mo osoku nátte [sumimasén] ‘(I’m sorry that) I’m late’, etc.

There is another sentence-final use of the gerund, as a substitute for the perfect or imperfect in asking questions: Karuízawa ni írásita kotó ga átte? [= áru ka?] ‘Have you ever been in Karuizawa?’ This usage is said to be exclusive to women; it includes a special
adjunctive gerund with the ending -kátte: Omosirókátte? ‘Is it interesting?’ (= Omosírói ka); cf. Omosirókatta té ‘Did you say it was interesting?’ The ending is an abbreviation of -kú átte (Mio 131); cf. -kút’átte = -kúte mo, p. 938.

You may, however, hear sentence-final gerunds in both questions and (often followed by yó or nè) answers spoken by men as well as women: Kane ga átte?—Átte yó ‘Got money?’—Sure!’

In particular, the copula gerund dé turns up sentence-final in the speech of certain people as a stylistic option; it is unclear whether this is to be regarded as idiosyncratic, as old-fashioned, or as dialect;\(^{73}\) note the remarks in §9.2.1 on -té yá/zya/ka and -té desu. Examples: Omosírói mó de, sikási ... ‘It’s interesting, but ...’ (Kb 218b); Sóó na n de. ‘That’s the way it is’ (Kb 214b, 219a); Dóó-site de? ‘Why is it?’ (Kb 273a); Dé, áeta n de, sono musuko san ni? ‘Well, did you get to see him—the son?’ (Kb 297b); Dóñata?—Héé, watakusi de. Yosízawa de ... ‘Who is it?—Oh, it’s me. (It’s me,) Yosízawa’ (Kb).

It might be argued that this use of dé is a way to avoid stylization; you need not choose between de gozaimasú and de arimasú (with its reduction to désu), and yet you have not given your sentence the rude sound of dà. But the final dé can be followed by nè[e]: Íya, sore wa zyoodân de nè ‘Oh, that’s a joke, see’ (SA 2680.48d—speaking is Shinoyama Kishin, born in Tókyo in 1940; other examples occur in the same interview); Dóó-mo nèe, onnà wa kanzyoo-teki ná n de nè ... ‘Indeed, my dears, women ARE emotional, aren’t they!’ (SA 2678.139c; Kansai writer Sato Aiiko); Sensé wi hyooron-ka dé nè. Sore wi ... ‘You’re a critic, professor, aren’t you. That ...’ (SA 2671.20c). For that reason, at one time I thought the sentence-final dé was an abbreviation of dé[su], perhaps by analogy with the Kansai swallowing of the s which produces déh néé and dén néé out of dész néé. But there are examples with the polite gerund désité (cf. Y 463): Kore wa hízyoo ni arigatái kõttésite (= kótó désíte) né ‘This is an extremely welcome event, you see’ (Tk 3.42a); Íya, menkái to iú kótó wa hítôtu no sigoto désité nè ‘Seeing people is part of the job, you know’ (Tk 4.16b); Agaranáí n de?—Héé, bu-tyoooho désite. ‘You won’t have one? No, thank you, I don’t smoke’ (Kb 221a). Moreover, there are examples of sentence-final use of verb gerunds, such as the following, with polite stylization: Tokidoki, bootyo- nin ga hungai simásíte né ‘Sometimes the listeners [= Diet visitors] get indignant, you know’ (Tk 4.17b); Óyazi(‘) wa bókú(') ga itútó no tokí ni sinzyaímasíte ‘My father died when I was five’ (SA 2680.46b); ... dënysya(‘) ni noroo to omoímásíte. ‘I thought I would take a streetcar ...’ (Kb 219b). Jorden (BJ 2.148.4) says ‘In conversation, a gerund ending in suspensive intonation or a gerund + néé often occurs in sentence-final position, when the speaker is about to say more that is coordinate with what has just been said (‘...’) or when the speaker assumes that the listener understands something coordinate without his continuing (‘... you know the rest’).’

For more examples of sentence-final gerund see Y 259-60. Do not confuse the sentence-final copula gerund dé with the Kansai sentence-final particle dé, equivalent to zé or zó, as in this example: Watasi wi ore ya nái de [= ore zya nái zé] to kotáeta ga, osóráku sore wa watasi dáatta ka mo sirenú ‘I answered ‘It’s not me!’’ but likely it was me, perhaps’ (Endó 81).

\(^{73}\) According to Yoshida (398) the use of sentence-final dé is a characteristic of Meiji novels that lends a gentle touch to conversation; he says it became popular with lecturers and rakugo (comic patter) performers around the end of the shogunate and is still alive.
Gerund focus

The gerund can be subdued (with wā) or highlighted (with mó) in much the same way as a nuclear adjunct or as the nucleus itself. There are optional contractions of -te wā to -tyá[a] and of -dé wā to -zyá[a]; thus the subdued adjective gerund may appear as -kú[ti]te wā or -kú[ti]tyá[a], and the copula gerund as dé wā or zyá[a]. The lengthened form of the contractions is emphatic; compare the treatment, by some speakers at least, of zyá[n]ai = [k]\nai wā where we expect simple infinitive + negative (corresponding to -kú[n]ai for the adjective) and zyá[n]ai = dé wā nai where we expect subdued infinitive + negative (corresponding to -kú wā nai for the adjective), §8.4.

A common meaning of the subdued gerund is similar to that of the imperfect + to (§17.2) 'when(ever) it happens, if it happens that': 74 Utí(-) e káette wā (= káeru to itu mo) yooohuku o kí-kaáru 'When I get home I change clothes'; Kono yonhyakuman-en zya nán to sité mo tarimasen 'If it's this (= With this) four million yen it's hardly enough'; Akanboo no ne-súgata o, tokidoki, nozoki ni kíte wa níko-níko suru 'Sometimes I smile when I come to peep at the baby asleep' (KKK 3.189); Hén na monó o tábete wa byooiki ni nárú 'I keep eating strange things and getting sick'; Gakkoo e kíte wa benkyoo surú ga utí(-) e káette wa asóbu 'Once at school I study but when I get home I play'; Heyá wá attakákute mo ii keredo sámukute wa damé desu 'It's all right if the room is warm but not good if it's cold'; Syasin o mite wa naku 'I cry every time I look at the photograph'; Mukasi kara, samázáma(-) no tango ga tugí-tugi ni aráwárete wa kíte itta 'From antiquity all sorts of words have appeared and then disappeared one after another' (Ôno 1966.15); Tábete wa ne, neté wa tabéru = Kúttya ne, netýa kúu 'I sleep and eat, eat and sleep = All I do is eat and sleep'; Osoku nárú made, odotté wa hanási, hanási wa odotta 'Until all hours we danced and talked, we talked and danced' (SA 2650.105a); "Tukútte wa kowási, kowásite wa tukúutta" bándo wa sootóo no kázu ni noboru 'There is quite a rise in the number of [jazz] bands that are "put together and broken up, broken up and put together" ' (SA 2685.117e). The last three examples are similar to the iterative construction in §9.1.1b.

Sometimes the condition expressed by -te wā is like a thematization: Sindé wa súbete o-simai désu 'When you die, it is the end of everything = Death is the end of all' (SA 2642). This interpretation accounts for sentences where the 'if' seems to mean 'perchance' (mán'iti ... -tará): Bóoku(-) wa, ká-no-zóyo ni kegá até wá taihen [da] to o-i-káketá 'I pursued her thinking it would be terrible if she were to have a mishap' (SA 2650.61c); Soko e úttya sinu yo 'Move it [the go-piece] there and you'll lose it' (Kotoba no yurai 43); ... móto e modóru yöo na kotó ga até wá taihen da ... 'If it goes back to the way it was it will be terrible' (KKK 3.28, 189). This interpretation, too, seems to be appropriate for N ni yotte wá 'depending on the particular N' = áru N wa 'some Ns (but not others) and for Ippóo de wá ... tahóó de wá ... 'On the one hand ... and on the other ...'.

Sometimes the focus is applied merely to play up a following negative, as in this example: Hyooogê(-) wa amai dā si, dóko no daigaku mo kuti ni dásite wá ii-tagaráñai ga, naisinsyo-zyúusí wá "geba-táisaku" no hitóötu de mo áru 'The expressions are vague and none of the universities wants to come right out and say it, but weighting the confidential

74. The example Áme ga hútte wá hurimáasu ga ... 'It IS "raining" all right but ... ' (Henderson 293) strikes most informants as strange, and Henderson writes that it is more common to say this as hurú ni wa hurimáasu ga (= hurú kotó wá hurimáasu ga, §14.1).
school report (in deciding admissions) is also one measure that can be taken against student militancy’ (SA 2663.28b).

The usual meaning of the highlighted gerund is ‘even if/though’: ︶ame ga hūtte (hūtte ite) mo iku ‘I am going even if it rains (even if it is raining)’; Osōkute mo kīte kudasai ‘Please come even if it’s late’; Watasi de mo (Watasi ni de mo) dekuru ‘Even I can do it’; Sīkāsi, Ameyoko no hito-tati wa, kekkyokū nō, syōonin de atte mo keiei-sya de wa naktatta no desu ‘But though the people of [the postwar black market area known as] Ameyokyotōo may have been merchants they were not, after all, managers’ (SA 2671.41d); Arafatetarome kimi ni kikasarenai de mo, sore-kuraitte iru ga né, ... ‘Even if I am not told anything in particular by you I know that much, you see ...’. Sometimes an idiomatic translation is called for: ˌkīte mo kirēnai kankei ‘an inseparable (indissoluble) relationship’; Ningen wa ˌnagakute mo ˌhyaku-nen “gūraikika ˌsēmei ga ˌnai ‘Man can only live to a hundred at most (at the longest)’ (MJW); Kenkyū-in wa minnā, šěmākute mo roku-zyōo “gūrai no kositu o motte iru ‘The researchers all have individual offices of about six-mat size at the skimpies’ (SA 2661.28a); Háyakute mo kūgatu ... ‘September at the earliest’; ... negātete mo nai mooside datta ‘It was a most desirable (or: the best possible) proposition’ (SA 2664.122c).

The highlighted gerund can be used to show a concession that is a contrast: ... usuˌkute mo tuyoi gooban ga ... ‘plywood that is thin YET strong’ (SA 2650.98b). In written Japanese you may find -kū mo ˌhattet used instead of -kūte mo: Kono aigarišiKU MO nikū hāto o dōo yatte byōoin kara tezakērū ka ‘How will they keep these cute but abominable pigeons away from the hospital?’ (SA 2649.126c). (In NW Kantō dialects -kū mo ˌi is used for standard -kūte mo ˌi, according to Zhs 2.22).

The condition expressed by the highlighted gerund may be HYPOTHETICAL, REAL, or UNEXPECTED: Tatōee(‘) kimi ga tyuuokō sitē mo, yamenai darō ‘Even if you cautioned him, he wouldn’t stop’; Tārōo wa kaisaya e iitte mo sigo to te ni tukanakatta ‘Though Tārō went to the office, he could not concentrate on his work’; Kāre wa ikā narū kōnnan ni sooguu sitē ho hikan sitāryōkoku-teki ni nattari sinai ‘Whatever the difficulties, he never gets pessimistic or negative’.

But sometimes the meaning is similar to that of -tē wa = -ru ‘when, if’: Kono kotō wa Yōouroppa no rekisi o mite mo akiraka de aru ‘This (fact) is clearly seen from (looking at) the history of Europe’ (Shibata 1965.183). The expression ... kotō o mite mo sometimes translates as ‘just because’: Nihōn ga Amerika o osae, bookei no toppu ni tatte iru kotō o mite mo, Nihōn-zin gi kira-warete iru hazu ga nai zya nai desu ka ‘Surely there is no reason for Japanese to be disliked just because (we see that) Japan has pushed America back to become tops in trade’ (SA 2660.39a).

And in paired expressions the meaning is ‘whether ... or’; ˌatte mo nākute mo ‘whether there are any or not’, aketē mo kuretē mo ‘day and night, all the time (=akē-kure)’, koko de mo soko de mo ‘either/whether here or there’: Netē mo sāmete mo kodomo no kotō wa wasurerarenai ‘Asleep or awake I can not forget about my child’. The translation may be smoother with ‘both ... and ...’: ... migi o muite mo hidari o muite mo Bei-gun no kītībakari da ‘... both to the right and to the left there’s nothing but American military bases’ (SA 2654.12).

A nice balance can be achieved by adding a highlighted gerund to something to which subdued focus has been applied: Syōossyoo no hīhan(‘) WA ˌatte MO ‘Though there IS a bit of criticism ...’ (SA 2665.114e); Tasyoo no hantai WA ˌatte MO ‘Despite a certain
amount of opposition ...‘ (SA 2686.50b); Rîron(\(\sim\)) "zyoo no mondai WA sâ-te oite(\(\sim\)) MO, ... ‘(Leaving) theoretical questions aside ...‘ (Kgg 81.59b); Naisen o tuzuketé WA ité MO, ... ‘Though they ARE continuing their civil war ...‘ (SA 2688.39d); [Samúi desu nê.] Keito no kutušita(\(\sim\)) ni-mai kanasete haité WA ité MO, máda asi ga tumetai ‘[My it’s cold.] Even with two pairs of wool stockings one on top of the other, my feet are still cold’ (SA 2662.45a). Cf. Tó WA itté MO = Tó WA ie(-do MO) ‘Be that as it may’ and Sikâsi, sóo WA itté MO ... ‘But even so ...‘ (§ 21.1).

For a lively equivalent of -tê mo see § 15.11 (-t’âtte). The expression Dé mo (or D’atté) is a common sentence opener, especially in women’s speech; a perceptive foreigner has suggested that the apt translation is often ‘I’m about to say something stupid but ...‘. On dé mo (and d’atté) as a quasi-particle, see § 21.1. See § 21.1.9 for somewhat formal equivalents of the highlighted gerund: A-i tó mo or A-ku tó mo = A-kâte mo, N tó mo = N dé mo, V-ru tó mo = V-tê mo. And note the negatives V-(a)nâkute tó mo or V-(a)zu tó mo = V-(a)nâkute mo = V-(a)nâi de mo.

Gerund + wà/mó mô leads to the following constructions that are of special interest as translation problems:75

-\(\text{tê} \{\text{mo}\} + i\i\), kamawânai, daï-zyôobu da ‘may safely do’;
-\(\text{tê} \text{wa} + \text{ikenai}, \text{narânai}, \text{damé da}, \text{komâru ‘must not do’ (cf. -te tamaranai/narânai ‘does or is unbearably’);}
-(a)nâku[t]te wà ikenai, narânai, damé da, komâru ‘must do’ (§ 9.3)–equivalent to -(a)nâkere ba or -(a)nai tó + narânai, ikenai, damé da, komâru;76
-(a)nâku[t]te \{mo\} + i\i, kamawânai, daïzyôobu da, kékko da, yorosii ‘need not do’;77
-\(\text{tê mo/wa muda da ‘there is no use doing’ (as in Yatte mite mo/wa muda da ‘There is no use trying’).}

The particle mó can drop: Itte i\i = Itte mo i\i ‘You may go’: ... sâke ya masú o tuwte yôi to iu kyôka ..., ‘permission (saying it’s all right) to fish for salmon and trout’ (SA 2688.87c); Umi-taku nai hitô wa, umanâkute i\i zya nai ka ‘Isn’t it all right for a person who does not want to bear a child not to bear that child?’ (SA 2792.45b). This may lead to ambiguity: Hârête i\i can either mean ‘It is nice and clear = It is nice because it has become clear’ or (= Hârête mo i\i) ‘It is all right even if it is clear = I don’t mind if it’s clear’; Osokute i\i ‘It’s nice and late’ or ‘It’s all right for it to be late’; Nâkute i\i ‘It’s nice that there are none’ or

75. Notice also V-i-tâkute mo V-[rar]enai n desu ‘Forget it though I will I can’t forget it’, O-kasi si-tâkute mo dekinai n desu ‘However much I want to lend it to you, I can’t do it’. 76. These “obligational” sentences freely shorten to -(a)nâku[t]ya as in Kaérânakutya ‘Gotta go home’; cf. Kaérânâkêryôya = Kaérânakereba [narânai] with the same meaning, § 9.3. Another example: Damé damé, tabet’ okanakutya ‘No no, you’ve got to eat’ (Ariyoshi 32). There is also V-(a)zu ni wa iarênai/orarênai or V-(a)nâi de wa iarênai/orarênai ‘can’t help doing’; see § 9.2 for examples. The affirmative V-tê wa iarênai/orarêna means ‘cannot stay doing, cannot rest with doing, cannot bear doing’. Both expressions are from the negative potential of V-te iru/oru § 9.2.4.(1) with focus.

77. And there are dialects that prefer V-(a)n de mo, or even V-lâde mo, for the negative concession, as in these two examples from the mayor of Asuka Village, Nara: Soo sinki-situ ni narân de mo i\i ‘There’s no need to get so nervous’ (SA 2686.48a); Soo iu hitô wa kîte morawân de mo i\i ‘I’d just as soon we had no such people coming’ (.48c). For standard examples of V-(a)nâi de \{mo\} i\i, see below.
‘It is all right even if there are none’; O-tya ga tumetakute iī ‘The tea is nice and cold’ or ‘It’s OK (even) if the tea is cold’.

Foreigners are often puzzled by the fact that iī desu, which would seem to mean ‘It’s good’, is used as a way of dismissing people, services, and offerings—‘No, thank you’ or ‘Don’t bother’. Notice that unless you have a specific noun reference (kore ga iī ‘this is good’, iī monō ‘a good thing’) iī is nearly always interpreted as [NEGATIVE + -te mo] iī ‘it’s all right [without ...-ing]’ = ‘no thank you; we can do without’. To say ‘That’ll be OK/fine’ and the like you have to say something like (Zya,) sore ni simāsu ‘I’ll take that (one)’ or Sore o itadakimāsu, Sore o + tanōmu (or tyoodai or kudasai or o-negai simāsu), or Sore ni site kudasai—or, if a verb is involved, Sōo site/nasatte kudasai (or itadakimāsu). Iī desu by itself usually means Yorosii desu ‘That is satisfactory’ or Kekkoo desu ‘That is sufficient’.

A number of common expressions are made with ... to itte yoi hodo/kūrai ‘enough that you can say ...’ in which itte represents itte mo: kanarazu to itte iī hodo ‘so often that you could almost say always’ (SA 2665.29b); maiban(-) to itte iī kūrai ‘to the extent of (almost) every night’; ... Compare the expression ... to itte mo ii-sugi de wa nai ‘It is no exaggeration to say that ... (= ... to 1u no mo kagon de wa nai).

Although above we see that the mó can drop in the expressions with -te mó, our notation does not show that a similar dropping may also occur for wā in the expressions with -te wā; the dropping of wā is less common, but here are authentic examples: Ippandokusuya ga wasurete [wā] ikenai kotō wa ... ‘Something that must not be forgotten by the general reader is ...’ (CK 985.314); ... koko de mi-nogasite [wā] narānai kotō wa ... ‘what must not be overlooked here ...’ (Tsujimura 106); Nōn [wā] ikenai to sarete iru toto no mizō ... ‘local water that is considered unfit for drinking ...’ (SA 2689.122d); Nān de ore no kaisya ga, teikei no naiyoo mo kimaranai utī(-) kara Hwōodo ni kabo o motasēnakute [wā] narānai no ka ‘Why must my company let Ford start having stock before the details of the cooperation are decided?’ (SA 2664.122c).

Although Kore/Sore de iī ‘This/That will be fine’ is normally taken as an ellipsis of Kore/Sore de [mo] iī ‘It is all right for it to be this/that’, and that is the way to understand it-nen ni iti-dō de iī kara ‘just once a year (at least)’ (SA 2673.120d), occasionally the proper interpretation is as the ellipsis of Kore/Sore de [wā], equivalent to Kore/Sore nāra ‘If it be this/that’: ... ‘Pāt’iī da!’ to yobēba, sore de yōkatta ‘... if someone called ‘Party!’ that’s all it took [for them to put aside their books and be out the door]’ (SA 2670.112c).

Ellipsis of wā may account for the expressions V-(a)nakü de yorosii/iī and V-(a)nakute iī ‘it would be just as well if you did NOT ...’ = ‘I’d rather you didn’t’, quite a different meaning from V-(a)nakute mo iī ‘it’s all right not to = you need not’. Cf. Hayashi 172.

In the following example torarete nāru monō ka is a rhetorical question implying torarete [wā] narānai ‘mustn’t let him get taken’: Titioya wa, ko-moti no sanzyuu-ōnna ni, seken-sirazu no misēi-nen no musuko o torarete nāru monō ka to kangēta ‘The father thought that he must not have his unsophisticated and immature son snatched away by a woman of thirty with a child of her own’ (SA 2649.105c). MKZ gives as one meaning of nāru ‘is able to put up with’ (gaman dekiri) with the example Nigāsite nāru monō ka ‘We can’t (= mustn’t) let him escape’.

We have attempted to draw a difference of meaning between conditions stated with the highlighted gerund (-te mo) and those stated with the subdued gerund (-te wā), but we
may be overstating the situation. Alfonso 774-7 implies that the basic meaning is much the same for both, treating them as modifications of a normal unemphatic pattern with -ru to (etc.); the highlighted form -té mo is an "indirect, mollified pattern" of the normal condition (-ru to etc.) and the subdued form -té wa is a "direct, emphatic pattern". Thus while -té wa ikenai 'mustn't' is more common, we might also expect to run across -té mo ikenai, as well as -ru to ikenai, but good text examples have not turned up.

As mentioned earlier, the negative gerund is sometimes V-(a)nákute and sometimes V-(a)nái de, but both forms are available for many uses. The forms presented in the constructions discussed just above are the usual ones, but you will also run across V-(a)nái de in most of the expressions for which V-(a)nákute has been listed; cf. Hayashi 171: Orínai de mo ii = Orínakute mo ii 'We don't have to get off'. Thus Súgú okíru kara sinpai sinái de [mo] ii desyoo 'I'm getting up right away so you need not worry' means...

sinákute [mo] ii desyoo, with the former perhaps more colloquial, especially when the mó is dropped; sinákute ii will usually be taken as 'doesn't and that's nice' where sinái de [i] will be taken as 'it's all right not to do it'. O-kane o okuranái de wa komaru/dame/ikenai 'You must send the money' is much less common, however, than... okuranákute wa...; and there is considerable doubt whether (?)okuránai de wa naránai is ever used at all.

Other examples of V-(a)nái de mo 'even without doing', equivalent to V-(a)nákute mo: Kore o genpyoo sinái [= ii-arawásainai] de mo ikite ikú no ni saisituke ga nái no nara, meime de huyoo de áru 'If there's nothing to keep you from living along without expressing this, then there is no need to give it a name' (Maeda 1962.95); Sositie, baa ni yotté wa, kooátu-zai o siyoo sinái de mo ketuatu ga heizyoo ni nárú kotó ga arimásu 'And, depending on the case, it sometimes happens that the blood pressure returns to normal without using a pressure-depressant drug' (SA 2679.120b); Anó né, benkyoo sinái de mo seiseki ga [i] no wa kokugo dátta n desu kedo, áto wa suugaku tó ka rekisi 'Uh, the thing I got good grades in even without studying was Japanese, but the others [that I was good at] were mathematics and history' (SA 2645.49b—speaking is Miss Yoshinaga Sayuri, born in Tókyo in 1945; there is a final ellipses of da or dátta).

In all these expressions of permission, prohibition, obligation, and so on, adjectivals and nominals can appear with the appropriate gerunds (A-kute and N de) and meanings ('be' instead of 'do'). Instead of -té wa or -(a)nákute wa you can freely use -ru tô or -(a)nái tô (§17.2), and other statements of "condition"; see also -tá no de wa (§14.2.1) and -réba (§9.3). The second element (the "conclusion") may be warú, tumaránai, mazúi, úmaku nái, abunai, or míri da, and the "negative" element can in some cases be expressed by an affirmative rhetorical question (nárú mon ka = naránai, etc.). What we have is a (semantic) CONDITION followed by APPROVAL or DISAPPROVAL. Since the expressions are set formulas, it is often sufficient merely to state the condition, letting the listener supply the remainder for himself: ... mendóo de mo zibun de yarannai to [ ] né '... it's a nuisance but I've got to do it myself' (SA 2664.98a); Sutoríppaa ni nátte mo [ ] tte, anáta, karada ni zisin ga áru no né 'Your saying you could become a stripper must mean you have confidence in your body' (SA 2666.45b—there is ellipses of something like nátte mo [ii to i]tte; cf. §15.11); ... utawananá séito ga syóbun sareté wa [ ] to ómoi, ... thinking that it wouldn't do for the students refusing to sing to be punished ...' (SA 2677.159c).

The translation of V-(a)nákute wa and of V-(a)nái to or V-(a)nákereba is often 'unless';
when you add a negative potential for the second part, the meaning is ‘you can’t unless’ or ‘one must ... if one is going to ...’: Kakumei o yarú nara té o yogosanákute wa dekinai ‘If you are going to make a revolution you have to get your hands dirty [to be able to do it]’ (SA 2678.26c).

In the following example there are two -té wa conditions in a row, the first embedded in the second: ... sinákute wa nemutté wa ikenai ... ‘I must not sleep unless I [do] ...’ (SA 2641.48a)—the full sentence is cited on p. 213.

A common way to express a suggestion or invitation is to use the subdued gerund (or the conditional) + dōo/ikaga désu ka ‘how about it’; Koohii o nónde wa ikága desu ka ‘How about drinking some coffee?’; Asitáwa turi ni ittára dōo desu ka ‘How about going fishing tomorrow?’ And, as in English, if the meaning is clear the verb is often omitted, especially when the object is quantified: Koohii o íp-pai ikága desu ka ‘How about [drinking] a cup of coffee?’

When used with adjuncts containing indeterminates (i.e. question words such as dāre ‘who’, nání ‘what’, dōre ‘which one’, dōtirá/dōtti ‘which of two, which way’, ítú ‘when’, ikura ‘how much’, íkutu ‘how many’, dōo ‘how’, [literary iká ni], etc.) the highlighted gerund translates as ‘ever may do/be’: dāre ga kite mo ‘whoever may come’, nání ga atte mo ‘whatever there may be’, dōre ga wakakusí nó de mo ‘ whichever one may be mine’, dōtirá ga yásukute mo ‘ whichever is cheaper’, dōno hón o yónde mo ‘ whichever book you read’, dónna ni kónná na okótte mo ‘whatever difficulty may arise’; Unten suru tokí ni wa ikura tyúúi site mo tyúúi si-sugiru kotó wa náí ‘You can not be too careful when you are driving a car’.

Compare the highlighted gerund of nominal sentences containing indeterminates:

(dāre da ‘who is it’ + dōo) dāre de mo ‘whoever it is; anybody’, (nán da ‘what is it’ + dōo) nání de mo ‘whatever it may be, whatever it is’. In these expressions the accent may be removed entirely or shifted to the copula gerund: dāre de mo, dāre de mo(i), or dāre de mo. For equivalent expressions with ... to ii té (mo), see §21.1.(9a). And compare the simple highlighting of the interrogative words’ (dāre da + dāre → dāre mo ‘everybody’ or [with negative sentence] ‘(not) anybody, nobody’, (nání[i] da + nání → nání mo ‘everything’ or more commonly ‘nothing’, (ítú da + ítú → ítú mo ‘always’ (with both affirmative and negative, since ‘never’ is kessite), (dōo da + dōo → dōo mo ‘ever so much, in every which way’ or ‘in no way’). A similar usage is that of the infinitive of surú (= sī) + mó after dāre: dāre si mo = dāre de mo ‘ anybody’; possibly the si in ítú-sika ‘before you notice’ is similar. Note also ori-simo ‘just then’, kanarazú-simo ‘(not) always, necessarily’, sá-simo ‘so much’, máda-simo ‘rather’, kore-simo ‘even this’, íma-simo ‘right now’, ... . There is a reason for treating dāre si mo as three “words”: you also find dāre ni si mo, dāre kara si mo, and dāre o si mo (as in Dāre o si mo urámu kotó wa náí ‘There is no need to reproach anyone’), though dāre fánga si mo obligatorily omits the ga. (But, by recycling, dāre si mo ga sometimes appears, though subject to the same opprobrium that greets dāre mo ga and dāre de mo ga. See p. 55.) Dōre si mo = dōre de mo ‘any one of them’ is similar, at least to the extent of permitting dōre o si mo.

Unexpected uses of sité mo (= dē mo) include matá-site mo (= matá-mata(“)) ‘and yet again’, ... Cf. N ni sité mo = N dē mo (§2.9), S ni sité mo (or S ni sé yo or S ni si ro) = S-té mo (§14.6): Zituguyo-ka ni sité mo yakunin ni sité mo, geizyutu tte iu monó ni yowai ne ‘Both businessmen and bureaucrats (alike) are poor when it comes to the arts’ (SA 2673.50c).
Although I am treating sì as the infinitive of surī, Japanese grammarians usually consider it an unanalyzed particle in literary Japanese, and sì-mo is treated as a pair of particles in sequence. The use of sì-mo is often an equivalent of mō or of de-mo; like them, sì-mo can be used for focus of the nucleus in addition to other purposes, as can be seen from this rather complicated example: ... ore mo manzara kanoo-sei naki ni sì mo arazu da to omotta n desu ‘I felt that it was not beyond the realm of possibility for me even’ (SA 2661.44b). A more colloquial version would be kanoo-sei ga nai [no] de mo nai; the original version was generated by the following processes:

1. literary adnominalization (náki N = náï N);
2. direct nominalization (náki [N] = náï no ‘that there exists not’);
3. literary copula in the negative (náru = de náï);
4. nuclear focus (ní ... árazu = de ... náï);
5. use of sì mo for mō or de mo (ní sì mo árazu = de mo náï, de de mo náï).

Meikai kogo jiten lists simo-arazu as a ‘weak denial’ equivalent of wāke/nó de mo náï; it also lists simo-are as equivalent to koso-are ‘indeed (being)’.

In addition to wā and mó, the gerund can be followed by most other markers of focus and many of the restrictives, just as the infinitive can. In § 9.2.4 you will find examples of the following markers used to separate gerund and auxiliary: sāe, nádo, náńka, nánte, (?)gúrái, bákari, daké, dè mo1 = d’at té, dè mo2, (?)máde. But apparently sìka, kósō, nómí, and súra will attach to the verb gerund only when it is NOT in construction with an auxiliary, as in the following examples.

**síka**

VERBAL: Anáta no go-sín setu ni tayotte SÍKA ikite ikenai ‘Only by relying on your kindness can I live on’.

ADJECTIVAL: Mazúsíkute SÍKA siru kotó ga dekinai monó no hitótu ni, kane no tattó-sa ga āru ‘One of the things you realize only being destitute is the value of money’.

NOMINAL (unusual except with the more formal de-átte sìka): Nihon-zín de atte SÍKA rékai(−) dekinai ningen-kánkei da ‘It is a personal relationship that can be understood only if you are a Japanese’.

**kósō**

VERBAL: Zitti ni keiken sité KOSO házime te sitte irú no da ‘It is not until you have actual experience that you can be said to know it’; Hóo wa daitsásu no hitó ni mamorárete KOSO hóo no káti ga āru ‘Law has the value of law precisely when it is [or: by being] observed by the majority of the people’ (SA 2650.45a); Hwirípín-zín no te de naosárete KOSO, káti ga āru n da ‘It is of value precisely by getting repaired by the hands of Filipinos’ (Tk 4.97a); Sízen no utukusií kankyo ni asoned KOSO hontoo no ari-káta na no da ‘The true way things ought to be is precisely [when you are] enjoying yourself in surroundings where nature is beautiful’ (SA 2680.112b—an alternate interpretation of the initial adnominalization yields ‘the beautiful surroundings of nature’).

ADJECTIVAL: Taisyuu-syókudoo wa yásukute KOSO taisyuu-syókudoo to irú no da ‘A plain restaurant can be called a plain restaurant precisely when it is cheap’; Ánka de, sono ut hinsitu ga yókute KOSO, syóohin(−) to sitte neuti ga āru ‘It has value as merchandise precisely if it is inexpensive and of good quality’.

78. A different etymology is proposed by Saji 40, who would derive sì or mo from a variant of só ‘that’ (cf. siká ‘so’).
ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Hoyóo-ti wa sízuka de KOSO hoyoo ni nárú no da ‘A recuperation place is good for recuperation precisely by being quiet’; Heiwa dé [átte] KOSO ningen-rasi seikatu ga dekíru no da ‘Precisely by being peaceful can a properly human life be led’.

NOMINAL: Toranzisutaa-séihín wa yubíasákí[=nó] ná no kíyoo na Nihon-zín de KOSO dekíru monó de aróo ‘Transistor products are something that can be produced precisely for being [= because we are] the Japanese who are nimble of finger’.

nómi

VERBAL: Genzítu o seikaku ni háaku[=] sité NOMI [or KOSO—but not *DAKE] syóórai e no tadasíi sonáé o násu kóto ga dekíru ‘Only by getting an accurate grasp of present reality can you make the proper preparation for the future’.

ADJECTIVAL: Mazúsikute NOMI siri-éru kínsho no tattó-sa de arú ‘The value of money can be learned only by being destitute’ (epithematic identification).

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Syókubá[=] de anzen dé [átte] NOMI sigoto ní mo syúuyuu dekíru no da ‘One can concentrate on the job itself only when the shop is safe’.

NOMINAL: Kinben na Nihon-zín de [átte] NOMI kokuhuku si-éta keizáikíkí de atta ‘It was an economic crisis we were able to overcome only by virtue of being diligent Japanese’.

sura

VERBAL: Kookoo o sotuyoo sité SURA {mo[=] SAE {mo}} syóku[=] ga nái no ni tyuuto-táiagaku no kimi ni syóku[=] nádo áru mon[=] ka ‘When there are no jobs even after graduating from high school, you who are a dropout can hardly expect to have a job or anything’.

ADJECTIVAL: Tákakute SURA kau hitó ga óoí syóohín[=] dá kara, nedan ga sagáreba tobu yöó ni urérú ni tígi nái ‘Since it is a product that will have many purchasers even being expensive, if we lower the price they will sell like hotcakes for sure’.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Ríron-teki ní wa zetta-ánzen de SURA zissai ni wa tabitabi zíko ga okíru no de arú kara, zikken ga hituyoo da ‘Even being absolutely safe in theory sometimes accidents happen, so a trial run is necessary’.

NOMINAL: ... sanman-en no syákkín de SURA, mitomemasén desita ‘They [= the court] did not recognize even a debt of ¥ 30 000 ...’ (SA 2659.117c); Nyuú-díirú o suisin sita Rúuzubéruto de SURA, hontoo wa koo sita atarássíi keizáigaku o rékai[=] sité wa inákatta ‘Even Roosevelt who promoted the New Deal did not really understand this sort of new economics’ (SA 2673.46b); Nihon-zín wa motíron, Kíta-Tyoosén o sókoku to suru zainiti-tyoosenzín de SURA, kono kuni o otozuérú[=] kotó wa kiwátome muzukáshí[=] ‘It is extremely difficult to visit this country [= North Korea] even for Japan-resident Koreans who recognize North Korea as their ancestral home, to say nothing of Japanese’ (SA 2684.140a).

Apparentl y there are no examples of gerund + hodo, dóróko, kágiiri, or yöiri—not even by way of nominalization of the gerund. But -té ka is possible when the gerund is not in construction with an auxiliary: Yoko ni nátte ka séiza[=] sité ka siraanái kedo íra-íra site mátte itá n désu tte ‘I don’t know whether he was lying down or sitting up straight but he says he was waiting impatiently’; koo i kuukí o síté ka sírazú dé ka, ... ‘whether aware of this atmosphere or not’ (Agawa, 1.230a).

In the following examples the gerund is followed by various focus markers and restrictives. See also the examples with gerund + auxiliary, p. 511.

VERBAL: Kuusyyu de akaku nátta sóra o míté SAE, ano sitá ga Tookyoo ka to omóú
to muné ga ōtuku nātta monó da ‘Even when I saw the sky turned red by the air raids, my breast would burn with the thought that underneath all that must be Tōkyō’ (SA 2821.60cd); Keisatū-tyoo no tookei de mite SAE, syoonen no ómo na keiño-han wa, yōnyuu yō-nen “génzai de kono zuyunen-kan no saitei [da] ‘Even as seen by police department statistics, major offenses by youths as of 1969 are at their lowest in the past ten years’ (SA 2688.27d); Titi wa kono kabin o sawatte SAE okóru no ni, kowásita no da kara nán to iú ka wakaránai ‘My father gets mad if I even touch this vase; I wonder what he will say now that I have broken it’; Káre wa utí(−) ni ité SAE benkyoo site iro ‘He studies even when he stays at home’; Mái-asa(−) roku-zi ni ókite SAE nemú ni no ni, yó-zi ni okíru nántte tootei deki na ‘When I’m sleepy even getting up at six o’clock every morning, I’ll never be able to get up by any four o’clock!’

ADJECTIVAL: Mé ga wárukutte SAE ano kisýoo desu ‘Even with his bad eyesight, that is just like him’ (Kb 30b); Syátu ga áókute SAE hadé na no ni, akai syátu nó do tonde-mo-nái ‘When even a shirt’s being blue is flashy, red shirts are out of the question’; Mótto tikákute SAE ikanái no ni, sonna tooi tokóro-e nó(−) iki-taku-nái ‘I won’t even go when it’s closer; I don’t want to go to any place so far away’.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Roodoo-zyóoken ga risoo-tekí de [atte] SAE, Amerika no roodoo-sya wa yori óoku o nozómi(−), sutó o kuri-kaesite iro ‘Even with working conditions ideal, America’s workers hope for more and strike repeatedly’.

NOMINAL: Otona de SAE ityoo o sokónaú kotó ga óói no desu kara, binkan na ákayan no ityoo wa tyóotte sita izyoo ni mo súgu eikyoo sare, tatimáti geri o okósite simáimáu ‘Since even grownups often have a lot of stomach trouble, the sensitive stomach of the baby is quick to react to the slightest upset with immediate diarrhoea’ (SA); Nanázyuu nana-sai no kónniti de SAE mo, máda sono mi-gónnai to ki-zen to sita aruki-káta wa, káre ga umare-nagará no undoó-ká de áru kotó o siméite(−) iro ‘Even today when he is 77 years old, his carriage and resolute gait reveal that he is a born athlete’ (KKK 3.55); …yuu-síkáku no kangó-hu de SAE mo kin-zirárete(−) iro kooi ná no da ‘It is conduct that even qualified nurses are forbidden’ (SA 2666.113); Ne-gaeri(−) o útú no de SAE iki ga kírérú ‘Even turning on your side you can’t get your breath [because of the lack of oxygen at high altitude]’ (SA 2671.112c)—this is equivalent to …nó de [sae] mo but probably derives from a direct application of saé to the copula gerund in its concessive meaning, as an equivalent of de [mo]; another interpretation would be the instrumental use of the gerund or even the case marker dé that stems from the copula gerund: ‘by turning on your side’.

máde

VERBAL [See also §9.2.3]: Kono hi máde no káre wa, katei o kowásite MADE onná ni uti-kómu nántte kangaeta kotó mo nákatta ‘Until that day he had never once thought of anything like falling in love with a woman to the extent of breaking up his home’ (SA 2793.98bc); Sore dake no kane o kákete MADE, náze nan-kóozi no tonneru o horáneba naránaí no ka ‘Why is it that they must dig a tunnel difficult to engineer, going to the extent of spending all that money, even?’ (SA 2668.60a); Tokóro-de, oyá no hantai oshikitte MADE kekkon sitá no ni, Watanabe husái wa móó bekkyó “tyuu de áru ‘But, although they wed even in the face of parental opposition, the Watanabe couple are now living apart from each other’ (SA 2668.59c); Naga-nen kakátte, sekkaku(−), seken ni uri-kóna syamei o, wáza-waza taihen na syuppi o sité MADE kaeru no wa náze daroo ‘Why would they go to all the trouble, even to the great expense, of changing a company name
that they have been taking pains to sell to the public for all these years?' (SA 2662.18b); Konnakusuri o tukatte MADE kiroku ya syōori o mezasaō to ï no wa, akirakan supōotto no tuiraku, 'iya ningen-sei no taihai darōo 'To want to aim at records or wins to the extent of using drugs of this sort is clearly the end of sports; nay, the corruption of man’s humanity' (SA 2665.121d); Sabetu o zyotōyo suru yōō na ēiga(−) {nǐ} mo, kono bōkū(−) ga iōi o kākete MADE demāsu ka 'The sort of movie that would further discrimination—would I [in my poor health] appear in it at the very risk of my life?' (SA 2688.109cd); ... ēte teki o tukūtte MADE Sin-Tōhoo o yaru ki mo nāi kara ... 'I have no enthusiasm for working for New Toho to the extent of going out of my way to make enemies ...' (Tk 3.236); ... ēte kiken o okāsite MADE yon-sen ni wa de’ ‘māi ... 'will surely not actually brave the risks of [running in] a fourth election' (SA 2689.136b); Zibun no seikatsu o gise ni sitē MADE MO, tosi-tōtta oya no mendō o miru hituyoo wa nāi 'There is no need to take care of your aged parents to the point where you sacrifice your own life' (SA 2672.43a).

ADJECTIVAL: None?

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: None?

NOMINAL(?): Hanshin-hūzu(−) de [itte] MADE ikite i-tāku wa nāi ‘I don’t want to live half-paralyzed’; Neta kikirē MADE ikite i-tāku wa nāi ‘I don’t want to live bedridden’.

VERBAL: Wāza-waza ēiga(−) o eiga-kan e itte NADO miyōo to wa omowānai ‘I don’t feel like all the trouble of going to the theater and all to see a movie’.

ADJECTIVAL: Yāsuku(−) NADO kaeru monō zya nāi ‘You’re unlikely to be able to buy it (with it) cheap or anything’.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Dönna ningen mo kanzen de’ (pado ari-enai ‘Nobody can be perfect’.

NOMINAL: Konna zyuudai-mōndai ni, bookán-sya de NADO iraremën ‘At such an important question, I can hardly go on as a bystander or the like’.

VERBAL: Hatarakazu ni asonde NANGA kurasemasen ‘You can’t get by loafing and all instead of working’.

ADJECTIVAL: Kore wa yāsukute NANGA kaeru sinamono zya nāi ‘This is not a product you can buy (with its being) cheap or anything’.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Konna toki ni heiki de NANGA irareru hazu ga nāi ‘At such a time we can’t expect to be able to remain unconcerned and all’.

NOMINAL: None?

VERBAL: Sono hōn o kasite NANTE iwanai ‘I never said I’d lend that book or anything’.

ADJECTIVAL: Sigoto ga dekinakatta ryuu wa atukute NANTE itte ‘rū ga, hontoo wa namaketyatta ni tigai nāi ‘He says the reason he couldn’t do the job was it’s being hot and all but the truth is surely that he was too damn lazy’.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Konna baai ni, heiki de NANTE irareru mōn ka ‘How can I remain calm and all in such a situation?!’

NOMINAL: None?

VERBAL: Densya(−) ga nāku nārya, arūite DÈMO (= D’ATTE) kātte kīte morai-tai mōn na n desu yō ‘If there get to be no more trains I want you to come home on foot if
necessary’ (Fn 204b); Nán to site DE\(^{1}\) MO, kono utá o hítô sase-tai ‘I want to make a hit of this song, whatever it takes (at all costs, by hook or by crook)’ (SA 2664.124); Syakk’ in site DE\(^{1}\) MO toti katta hóogagaku toku da\(^{1}\) to iú no ni ‘But they say you’re better off buying land even (if it means) going into debt to do so’ (SA 2659.118d); Wakái kásyutati ga, dôña kotó o site DE\(^{1}\) MO terebi ni syutuen si-tai to negau no mo doori de aru ‘It is quite natural for young singers to beg saying they will do anything at all to perform on television’ (SA 2664.40c); ... watási-táti ni wa koogai o okósite DE\(^{1}\) MO koogyo-ka o susume, bussitu-teki na hatten o suru kotó ga kyuúumu da ‘for us the urgent task is to encourage industrialization and achieve material development even if it gives rise to environmental harm’ (SA 2677.158d); Konna yasasii kotó nara, mé o tubutté D’ATTE dekiru ‘A thing this easy I can do with my eyes shut’; Hátte D’ATTE i kara zibun de ugoiki-mawari-tai ‘I don’t care even if I have to crawl, I want to move around by myself’. ADJECTIVAL: Mazúsikute D’ATTE tanósku kurasu hóo ga ii ‘It’s better to be able to live happily even being poor’.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Bìnboo de D’ATTE (= Bìnboo de \(^{1}\) mo, Bìnboo de \(^{1}\) itte mo) siawase ni kurasu kotó ga dekiru desyou ‘One can live happily even being poor’.

NOMINAL: Kore wa gozyuuman-en de DE\(^{1}\) MO [or: D’ATTE] kaenai ‘This can’t be bought even for fifty thousand yen’; Ookoo-kizoku de D’ATTE keiken dekínai tanósi kotó ga áru ‘There are enjoyable things that can’t be experienced even if you are royalty’. dé mo\(^{2}\)

VERBAL: Haná o tundé DE\(^{1}\) MO réi o tukútte kudasái ‘Pick some flowers, say, and make a lei’.

ADJECTIVAL: Examples lacking.

NOMINAL: Examples lacking.\(^{79}\)

\(\text{gurai: REJECTED?}\)

dake\(^{1}\)

REJECTED—except with phrasal postpositions: Sono kawari zibun ni kati-mé no áru monó ni mukatte “DAKE\(^{1}\) bóoryokyû(”) o huru ‘Instead they display violence only toward those they themselves have the odds on’ (SA 2685.118d).

bákari

VERBAL: Míte BÁKARI rée wa tumaráñai kara têtudawásete né ‘I get bored with just watching, so let me help’; Edo “ zijá i o waratte BÁKARI wa irarenai ‘They can’t just keep poking fun at the Edo period’ (Fn 373b); Táda móó, soo omótte BÁKARI káre wa arúita ‘But now he walked along just thinking of that’ (Kb 251a); Sikási, sono zituzyoo o hónsyo de sitte míru to, tote-mo yorokóndé BÁKARI wa irarenai ‘But when we consider the situation as revealed in this book, we can not rest completely happy’ (SA 2659.114e—this could be regarded as gerund + auxiliary, see p. 520).

ADJECTIVAL (rather literary): Kono zyúù-nen hodo\(^{1}\) wa, mazúsikute BÁKARI sógíta ‘I have passed these ten years in straight poverty’.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Bìnboo de BÁKARI héta issyoo dáttá ‘It was a life passed in straight poverty’.

NOMINAL: Examples lacking.

On -tê ‘t’atte = -tê [i]t’atte = -tê te mo = -tê [i]tê mo, see § 15.11.

79. The examples in Alfonso 761—Isóide de mo ii kara ... and Hazímete de mo yóoku dekimásita né—are adverbs derived from gerunds.
9.2.3. Verbal gerund + karā

The gerund of a verbal sentence can be followed by karā; this forms a temporal ablative with the meaning ‘after doing’, ‘after one does/did/will do’—with tense, mood, and the like determined by the final predicate in the new sentence, which may be verbal, adjectival, or nominal. When that sentence is imperfect, the translation is often ‘has been (doing) since ...’: Amerika ni kīte kara Bōsuton ni sùnde imasū ‘I have been living in Boston since coming to America’. (For the translational problem involved, compare Nigatu kara byooki dā ‘I have been ill since February’ with Nigatu kara byooki ātā ‘I had been ill since February’.) Usually in these imperfect sentences, karā can be replaced by irai (cf. p. 210): Amerika ni kīte īrai Bōsuton ni sùnde imasū.

Sometimes V-te kara is followed by VN māde (also V-ru māde?) as in these examples: ... Taisyoo zyuusān-nen ni zyookyoo sitē kara haisen māde no aida wa ... ‘during the period after he came to the capital in 1924 until the war defeat’ (SA 2689.107c); Suţānwoodo wa, irui o nage-kondē kara siage māde, wāzuka zippūn-kan to iu kakki-teki no dorai-kuriin ingū-ki o kaihatsu sita ‘Stanford developed a revolutionary dry-cleaning machine that takes only ten minutes from the time you throw the garments in until they are finished’ (SA 2661.29c). Compare the delimitation of a temporal set by ... karā ... māde on p. 209. Notice that it is possible to find V-te māde ‘until one has done’: [Onnā no hito no akogare wa, ima-nao kekkon nā no yō nē.] Soso-site, kekkon sitē made hatarakanakya naranai no wa sabīi tte iū no ‘[What women aspire to, even now, is marriage, you know.] And they say it is lonely to have to work up until they have got married!’ (SA 2672.64a).

There is a lively pronunciation variant V-tekkara; compare sorekkara = sore karā, hazimēkkara = hazime karā (Maeda 1962.209); nekkara = nekaran ‘(not) at all’ < nekarā ‘from the root’; and other examples on pp. 44-5.

We can consider here the use of the perfect (-tā, §11) adnominalized to the nominal sentence ato da ‘it is after(wards)’ to create a new sentence used as a gerund ... V-ta āto de = V-ta sue ni ‘after doing’. The expression V-te kara usually implies a logical (= causal?) or temporal sequence and often has the same subject as the new sentence: A ga X o sita + A ga Y o sita → A ga X o sitē kara, Y o sita ‘A, right after he did X, did Y; A did X and then did Y’. The expression V-ta āto de ‘after doing’ implies nothing about sequence except to tell you that the act of the second sentence occurred at some point later in time than the act of the first; as with all such time expressions (V-ru māe ni, V-ru aida ni, V-ru uti(‘) ni, etc.) the subjects may be the same or different: A ga X o sita + B ga X/Y o sita → A ga X

80. But īrai will be set off by a minor juncture except when this vanishes after cancelling the oxytone accent on -tē of gerunds made from atomic verb bases, as in sensoo ga owatte īrai ‘since the war ended’. You will also find nōti ūni+ iog (wa) used in the same way: Sorezōre i"kaisan" sitē kara iūgo, ... ‘(From the time) after they separately “dispersed” ...’ (SA 2689.120d); Syurī-yō-ki ga iowatte iog wa yattoo no murē mo i nonki-sōō da ‘Now that the hunting season is over the flocks of wild birds look lazy’ (SA); Kooen ga sūnde iōtī ūni+ i sawā-kai ga hirakaremäsita ‘After the lecture was over they held a tea party.’ The juncture shows that these expressions are similar to V-te iāgu ‘right after doing’ and V-te Ima-mō-naku ‘soon after doing’. Cf. V-te iāto de ‘did it, and then later ...’; V-te āto de ‘after [one] did it’. Ellipsis is permitted for the gerund in VN [site] īrai even when the adjuncts remain intact: Nihon-zyōsei Ono Yōko to kekkon [ ḳ] īrai, ... ‘Since marrying the Japanese woman Ono Yōko, ...’ (SA 2665.134). Cf. ... seturito [site] ma-mō-nāi Nati-too to sessyoku sita kāre wa ... ‘he who had made contact with the Nazi party not long after its establishment’ (SA 2674.104c).
§9. Adverbializations

o sita áto de B ga X/Y o sita ‘B did X/Y after (later than) A did X’. We might consider V-té kara as tightly SUBORDINATING the first action to the second, V-ta áto de as loosely COORDINATING the two with a transitional epitheme; cf. the two kinds of tokí: (1) ‘when’, (2) ‘on the occasion that’, § 13.2.3. Observe that with V-té kara, the subjects NEED not be the same: Káre ga itté kara [watáši-táti ga] tabeyōo ‘Let’s eat when he goes’. Although V-té kara and V-ta áto [de] are loosely synonymous, the latter is more often used as the antonym of V-ru mae [nī] ‘before’, and is somewhat more consistent on the time element. Alfonso (596) suggests that it also has some sense of IMMEDIACY (‘soon after’); thus it is more often used for a single specific occurrence (Sensoo ga owatta áto de Tookyoo e kāetta ‘After the war ended I returned to Tōkyō’) than for the setting in of a continuing state of affairs (Sensoo ga owatta kara seikatū ga yóku natta ‘After the war ended, life improved’).81

Do not be surprised to run across áto kara, which means ‘(from) afterwards, (starting) after’; áto DE means ‘later on, (at some time) after’. You will also find V-té kara ÁTO [DE] with a suggestion of lack of immediacy ‘at a point some time after V’: Kisida Kunio ga saikun naku-nasitē kara áto, boku (”) wa itte mite odoróityatta ‘When I went to see Kunio Kishida after he had lost his wife, I was startled’ (Tk 3.38a). I presume that V-té kara áto kara is possible, but I have no examples.

The ablative gerund can be subdued or highlighted, V-té kara wa/mo: Hunsoo ga okotte kara wa, sensé-tati minnâ nigeyatè sirân-kao ‘After the strike arose, the teachers all fled and couldn’t care less’ (SA 2676.36b); Gakkoo ga Kamakurâ (”) kara Oohuna ni iten sitē kara wa, boku (”) wa, māinītii, Syōōtii kuro Oohun-satējīyo(”) ni asobi ni ittē ita ‘After the school moved from Kamakura to Ōfuna I would go for fun to the Ōfuna movie studios of Shōchiku’ (SA 2635.59d); Sonno tiryoo o uke-hazimētē kara wa daibu yōku natta ‘Since beginning that treatment I am much improved’; Sonna koto ga ni-dō hodo atte kara wa, Hideko no iē no bēru ni, kāre wa kikimimi o tātē ‘After that sort of thing happening a couple of times, he kept his ear alert to the doorbell at Hideko’s house’ (Ig 1962.93); Magō ga umaretē kara mo ... dukase tē mo kurenai ‘And after my grandson was born ... why she [the daughter-in-law] wouldn’t even let me hold him’ (SA 2663.112b); Byoo kii ga naōtte kara mo, tītīhahā wa hutatabi Mottō o konomānakatā ‘Even after the illness passed, the parents never liked Motoko again’ (Ig 1962.93); Heian -zidai ni hāitte kara mo ... keibētii wa sarasarata ‘Even in Heian times they were exposed to scorn ... ’ (Ōno 1966.219); Sotugyōo sitē kara mo benkyō o site ‘māsu ka ‘Are you still studying, even now that you’ve graduated?’ (SA 2645.49c); Kurusūnian ga Marusēuyu ni kāette kara mo hutarī wa hinpan ni ātta ‘After Christian had returned to Marseilles the two still saw each other frequently’ (SA 2649.105c).

And, perhaps by propredication (?), forms of the copula can follow the ablative gerund: Yogorete simatte kara de wa torikakesi ga tukānai ... ‘Once polluted, it can’t be restored ... ’ (SA 2688.22)—dē wa = nāra, dá to; Tokugawa-bāku hyō dā te, sosō-ko to anteî-ki ni hāitte kara de wa, hituyoo to suru zinzai ga kawaru wāke desu ‘Even the Tokugawa shogunate, once it had entered its initial period and its period of stability, saw a change in the talents it needed’ (SA 2665.16d); Hihyōo wa kansē sitē kara ni simāzu keredo mo ... ‘I will reserve judgment until it [the new building] is finished but ... ’ (SA 2669.46c); Tābeto kara ni siyoo ‘Let’s put it off till we’ve eaten’; ... hukyuu sitē kara no

81. See the note at the end of this section (p. 510).
§9.2.3. Verbal gerund + karā

Kotō ... ‘(is) a matter following the popularization ...’ (KKK 3.76); Sore wa zimū-syo o dēte kara no sigoto dēsu ‘That is work to be done after leaving the office’ (BJ 1.284); Mē ga wāruku nattā no wa ano hon’yaku o hazimēte kara ni tigai nai ‘I’m sure it’s since starting that translating (job) that my eyes have worsened’; Yamētā kara zya nākute, yameru māe ni o-iwai o simasyōo ‘Let’s have our party before we quit, not after’.

Moreover, the ablative gerund is like a time noun in that it can be used as subject or object: Haitē kara ga taisetū da ‘What’s important is after it’s in’; Morattē kara o kangaete kudasai ‘Give some thought to what happens after we get it’. We could regard at least the latter as an ellipsis ... V-tē karā [no kotō o]. But all this suggests that phrase-final V-tē karā is a DIRECT ADVERBIALIZATION of a nominal (§9.1.13): we expect ... V-tē karā NI, and that is precisely what we find in the dialect of Wakayama (Zhs 4.398 ff), though not in the standard language. Of interest in this connection is the observation in Ig 1962(1.27) that the anaphoric substitute for V-tē karā is SORE karā ‘after that’, the substitute for simple V-te is [Soo site >] Sosite, Site, or SORE de (often pronounced so’de > soide). On the other hand, the substitutes for V-ru tō, V-ru ga, and V-ru karā, respectively, are [Soo] suru tō, [Dā] ga, and Da karā. Elsewhere (§24) we assume ellipsis for the latter two: [Sōo/Sore] dā ga, [Sōo/Sore] dā karā. For the literary usage V-tē karā ga = V-ta to sitē mo ‘even if, say’ and for N ni sitē [kara] ga = N ni sitē mo/se = N de se mo, see §2.2 (karā 8, ga 14-15) and p. 487.

The ablative gerund can be followed by the following focus particles and restrictives—often set off by a minor juncture:

sae; sura: Sindo kara SAE/URA urānde dēte kūru ‘Even after dying he keeps coming back (as a ghost) out of resentment’.
sika: Nihon e ittē kara SIKAI miru koto ga dekinai ‘You can only see that after you’ve got to Japan’.
kōso: Sotugyōo sitē kara KOSO hontoo no seikatu ga hazimaruyō ‘Real life begins AFTER graduating’.
nado; nanka; nante: Zyūu-zi o sūgite kara NADO (/NANKA/NANTE) hito no uti(−) ni denwa o suru monō zya nai ‘It isn’t proper to phone people’s houses when ten o’clock is past and all’; Sigoto o yamēte kara NANKAI, karōreta mon[ō] zya nai ‘I can’t be coming here now that I’ve actually quit working here’.

dake: Nihon e i korārete kara I DAKÉ de naku, ippo kuni ni irassyāru toki mo lionazi dēsu ka ‘Is it the same not only when you are here in Japan but also when you are in your own country?’ (SA 2647.126).
nomi: Usinattē kara NŌMI, monō no arigatāmi(−) ga hontoo ni wakāru no da ‘You truly appreciate the value of things only when you have lost them’.
bakai: Syūukai no sirase ga kūru no wa, itu mo owattē kara BĀKARI da kara, syusseki sita kōto ga nai ‘The notice of the meeting always comes after it’s over, so I have never attended’.

deto1 = datte: Netē kara D’ATTE kamaimasēn kara, kyuuuyoo nara, yonakā de mo o-dēnwa negaimasu ‘It doesn’t make any difference even after I’ve gone to bed, if it is an urgent matter I want you to call me even in the middle of the night’.

deto1: O-syokuizu o o-sumase ni nātte kara DE MO, o-asobi ni o-iide kudasaimasēn ka ‘Won’t you come for a visit after you’ve finished you meal, say?’
gurai: (?) Sikēn ga owattē kara GURAII yūkkūri sitē mo ii desyōo ‘After the exams are over at least, you can relax’.
§9. Adverbializations

māde: Sindē kara MÂDE keititte ‘-yagaru ‘The bastard is pinching his pennies even after his death!’ (SA 2665.117d—‘-yagaru = i-yagaru).

It is interesting to see that in Kyūshū the structure V--te kara is often used in sentences that would be said with the simple gerund V-ťe in other parts of Japan (Zhs 6.17 n. 7). The use of kara as merely a reinforcement of one of the meanings of the gerund is reminiscent of the somewhat similar use in Korean of the particle se (also used for the locative ablative ‘from’) to reinforce several of the meanings of the infinitive -e, including both temporal and causal sequence.

NOTE: Kuno 1973.167 has some interesting observations on “after” constructions. He says that the S1-tę kara S2 structure requires that S2 be an action or event that can be intentionally controlled or preplanned by the subject; S1-ta ato NI S2 means that “S2 fills the vacuum left by S1”—hence typically will refer to coming or going or to coming into existence or going out of existence, the opposite of S1. Moreover, Kuno says the directly adverbialized S-ta ato neutralizes the distinctions that obtain for the three expressions S-tę kara, S-ta ato de, and S-ta ato ni.

9.2.4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb.

A number of verbs are used as auxiliaries to verbal gerunds, making new verbal sentences: 82 (1) iru (and synonyms ēru, iressyāru, o-ide ni naru; ketukaru [vulgar]); (2) ēru (and synonym gozai masu; ketu karu [vulgar]); in one use, also o-ari ni naru, see p. 528); (3) oku; (4) imau; (5) iku; (6) kūru (and synonym màir-u); (7) miru (and go-ran ni naru); (8) miēru; (9) misēru (and o-mise ni naru, o-me ni kakēru, o-mise suru/itasu); (10) sūmu; sumāsū. Separate treatment is given in §10 to auxiliaries of favor: (11) yaru/ageru; tukawasu, tuka[w]asaru; (12) kurēru/kudasāru; (13) morau/itadaku. (On V-te yaru2/yokōsū and V-te yaru3 see remarks on p. 354.)

In addition to the above, some consideration should be given also to: (14) kan-zirareru: ... sono tokī wa watasi no mē ni utūtta titi wa ima-māde no titi to wa móo kawatte kan-ziraretta ‘the father that was then reflected in my eyes seemed different from my father up to that time’ (V 114); (15) kikōēru: Kono ‘itosii’ wa, ‘kawaiii’ yori mo, móto hukái nāsākē ga komōtte kikōēru ‘This word “itosii” sounds filled with a feeling that is deeper than “kawaiii”’ (Ôno 1966.80).

It is possible to apply focus with wa or mó to the gerund in the auxiliary constructions: ... Magō ga umaretê kara mo, ... dakasetê mo kurenen ‘And after my grandson was born ... she [the daughter-in-law] wouldn’t even let me hold him’ (SA 2663.112b); Kono yoō ni, hōgen to syuudan-go tō wa nite iru tokorō mo arimāsu ga, mata, iroiro no ten de tigatte mo imāsu ‘Thus regional dialects and social dialects have many similarities, yet in many respects they differ, too’ (Shibata 1966.46); Yoakē ‘māe. Hárete wa iuru ga, ātari wa màda usu-ymii ‘It is just before dawn. The sky is clear but the grounds are still dusky’ (SA 2672.16c); ... móo ll mótte wa lina ni zidai, ... ‘an era that no longer possesses ...’ (SA 2673.114a).

And it seems to be possible also to mark the gerund with various other particles:

82. See also -te (etc.) + tamaranai, narānai, yarikirēnai, irarenai, yamanai §9.2, p. 498. For V-te hosii see §10.
§9.2.4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb

sae: Haitte sae | ireba| n desu ‘Just so it’s inside, that’s OK’; Rön-zite(−) sae | ireba| syoooko wa | naku-naru ‘A bit of argument and the proof disappears’ (SA 2637.103d); Anata ga | hanasite sae | kurereba | tikara ni | nareta k | amo | sirenai no | ni ‘If only you’d told me I might have been of some help to you’.

nadō: Wata si wa | betu ni | okotte nado (l) inai ‘I’m not especially mad or anything’; To i’u no wa, I sono sitai wa | sukosi mo | Noda ni nite | nado | inakatta kara | de aru ‘That’s because the corpse hadn’t the slightest resemblance to Noda or anything’.

nanzo: Nakana ka, | soo itawatte nanzo | moraeru | mōn | yail nai ‘I’m highly unlikely to be shown such consideration’ (Tk 3.134b).

nanke: ... uti(−) | no | kakiri-doki(−) | wa | natō | da kara | yasunde nanka | irarenai to iu kaisya ... ‘companies that say their busy season is the summer so they can’t be idle (on vacation) or the like ...’ (SA 2637.38); Tittō-mo | moookatte nanka | imasēn | yō ‘I’m not making the least bit of profit, I tell you’ (SA 2679.115d).

nante: Kuti de wa | soo i’u kedo | sin-zite(−) | nante | inai wa | yō ‘He says that all right but he hardly believes it!’

–gūrai: Hanashite | morau ni | wa | mūri | ka | mo | siremasēn kedo | kīte ‘gūrai | moraerū ka mo | sirenai ‘It may be asking too much to have him speak but perhaps we can get him at least to come’.

bākari: Mite | bākari | ite | sukōsi mo | tetudawānai ‘He just keeps looking on and never helps the least bit’; Sonna ni asonde bākari | linai | de | sukōsi wa | benkyoo si-nasai ‘Stop just fooling around and get a little studying done!’ (KKK 3.202).

dakē wa: Komeede-Huransēzu | wa | kiteitō mo | wakaranai kedo | mite (l) | dakē | wa | oki-tai ‘I can’t understand what they are saying in the Comédie Française but I want to just see them at least’.

made: Simin o | kokatu | sasete | made | moraoō | to wa | omowānai ‘It is not their intention to have the city residents actually (or completely) exhausted [of water supply]’ (SA 2688.25b).

de mo = d’atte: Hune ga | nai | no | nara | de | oyōide de mo | oyōide d’atte | liki-tai kimoti desu ‘If there is no boat available, then I’d like to get there even by swimming’.

But the gerund can no be separated from the following auxiliary by adjunct phrases; all sentence adjuncts must PRECEDE the gerund (cf. BJ 2.124). The gerund and the auxiliary are usually separated by minor juncture, but major juncture will sometimes appear when the gerund is focused or restricted. And the minor juncture often drops, especially when the auxiliary appears in a relatively short form.

It is also possible to apply focus to the auxiliary: Yatte mis mo | sinaï de | hihan(−) (l) bākari suru ‘He doesn’t even try doing it, he just criticizes’. (Cf. Alfonso 1128: either hataraitė | sae | sureba or hataraitė sae | ireba is acceptable.) You will find examples under each of the auxiliaries in the following sections. Occasionally focus is independently applied both to the gerund and to the auxiliary: ... kirawaretē wa | simai wa | senū ka ... ‘won’t I end up being despised’ (Fn 445b)—this sounds a bit strange. But in ... syoor yaku saretē wa | ite mo ... ‘even though it IS omitted’ (Morishige 248) the -te mo is applied to the entire structure saretē wa i-

Either the auxiliary or the gerund, or both, can be negativized—with slightly different meanings: site inai ‘is not doing it’, sinaï de | iku ‘is getting along without doing it, stays not doing it’, sinaï de wa inai ‘is not getting along (staying) without doing it’; site okanai ‘doesn’t do it for later’, sinaï de oku ‘lets it go without doing it’, sinaï de wa okanai ‘doesn’t
let it go without doing it'; ... . The use of the gerund with the giving and receiving of
favors (§ 10) is similar with respect to negativization and focus.

Subject exaltation can occur for either or (redundantly) both of the two parts of the
expression: o-kaki ni natte iru (miru, oku, simau); kāite irassyāru (go-ran ni naru, o-oki
ni naru, o-simai ni naru); o-kaki ni nāte irassyāru (go-ran ni naru, o-oki ni naru, o-simai
ni naru). But, with the exception of V-te iru, object exaltation can (at most) occur only
with the gerund: o-kaki site miru (oku, simau) but not *kāite (or o-kaki site) haiken suru
(o-oki suru, o-simai suru). Exceptionally, you will hear o-kaki site iru, kāite ōru, and o-kaki
site ōru. Compare exaltation with favors, § 10.

Kazama 88-9 prefers to place the exalting passive on the auxiliary, at least for site
[irareru -] orareru instead of sarete iru/ōru and for site okar eru instead of sarete oku.
Yoshida (524) says the prevailing tendency is to put conversions such as exaltation on the
gerund, leaving the auxiliary untouched; he (Y 531) treats o-V-i ni nāte iru and V-te
irareru as more standard usages, but also observes V- te orar eru and V-rarete iru.

When you make an alternative question, you give first an affirmative version and then
a negative version, from which the listener is to choose his answer; the negative question
need not carry the adjuncts but can be stripped down to the nuclear sentence, the predi­
cate. When you make an alternative question on an auxiliary conversion, it is not necessary
to repeat the gerund; you can strip the negative repeat down to the auxiliary as a nucleus:
Mondai wa ū hataraite iru ka l {hataraite} ināi ka de, ... ‘The question is whether he is work­
ing or [is] not [working], and ...’. This appears to be true for all gerund-auxiliary conver­
sions, and even for some of the infinitive-auxiliary conversions.

From the statistics on modern written Japanese in KKK 25.78b, it would appear that
about half of all occurrences of the verb gerund are with an auxiliary, and well over half
of those occurrences are with the auxiliary iru or its synonyms. A rough idea of the
RELATIVE frequency of the principal auxiliaries can be had from the following table of
percentages (derived from the raw figures in KKK 25):

| All occurrences of V-te | 1.0000 |
| V-te + Auxiliary       | .4819  |
|                       |   |  
| iru/ōru/irassyāru      | .2934  |
| kūru/māir-u           | .0544  |
| iku                   | .0309  |
| kureru/kudasāru       | .0260  |
| simau                 | .0222  |
| miru                  | .0204  |
| oku                   | .0113  |
| morau/itadaku         | .0097  |
| āru/gozaimāsu         | .0066  |
| yaru/ageru            | .0052  |
| misēru                | .0013  |

When a gerund is followed by a verb other than those listed above, the verb is not to
be regarded as an auxiliary: in kīnzyō o aruite mawaru ‘walks around the vicinity’ a
gerund of manner (‘walking’) or instrument (‘by walking’) modifies the verb phrase
(きんぞうお)まわる ‘goes around (the vicinity)’. Cf. -mawaru as an auxiliary with the infinitive: aruki-mawaru ‘walks around’. Similarly, we can interpret the structure V-te V in the following example as a conjoining of two full verbs, though the meaning borders on what we might expect of an auxiliary: Syanhai(-) de sore o mita mumei no seinen ga hungai simashite, hitō-ban ni sān-ten no ryōori-ya ni gasorin de hi o tukete aruita n desu nā ‘In Shanghai an obscure youth saw that [unpatriotic extravagance by the Japanese military officers], got indignant, and went around setting fire with gasoline to three fancy restaurants in a single night’.

The accentuation of certain phrases tells us that we are dealing with recent reductions of gerund + verb: mite-toru ‘grasps, takes in’ has been reduced from mite-tōru ‘looks at and takes’ and hence does not have the normal accent of a single verb (which would be *mitetōru). The following verbs derived from the gerund tōte ‘grasping’ + verb are treated by some speakers as “recent reductions” (the gerund prevailing) and by others (including Hamako Chaplin) as new tonic verbs: tōte-kūru from tōte kūru ‘fetches’; tōte-kāesu from tōte kāesu ‘retraces one’s steps’; tōte-kū from tōte kūu ‘snatches and eats’—limited to idiomatic uses such as Tōte-kūu to wa iwanai ‘(Don’t be scared—) I won’t bite you!’; tōte-tukēru from tōte-tukēru ‘grasps and attaches’—limited to idiomatic uses such as tōte-tukēta yō o na ... ‘affected, unnatural’. But there seems to be no prosodic reason to explain why dictionaries list tōte oku ‘reserves’ as a separate lexical item; the juncture in tōte okimāsita ga and the focus in tōte sae okēba or tōte oki sae l sureba indicate a phrase. Other recent reductions include kūttē-kakarū ‘challenges, defies’ (for Hamako Chaplin kuttē-kakaru), ...

The expressions for ‘brings’ and ‘takes’ consist of the gerund motte ‘holding’ + kūru/iku ‘comes/goes’ or the exalting euphemisms mair-u, irassyāru, o-ide n[i] nāru, miēru. But the gerund normally loses its accent: motte kūru, motte iku (or motte ‘ku), motte mairu, motte irassyāru (or motte ‘rassyāru), motte o-ide n[i] nāru (or mott’ o-ide n[i] nāru), motte miēru. Cf. BJ 1.233. In other meanings, those that stress the “holding”, the gerund will retain its accent: motte kūru/iku means ‘comes/goes holding it’ or—with the auxiliary use of the motion verb—‘gradually starts holding/having it’ or the like; Kore o mott[e] o-ide will usually be taken as ‘Hold this’ (= motte itte kudasai) but Kore o mott[e] o-ide can only be understood as ‘Take/bring this’ (= Motte itte/kite kudasai). The forms with the atonicized gerund are ignored by Japanese accent dictionaries except for “motte-kūru”. The reason for listing it would appear to be because the accent often shifts back a syllable in the gerund motte kīte and in forms derived from the gerund (such as the perfect motte kīta), as a result of the unvoicing of the vowel i. In a similar way, the dictionaries list “yatte-kūru” ‘comes around, shows up’ as a lexical item because of the accent in forms such as yatte kīte and yatte kīta, while they often ignore yatte iku ‘manages, gets along’. But all these gerunds can be put into a separate phrase with focus (permitting motte to recover its accent), instead of letting the focus go on the phrase as a whole, though that is also possible:

motte kī wa/mo sinai
motte kī wa/mo sinai

83. And a few other verbs of movement: both motte kāer-u ‘returns with (= carrying)’ and motte aruku ‘carries (while walking)’ will usually be said with no accent on motte; cf. motte aruku kikai ‘a portable machine’. 

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§9. Adverbializations

By way of contrast with **mótte kita** and **yatte kita**, notice that **hakonde kita** does NOT become "hakonde kita but retains the basic underlying juncture that removes the underlying accent on the gerund (hakonde wa) and leaves the accent of ‘came’ only one place to flee—to the last syllable (kitá ka ‘has he come?’) where it is automatically suppressed unless a particle is attached before the juncture. But some speakers leave the accent on the unvoiced first vowel of kita and that is the pattern generally followed in this book, though it is not the common Tókyô practice.

The verb nokeru is used with very few gerunds and the gerund cannot be focused by wa/mó to form a separate phrase; thus it seems proper to treat as lexical items yatte-nokeru ‘manages to do, accomplishes’ and itte-nokeru ‘makes bold (presumes, ventures) to say, takes it upon oneself to say’. But I have also come across katatte noketa ‘made bold to tell’ (SA 2677.149), kotáete noketa ‘ventured to answer’ (Ariyoshi 162), and ... nure-ba máde én-zite(¯) noketa ‘ventured to perform even the love scenes’ (SA 2680.18b); perhaps the verb is used more widely than I had thought and yatte/itte nokeru should be treated as idiomatic phrases.

The verb kakárú sometimes occurs after a gerund with auxiliary-like meaning: Kankyaku o ll nódé l kakárú yóo ni l naránakereba, ll bútai no l púró to wa l ienai ‘You can not be said to be a stage pro[essional] unless you get so you can boldly take on (= face) the audience’. Cf. V-i ni kakárú, §9.1.1; V-i-kakárú, §9.1.10. Perhaps some instances of V-te kakárú are simply contractions of V-te [i]-kakárú: Sore o, omae, úso ni mo hurú-warázi no yóo ni nage-dasite kakáttta to iu kotó wa ‘To think, for no reason at all you started abandoning that as if it were an old straw sandal!’ (Kb 288a); Nán no kotó wa nái, hazíme kkará, kotó o kowósíte kakáttta n da ‘It’s just that from the beginning he set to ruining his health’ (Kb 199a); Yohodo hára o sueté kakaraneba naránu zyuúdai-zi da ‘It is an important matter that we must start strongly preparing ourselves for’; Hazíme kara áité o baka-ni-site kakáreba, makeru kotó wa nái desyoo ‘You’ll never get defeated if you face your opponent with scorn’; ... búnken sono-mónó o moo sukóší utagatte kakaránakereba narání to omoimásu ga né ‘the document ... itself must be treated with a bit more suspicion, I think’ (Tanigawa 103). Kime te kakárú means ‘assumes, presumes, takes it for granted’: Ano kóren wa, Nihón ni wa kyuúsekki-údai wa nákatta monó da to kime te kakátte irú desyoo ‘At that time the presumption was that there had been no paleolithic era in Japan’ (Tanigawa 94). If focus is to be applied, it will go on kakárú, but apparently even that is unusual.

9.2.4. (1). -te [i]ru, -te [e] óru, -te [i]rassyáru, -te [e] o-ide n[i] nárú. The form -te iru shortens to -te ‘ru; the perfect retains the underlying oxytonic accent of the gerund of an atonic verb -te ‘ta (síte ‘ta = site ita despite site ‘ru = site iru), as do other forms beginning with /t/: síte ‘te, síte ‘tara, síte ‘tari = site ite, site itára, site itári. (Normally the oxytonic

84. And also itte kita ‘went and came (back) = is back (from an errand)’ from itte kita, rather than (*itte kita.}
accent of the gerund of an atonic verb will be suppressed by the underlying juncture that separates the gerund from the auxiliary.) The form -te ōru contracts to -tˈ ōru (the perfect is -tˈ ōta),\(^{85}\) do not confuse this with tōru ‘takes’ (tōta ‘took’) as the second component of a compound verb (uke-tōru or—younger speakers—uke-tōru ‘receives’ but ūketˈ ōru = ūkete ōru ‘I am getting’; hiki-tōta ‘took back’ but hiitˈ ōta ‘I was pulling’), nor the passive -tˈ orarēru with -tˈ orarēru ‘gets taken’. Also common are the contractions -te rassyārū for -te irassyārū and -tˈ o-i-de for -tˈ e-i-de (…), as in Mōttˈ o-i-de ‘Hold this!’\(^{86}\)

Optionally -te ‘rū no … shortens and assimilates the syllables to yield -tɛ n no …; and -te i’rˈu no da can be heard as -te n no da, -te rˈu n da, or even -te n da—by way of "-te n n[o] da, with automatic simplification nd → nd—as in these examples: ... tāikutu da tˈe n de, ... (= tāikutu da to itte i’rˈu no de) ‘as he says it’s boring’ (Kb 38a.2); Sūki tˈe i’ru wake zya nài n da keredo mo, soo nātte n daroo nā (= soo nātte i’rˈu no daroo nā) ‘I’m not saying I like it, but I guess I’m getting so I do, you know’ (SA).

The student should be wary of leaping to conclusions when he hears a gerund followed by something that sounds out of place by the rules of the grammar; first, he should ask himself whether what he is hearing may be a contraction of -te [i], as in these forms:

/teru/
- te ‘ru = -te i’ru

/ter[a]/
- te ‘r[a] = -te i’ru wa: Abura mo zuibun uite ‘rˈa ‘There’s a lot of oil on the surface too!’ (SA 2676.92b); Aq, asoko o hīhi ga aruite ‘rˈa ‘Oh, over there there’s a baboon walking!’ (SA 2676.106c). (The common Aomori ending -tera is this, according to Y 527.) Another example will be found on p. 921.

/terai/
- te ‘rˈa i = -te i’ru wa yō: Wākātte ‘rˈa i ‘I know all about that!’ (Okitsu 1.337).

/tēnne/\(^{87}\)
- tɛ n nɛ = -te i’ru no [da] nɛ: ... soo i’seisitu o mōttemp nɛ ‘have that sort of nature, you see’ (Tk 4.290a).

/tēnno (de/n[i])/\(^{87}\)
- tɛ n no (de/n[i]) = -te i’ru no (de/n[i])

/terēba/
- te ‘reba = -te irēba

/tēry[a]/
- te ‘ry[a] = -te i’ry[a] = -te irēba: ... sore o yatte ‘rya i’n da to i’ru kankaku ga … ‘a feeling that it will be all right to keep doing that …’ (SA 2655.39d).

/tēya[a]/
- te ‘ya[a] = -te i’ya[a]: Yuubē d’atte, ototōi no ban d’atte, roku ni kōtōi wa nete yaa sinai ‘Neither last night nor the night before did I get a good night’s sleep’ (Kb 167a).

/tēta/
- te ‘ta = -te i’ta

/tēte/
- te ‘te = -te i’te: Kētīta kara, gyōoretu ga dekityatte ‘te, kantan ni norenākattā ‘Because they were stingy [in building the monorail for Expo ’70] even though we cued up it was hard to get aboard’ (SA 2673.48c); Dō-mo kō kumamukī-ya ni bākā nissn sitē ‘te mo komārū yō ‘I’m rather embarrassed to come to the pool hall this way every day’ (Y 520).

85. But the contraction is -tyōru (-tyōttal) in certain dialects, e.g. in Shikoku.
86. For gerunds ending in -de, the standard abbreviations will be -de ‘ru, de ‘rassyārū, -dˈ ōru, -dˈ o-i-de. If the gerund is negative there are standard abbreviations: sinai de ‘ru, sinai de ‘rassyārū, sinai dˈ ōru, sinai dˈ o-i-de.
87. But /tēnka/ is a Kyōto contraction of -te [kuren(u)] ‘won’t you kindly …’ as in Kasitˈ e n ka ‘(won’t you) lend it to me, please’ (Inokuchi 270). And -ten ūya is an Osaka equivalent of -t{o} no [da]. “feminine” according to Makimura 1956.461b. Cf. -tˈ n ya, p. 852n12.
§9. Adverbializations

/tétya/
-te 'tya = -te itya = -te ite wa: Konni ni kōnde 'tya, gozen-tyuu wa tote-mo mite moraenai nai 'When it's this crowded you can't get seen (by the doctor) all morning' (SA 2649.38); Kodomo no sewā nī nāte 'tya, bōkēru dakē sā 'If you have your children take care of you [when you reach the age of 65] you just go right into your dotage, I tell you' (SA 2672.148).

/téttatte/
-te 't atte = -te it' atte (= -te ite mo, §15.11): Konna monō kura mōte 't atte syoo ga nāi wā 'However much of this sort of thing we might have it wouldn't help' (SA 2685.16b).

/téttatte/2
-te 'ta tte = -te ita tte: Aru-Kāpōne nānka mo ireraretē 'ta tte iu yuumei na tokorō da kedo, ... 'It is a famous place where they say even the likes of Al Capone were held' (SA 2673.122c).

/tétara/
-te 'tara = -te itāra
/tétara/
-te 'tari = -te itāri
/tezu/
-te 'zu = -te izu
/tenai/88
-te 'nai = -te inai (negative of -te iru)
/tenai/1
-te nāi (negative of -te āru)
/tenāide/
-te 'nāide de = -te ināide de: Yokei na koto itte 'nāide de, yōoi o nasāi 'Cut the chatter and get ready' (Y 520).

/tenai/
-te '-tai = -te i-tai (desiderative)
/temāsu/
-te 'māsu = -te imāsu
/tesase/ (...)
-te 'sase = -te isase (causative)
/terare/ (...)
-te 'rare = -te irare (passive)
/tesoo/
-te '-soo = -te i-soo (evidential)
/tenagara/
-te '-nagara = -te i-nagara
/tesūgi/
-te '-sūgi = -te i-sūgi (excessive)
/teteyagar.../
-te '-yagar... = -te i-yagar... (§9.1.10, p. 454).
/teteyandee/
-te '-yandee = -te i-yandee nai de: Tyeq, nāni itte '-yandee 'Tsk, what the hell are you saying?!' (Okitsu 1.58).

/te nasāru/
-te '-nasāru = -te i-nasāru: Sīkāsi, komātē 'nasāru nāa, ... 'But you’re in a fix, I see' (Fn 85b).

/te nasāi/
-te '-nasāi = -te inasāi: ... sūzuka ni nete 'nasāi 'Stay quietly in bed' (SA 2664.27).

/te haru/
-te [i]-haru = -te i-naharu/-nasaru—Ōsaka equivalents of -te imāsu (see §6.4).

/te hannā[a]/
-[i]-haru na[a]
/taharu/
-'t' [i]'-aharu = -te i-naharu/-nasaru: Yūut 'ahāru (Kyōto) = Itte iru (Inokuchi 254): Komātē 'aharimāsu sākai (Kyōto) = Komātē imāsu kara (Inokuchi 98).

/te ehen/

/tėyo/
-te 'yo = -te i yo: Mitē 'yo 'Watch (Keep watching)!'
-cf. Mitē [kudasāi] yō 'Look!'
/tėyō[o]/
-te 'yō[o] = -te iyō: Notte 'yō ka 'Shall we get aboard?' (Y 520)—cf. Notte [kudasāi] yō 'Get aboard!'; Mitē 'yoo zya nāi ka 'Let’s watch, shall we'.

88. But /tenāi/2 before particles: site 'nāi ka = site ināi ka; cf. site nāi ka.
§9.2. 4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb

/teroi/ = -te i ro [i] = -te i ro yo: Damatte kite ‘ro i ‘Shut up and listen!’ (Okitsu 1.171).

Certain uncontracted forms may also puzzle the student, especially when seen in print:

/tei/ = -te i (infinitive): Zidai ga tigatte i, ningen ga tigatte iru ‘The era differs, the man differs = Man is a creature of his era’ (Y 519). There is an example of -te i de mo suru in Y 519.

/teii/ = -te i i yo (imperative): Noite i i ‘Out of my way!’ (Y 519). Do not confuse with -te i mo ii.

/tei na/ = -te i-na[sai]: Kore wa ... anta motte i-na ‘You carry this’ (Y 519).

/tei na yo/ = -te i-na-sai

With the appropriate verb bases, the initial t will be d in each of the forms above.

The verb iru means ‘stays’ or ‘lives’ or ‘(an animate) exists’ and the subject is usually animate, though self-propelling inanities are sometimes found: Kuruma ga imasu (= kite imasu) ‘The car is here’.

When preceded by a verbal gerund, iru may either be used in its basic meanings—as in Inaka e itte, [nagaku soko ni] ita ‘I went to the country and stayed [there a long time]’—or it may be used in one of three derived meanings, as an auxiliary. The three auxiliary meanings of V-te iru are these:89

(1) REPETITIVE: does (or will do) repeatedly, regularly, all the time.

(2) CONTINUATIVE: is (or will be) in the process of doing; is (will be) doing; stays (will stay) doing—as in Nete i-na-sai ‘Stay in bed!’ (or ‘[When I come back] you be asleep!’), Ugokanai de i-na-sai ‘Stay motionless!, Waratte i-na-sai ‘Hold that smile!’.

(3) RESULTATIVE: is (or will be) in the state resulting from the action taking place and changing things; has the experience that results from doing. This is static, and sometimes anticipated by mo ‘already/now’.

The first meaning is equivalent to one of the meanings of the simple imperfect, for V-ru can mean either ‘will do [one time]’ or ‘does (or will do) repeatedly, regularly, all the time’. Thus Tosyo-kan de hon o yondo means either ‘I will read the book at the library’ or ‘I regularly read (or will read) books at the library’ and the latter can be made more explicit by saying ... yonde iru—which, however, can be taken also in the other two ways. Contrast the perfect, which means only ‘did’ or ‘has done’ but not ‘was regularly doing’: Tosyo-kan de hon o yonda ‘I read (= did read) the book at the library’, Tosyo-kan de hon o yondea ita ‘I regularly read (= would read) books at the library’—or, in the continuative interpretation, ‘I was reading the book at the library’.

The continuous meaning can be paraphrased with the semi-literary V-i-tu-aru, and verbal nouns can substitute the form VN -tyuu da for VN site iru (§ 14.4) as in syukusya o kentiku -tyuu da = syukusya o kentiku site iru ‘they are building dormitories’. The resultative meaning is equivalent to one use of the literary perfect V-eiri/-eru (< V-i ar- i/-u § 9.6): Hanab [ga] sakari = Hanab ga saite iru ‘The flowers are in bloom (= have blossomed)’. The translation sometimes brings out the experience possessed: Kin-medaru o

89. In standard Japanese V-te aru usually shows deference but in those dialects which use oru to mean iru, as the usual word, there is no special connotation to the expression. And in written Japanese you will sometimes see V1-te oru V2-te iru where you might think it more consistent to write V1-te i V2-te iru; that is due to a feeling that the infinitive i is awkwardly short (Kokugo-bumpō no mondai-ten 293a). V-te irassayaru and V-te o-ide ni naru are always to be interpreted as subject-exalting.
§9. Adverbializations

itūtu mo moratte iru ‘He has already received five gold medals = He is the recipient of five gold medals’.

Many dialects formally distinguish the progressive (= continuous) from the resultative; contractions of -te ōru are used for the latter, and of -i ōru for the former, as in the forms reported for these areas (Zhs 5.22):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tottori</th>
<th>Okayama, Iwami</th>
<th>Hiroshima</th>
<th>Shimonoseki (Kyūshū)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive:</td>
<td>huryooru</td>
<td>huryooru</td>
<td>huryooru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative:</td>
<td>huttoru</td>
<td>huttoru</td>
<td>huttoru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both forms are hūtte iru (or hūtte ōru) in the standard language. Cf. the remarks on V-iyoru, pp. 454-5.

Some verbs will not normally allow the continuous meaning; these we call PUNCTUAL verbs: aku ‘comes open’, iku ‘goes’, kūrū ‘comes’, kāer-u ‘returns’, otrū ‘falls’, kowarēru ‘it breaks’, dērū ‘emerges’, hāir-u ‘enters’, nāru ‘becomes’, hurtōru ‘gets fat’, yaseru ‘gets thin’, harēru ‘clears up’, kumōru ‘gets cloudy’, tukarēru ‘gets tired’, sinu ‘dies’ ... (But some of these may be capable of semantic interpretation of a non-punctual sort.) Punctuality is a semantic feature that is incompatible with (precludes) one of the three interpretations of V-te iru, the continuous. Something that resembles the continuous meaning, however, can be expressed for punctual verbs by using V-te kūrū/iku to indicate gradual onset or by using V-ru yō ni nāru ‘gets so that it is’, or by adnominalization to certain postadnominals (notably tokorō). From what has been said it follows that a sentence such as Kodomo ga gakkō e itte iru will normally have only the resultative and repetitive meanings: ‘The child has gone to (= is at) school’ (= ... ikēri) or ‘goes (will go) regularly to school’ (= ... iku, ... iku monō da).91 The meaning of REPETITIVE is subject to at least two different interpretations: the same agent does the action repeatedly, or different agents do the action at least once each. Thus Utī (”) o dēte iru can not only be interpreted as ‘He has left the house’ (RESULTATIVE) and ‘He leaves the house regularly’ (REPETITIVE with single agent) but also as both ‘They leave the house regularly’ (REPETITIVE with more than one agent acting repeatedly) and ‘They leave the house one after another’ (REPETITIVE with more than one agent acting once). Sometimes the ‘punctuality’ of a particular verb—being, as we have observed, semantic in nature—is suspended by the choice of a given noun as agent: Kemuri ga dēte iru can be given a CONTINUATIVE interpretation ‘Smoke is (keeps) coming out’ as well as the other two interpretations.

Most verbs of movement will permit all three interpretations: yuubin-kyoku o tōtte iru can mean ‘is—or will be—past the post office’ (RESULTATIVE); ‘they each pass—or will pass—the post office [once or all the time]’ (REPETITIVE with more than one agent); ‘passes—or will pass—the post office all the time’ (REPETITIVE with single agent); or ‘is—or will be—in the midst of passing the post office’ (CONTINUATIVE). And miti o arūte iru can mean ‘has got the walking of the streets done, is finished with one’s walk through the streets [and so ...]’ (RESULTATIVE), as well as ‘is—or will be—out [walking] on the street’ (CONTINUATIVE) and ‘walk(s)—or will walk—the street regularly’ or ‘they walk—or will walk—the street one after another’ (REPETITIVE).

90. Zhs 6.17 n.7.
91. But in some contexts the continuous interpretation ‘The child is on his way to school’ is also possible: gakkō e itte iru tokorō ‘just as he is on his way to school’. Cf. §3.12, BJ 2.204, K 1955.
It is important to be aware that all three interpretations (with plural subject, four or more) can apply to non-punctual verbs in the V-te iru form, and at least two interpretations can apply to punctual verbs. In addition, you should bear in mind the fact that the temporal reference may be either to a definite future or to an extended present: ‘Mātte imāsu means ‘I will be waiting’ probably more often than it means ‘I am waiting’.92

The following verbs do not take the V-te iru conversion in any meaning: ‘aru (ātte iru is from āu); iru ‘stays’ and its synonyms (*ite iru, *otte iru/ōru)—but colloquially you will hear Moosukōsi ite ‘te wa dóo ‘How ‘bout stayin’ a bit longer?’ and Fujiwara 66-7 says ite iru is a ‘‘favored expression in the Kinki dialect’; ir-u ‘needs’ (itte iru can only be from iku or iu—or be the literary equivalent of hātte iru ‘is inside’). Potentials, including dekiru, sometimes are converted to V-te inai to express a meaning equivalent to V-(a)naï de iru ‘is in the situation of not [being able to] ...’. Kono gakusei wa konna yasasii kanzi sā kākete inai ‘This student can’t write even such an easy character as this’; Tokorō-ga kana-mōzī(‘) wa tā no te dō wa on’in-teki ni hizyoo ni ai-nāgara, sikā mo tōn wa hyyoōgén(−) dekite inai ‘But though the kana characters are phonologically very apt, nonetheless they are NOT able to express the tones’. Normally, however, you will not run across potentials with this conversion, and dekite iru will usually be from the punctual verb ‘gets produced, is readied’. But passives as PASSIVES (pure or adverative) are freely converted to V-te iru, as are causatives.

There are also V-te iru forms made on the NEGATIVE, V-(a)naï de iru. Nānhī mo sināi de iru means ‘keeps doing nothing, stays idle, goes on doing nothing’ or ‘refrains from doing, resists doing’—as contrasted with Nānhī mo site ināi ‘is not doing anything’ or ‘is doing nothing’. An example: ‘... tabe-tāi monō o tabenāi de iru kōtō ‘to do without (to refrain from) eating the things one wants to eat’ (SA 2645.103b). The negative can, of course, appear as V-(a)zu ni iru: Dōō site wareware wa nānhī mo sezu ni iru no ka ‘Why is that we do (= go on doing) nothing?’ (SA 2681.31b). An example built on a potential: ‘... nāze soō nāru ka wa tukamēnai de ita ‘... they remained unable to grasp why it turns out like that’ (SA 2651.21b). For such negatives the meaning may be ‘has not yet done’, especially when mādā is present (Mādā yōnde inai ‘I’ve not yet read it’); we have observed elsewhere that in reply to a perfect question (Kimāsita ka? ‘Has he arrived?’) it is common to use the simple imperfect negative (Kimasen ‘He hasn’t’ = Mādā kimasen ‘He hasn’t arrived yet’), with the idea of ‘not yet’ (Mādā desu). Double negatives may be possible as denials of a negative (sināi de inai), but I lack good examples.92a

And one runs across sentences with NOUN (or ADJECTIVAL NOUN) + de iru (cf. Alfonso 187): Sabisii ki moti de itāra ‘... ’When feeling lonely ... ’; Heiki de i-nagara ‘... While staying unconcerned ... ’; Gēnki de orimasu ‘I’m feeling fine’; ‘... atakushi mo mādā-mādā wakāi kimotu de imāsu ‘I still feel myself quite young’ (Tk 2.134b); ... gozyuu ‘ikutu made tassyay de ita haaoyaa ga ‘... my mother who stayed in good health up to the age of some fifty odd years’ (R); Sore kara o-tya o nōnde, sibāraku mono-ōmoi ni sizunda yō na kakko de imāsita ‘Then he drank his tea and remained for a while (in a posture) as if lost in thought’ (Tk 3.7b); Åndoo-ke no hoomu-dōkutaa ‘mitai na tatibā de imāsita

92. Do some verbs have both punctual and non-punctual versions? For example, verbs of WEARING: kiru ‘puts on’ (punctual) vs. ‘wears’ (non-punctual)? Perhaps uru ‘sells (= makes a sale?’ vs. ‘sells (= is in the sales business’). Can punctuality be imputed to a larger number of verbs than we might think? Or, is it possible to suppress the punctuality for a large number of the punctual verbs—with the proper context, perhaps all of them? See §3.12.

92a. V-anāi de iru is possible for some verbal expressions that will not permit V-te iru: V-ru kotō ga dekinai de iru ‘I remain unable to V’ lacks the corresponding form *V-ru kotō ga dekite iru.
'I was in the position of a kind of “home doctor” for the Andō family' (SA 2656.26b); ... kōi-sita zyosei nī wa “O-tomodatio de imasyō’” nante, tēi-yōku hurarete simattāri ... 'ending up neatly brushed off by a woman he has fallen for with [her using] some such line as “Let’s just be friends”’ ...’ (SA 2668.116b); Nakimūsē de i-nagara odoke-mono dāta to iu hanasi mo kīta ‘I also heard that he had been a joker even while a crybaby’ (SA 2679.39d)—cf. §9.1.3; Hyoogēn(”) no ziyū—kono kantan de ite muzukashid(”’ mondai wa, ... ‘Freedom of expression—this simple yet difficult matter, ...’ (SA 2687.114d); Sinsetsu na yōo de ite, angai(”) ni hu-sinsetsu da ‘They appear to be friendly and then turn out to be surprisingly unfriendly’ (SA); Kāre no kentiku wa kiwāmēte dokusoo-teki no yōo de ite, dōozī(”) ni watāsī-tātī, tooyōo-zin no konpon-teki na muzyōo-kan o humāete iru ‘His architecture continues to seem extremely original, yet at the same time it is based on the basic feeling of impermanence of us orientals’ (SA 2645.46c)—there is an ellipsis that omits nō = de āru where the second comma signals the apposition; for dokusoo-teki NO (= NA) yōo, see p. 617 (§13.1). You will notice that the subject (as with V-te iru) is not always animate, especially in the form ... de ite ‘(though) being’. Perhaps some of these cases can be regarded either as pro-verbalizations (de ← dā ← suru) or as ellipsis N de [site] iru. Notice, too, that N de irassyāru and A-kute irassyāru occur as subject-exalting forms for nominal and adjectival predicates. It is uncommon to hear N de gozaimasu (instead you will find N de gozaimasū or just N de) su, yet you will come across V-ru tumori/yotei de orima su ga ... ‘It is my intention/plan to ...’ = ‘I intend/plan to ...’, and (in writing) even ... yotei ni site orima su ga (Ōkubo in Ōno 1967.146). But I doubt you will ever encounter *S hazu de orima su, though S hazu de irassyaimasū and S hazu de gazaimasū are both heard. Similarly I do not think that (?)S yōo de orima su will be found in standard speech, though both S yōo de gozaimasu and S yōo de irassyaimasu are possible: O-wakari ni narānai yōo de irassyaimasū bara, moo iti-do mooisagemasyōo ‘Since you appear not to understand, I will tell you again’. The expression V-(a)nen de irarenaru/orarenai means ‘can stand it without V-ing’ or ‘can get by without V-ing’ as in ... sukōsi mo odorokānai de irareta ‘was able to resist (get by without) being the least bit surprised’ (CK 985.384). The expression V-te [or V-tē wa] irarenai/orarenai means ‘is unable to stand (or to stand by while) V-ing’: ... sono koto wa ite irarenai ‘can’t stand to say such things’ (SA 2669.62a); ... damatte mite orārezu ‘unable to stand by watching silently’ (SA 2669.99b); ... dāre mo ga mu-kānsin de wa irarenai yōo na ‘ningen’ ni nāru ‘he becomes a “person” that it is impossible for anyone to be indifferent to’ (SA 2679.103d). And V-(a)nen de [wa] irarenai/orarenai means ‘can’t help V-ing, can’t help but V’: Kyōtoo na ookii iisi o minai de wa irarenai ‘We are bound to look at the great common purpose’ (Y 214). In these expressions V-(a)nen ni will, of course, often replace V-(a)nen de: Kazue wa kokōrô karā hot-to site iwashu ni wa irarenai no desita ‘Kazue felt so relieved at what she heard that she could not resist telling it’ (KKK 3.149, 172). Cf. gerund or negative gerund + irarenai ‘does/is unbearable = intensely’ (§9.2, pp. 480-1). Under adnominalization V-te iru is sometimes replaced by V-ta with little—if any—difference in meaning: hetōtē iru hito = hetōta hito ‘a fat person’, kane o motte iru hito = kane o motta hito ‘a person who has money’, kutu o haita iru kodomo = kutu o haita kodomo ‘a child wearing shoes’, etc. Alfonso 894 suggests that a meaning difference exists between such pairs as utī(”) ni kita hito ‘people who have been to our house (but may not be there now?)’ and uti(”) ni kita iru hito ‘people who are at our house’, but that
difference is not always felt. He also points out that certain expressions will not normally adnominalize with V-te iru, saying that asi ga sikkári site hitó ‘has a firm step’ will convert to así ga sikkári sita hitó ‘a man with a firm step’ rather than sikkári site iru hitó. Yet the latter version would appear to be quite acceptable. When either V-te iru or V-ta is possible, the former seems to emphasize the resultant state, the latter the change. It would be of interest to find out how the adnominalization works in those dialects which differentiate the progressive (= continuative) from the resultative. See also §3.12 for further discussion of this point.

The verb sir-u ‘knows’ usually appears as sitte iru in the affirmative but as siranai in the negative.93 Yet both sir-u and sitte inai (as well as siranai de iru) also occur, though not in the common situations where you might expect them from the English translations: Watakusi no SIRU kagiri ... ‘So far as I (know =) CAN TELL ...’ (R); Ningen ga náze hito o korosú no ka ... sono konpon-teki na riyyu ni túte, watsái-tái wa máda nání mo SITTE INAI, to omowaréru kara de aru ‘Why does a human being kill another person—[if the question is asked] it is because it seems that we still REMAIN IGNORANT of the basic reasons for that’ (SA 2647.112a). Cf. Go-syúzin no uwaki o ókusan daké ga siranai de iru ‘The husband’s philanderings are known to all but his wife’. We can contrast the usual forms of verbs with somewhat similar meanings: wakárú, wakaránai—wakátte iru, wakátte inai; omóu, omowanai—omótte iru, omótte inai. The verb sumu ‘lives; resides’ most commonly appears as sünde iru and sünde inai, though the forms süm and sumánai also occur (e.g. as ‘inhabits’ or in embedded sentences); this may be a result of the etymology, which indicates a semantic development from ‘settles (down)’. Are there other verbs with similar peculiarities?94

Notice that there is nothing to prevent the continuative V-te iru from making a command. In English ‘Be doing it’ will often sound strange, so that a more natural translation can be achieved with ‘Keep doing it’ or, with negative gerund, ‘Refrain from (Resist) doing it’: Míte ite kudasái ‘Keep looking’ or ‘Keep your eye on it’; Kiite ite né ‘Keep your ears open’; Damátte i-nasái ‘Keep quiet’ = Hanáshá: de i-nasái ‘Refrain from speaking’; Koré o yonde ite kudasái ‘Read this for a while (or: till I come back)’; Mátte ite kudasái ‘Wait (for a while)’, ‘Stay here/there (waiting)’.

The causative, the passive (adversative or pure), and the potential can apply to the gerund or to the auxiliary—or, in theory, to both. Examples follow.

- /isasete iru/: Zibun wa kantoku daké site zyosyu ni sigoto o sasete iru ‘I’m doing just the directing and having an assistant do the work’.

- /te isaseru/: Hïnketu o okósita monó ga áttara, sibákó o hikúku site zít-tó site isaseta hóo ga í ‘If anyone feels suddenly anemic it would be advisable to have them remain still with their heads down for a while’.

- /sasete isaseru/: NOT USED?

93. This is also true of the humble synonym zon-ziru(\(\ast\)): zón-zite(\(\ast\)) óru ‘I know’ but zón-zínai(\(\ast\)) ‘I don’t know’.

94. Kuno 1973.140 says that sir-u ‘knows’ and ai-súru ‘loves’ (and their passives) require -te iru because they are not stative, unlike English ‘know’ (*I am knowing it → ‘I know it’) and ‘love’ (*I am loving you → ‘I love you’). Súmu ‘lives’ is apparently treated both ways. (In both Japanese and English these assignments to aspectual categories are sometimes overridden by other elements in the context.)
§9. Adverbializations

-(s)aserarete iru: Anó-hito wa, mukyyuu de hatarakaserarete iru sóó da ‘He says he is being worked without pay’.

-te isaserareru: Nagái aida sitazumi de zit-tó site isaserareta ‘For a long time I was kept at the bottom (of society)’.

-(r)arete iru: (1) Pure passive: Aru-Kápóne nánkka mo irarereté ‘ta te i yuumei na tokoró da kedo, ... ‘It is a famous place where they say even the likes of Al Capone were held ...’ (SA 2673.122c); ... hooritu de gimu-zukerárete iru ziko no repóoto o ... ‘the accident report that is required by law’ (Tsukagoshi 204). (2) Adversative passive: Mu­kigen ni kane o karirarete ité wa tamaranai ‘I can’t stand having money borrowed from me without term’. (3) Potential: Dóó ni ka máiniti(-) komé no gohan ga taberáre ita no wa, hazime no ni-sánnten ‘dake de, áto wa, mugi ya imó de sae taberárénaku náttá ‘We managed to be able to eat rice for only the first two or three years, and then afterwards it got so we couldn’t even eat barley or sweet potatoes’; ... náze soo náru ka wa tukaménai de itá ‘they remained unable to grasp why it turns out like that’ (SA 2651.21b).

-te irareru: (1) Pure passive: Sitte iru hitó ni mite irareru to, yari-nikuki ‘It is hard to do when being watched by someone I know’. (But this can be taken as adversative passive.) (2) Adversative passive: Tomodati ni osóku made asonde irarete komáttá yó ‘Having a friend stay visiting so late was an annoyance, I tell you’. (3) Potential: Ó-kane gá takusah áru kara asonde ité mo tábete irareru ‘I’ve got lots of money so I can go on eating even if I take it easy’; Ítu made piíman o tukútté iraremáusu ka née ‘How much longer can we go on raising our bell peppers (with land prices soaring)?!’ (SA 2686.37d).

-(r)arete irareru: NOT USED?

-(s)asete irareru: NOT USED?

-(r)arete isaseru: NOT USED?

Examples of V-te iru with focus, restriction, etc., applied to the gerund.95 Undoo siná de nete BÁKARI ita mi ni wa, húró wa kotáeta ‘His body, having done nothing but lie around without exercise, felt the hot bath’s effect’ (SA 2672.24a); Bóku(−) wa móó ka ni ti o suwarete BÁKARI ita ‘I was constantly having my blood sucked by mosquitos’ (SA 2816.38a); Ökite DAKÉ WA imáusu ga, máda arukemasén ‘I am on my feet, at least, but I still can’t walk’; Dii ni ka kúo ni ka tábete(−) GÚRAI WA imáusu ga ‘I’m somehow managing to keep eating at least’ (not common); Kyooositú ni okérú kyoogaku bákari de nóku, doositú ni sin-syoku o tómo(−) ni sité SURA iru gakusei mo áru sóó da ‘I understand there are students who are not just coeducational in the classroom but are even eating and sleeping together in the same room’; Watakusi wa kessite gengo-káttudo no mondai o issyo ni site rón-zité NÁDO inái ‘I am not arguing the question of language in action together [with the other matter] or anything’ (Kgg 88.84b); Sono musumé wa ki ga kurútté DE MO irú no ka néc ‘She must-be out of her mind or something’ (Y 569); Íma wa, apaato-gúrasi o sité KOSO irú ga, káttu wa oogénemóto de koodái na ié-yásiki o mótte ita hitó da ‘Now he is precisely living in an apartment, but at one time he had a lot of

95. There are written examples that seem a bit clumsy: Koko dé wa, möhaya kikái zité mo gakusuyuu suru monró to site kangaérárete SÁE MO irú no de áru ‘Here the machine itself is already being even thought of as a thing that learns’ (Kgg 81.134a).
money and vast real-estate holdings’. And, applied to the conversion: Kodomo ga
benkyyoo site i SAE sur£ba, ok£asan wa yorok£nde iru n desu ‘If the child is just studying,
his mother is happy’; Reikiti wa konna kot£ o kanga£ru to, Otowa [? O-t£wa] ga aru
kur£i kage o hiite zibun ni t£o-zite(‘) i DE MO suru y£o de, nan-to-n£ku huan na kimoti
gu suru ‘Thinking about these things, Reikichi got a vaguely uncomfortable feeling as if
[his wife] Otowa had cast a black shadow on him or something’ (Y 519).

There are also examples of applying gerund and focus to the auxiliary, in order to
place the entire expression in a larger sentence: Siyoo no denwa b£kar£ k£kete it£ WA
ikenai ‘You mustn’t keep making personal phone calls all the time’; Sigoto ga n£i kara,
y£s£nde it£ MO £i desu y£ ‘There’s no work to be done, so you can go on idle’.

In the following example V-te£kara is applied to the conversion: Asoko ni san-ten
b£kar£ £unde it£ kara, koko e uturim£s£ta ‘After living there for a period of three years,
we moved here’.

The vulgar verb ket£kar£ is a pejorative or abusive substitute for iru or £ru, and V-te
ket£kar£ is used to mean V-te iru. In £saka, V-te komasu is used as a pejorative version
of V-te iru when referring to the speaker’s own actions, and V-te£ru or V-te£geru are used
in a similar way (Maeda 1961.198-201), being abbreviations of V-te yaru and V-te£geru
with a semantic extension of the “favor” meaning that is usual for those forms (§ 10).
Cf. the remarks on V-£i-y£garu etc. in § 9.1.10. Examples from modern fiction of V-te
ket£kar£, including V-te komukari£y£garu, will be found in Y 539. The etymology of
ket£kar£ is unknown; my guess is that it may be related to the old compound verb
ke£tuk(e)*-‘kick at, land a kick on’, either by contamination with £ru or by back-forma-
tion to an intransitive, the semantic extension being not unknown elsewhere in the world
(“What are you kids doing still kicking around here?” “I kicked around Kansas City till
I was fifteen or sixteen, then ...”). Maeda 1965 thinks ket£kar£ is from ketu, a vulgar
word for ‘behind, arse’ (adopted from the Chinese reading of a character ana ‘hole’), by
way of the notion ‘sit on one’s behind’ = ‘stay, be’, but that is not the only etymology
which has been suggested (see Y 539).

In modern £saka the word is often pronounced kekk£kar£ (Makimura 217b): N£ni o
kasite kekk£kar£ nen (= N£ni nukasite i-y£garu n da) ‘What the hell are you saying?’;
N£ni site kekk£kar£ nen (N£ni o site i-y£garu n da) ‘What the hell are you doing?’ But the
older pronunciation is ket£kar£: M£tte ket£kar£ (= M£tte i-y£gar£) ‘Don’t move—wait
there!’ (Maeda 1965.177c); Konna tok£ ni ket£katta ‘What a position I’m in!’ (Ibid.) And the
kekk£kar£ pronunciation is not limited to £saka: ... tod£s£-t£kutte, u£tu£tu site kekk£kar£ n da ‘they are itching to run away’ (Fn 174a—the speaker would appear to be from
the £Toky£o area).

According to Yoshida (546) the vulgar verb use£ru(-), used as an equivalent of the
auxiliaries iku and k£ru, is also sometimes used for (V-te) iru.

9.2.4.2. -te £ru, -te gozaim£su. The conversion V-te £ru contracts to V-t££ru in £nsai
speech but not in the standard language. As a result you may be uncertain when you

96. Examples: ... kore sa£-u£mak£ k£it£ aru y£a n£i no ‘... this one, isn’t it—uh—well drawn?’ (Fn
372a); Aa, m£-m£-m£-k£ko ni k£sa£ ga wasuret£ ar£mas£ ga, an££a no k£sa£ to t£gaim£s£ ka ‘Oh, say,
there’s an umbrella forgotten here; isn’t it yours?’ (Inokuchi 94—Ky£to).
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encounter /sitəroo/ whether it represents sitā 'róo = sitā {da}rōo ‘probably did’ or sit‘arōo
= sit{e}rōo ‘it is probably done’, but the latter expression is semilitary for sit{e} aru
darōo so that the contraction is unlikely to be heard in speech. A third possibility is
site {y}aroo = sit{e}"aroo = sit‘aroo ‘I’ll do it (for him)’; see §10. The ending -tatta

The conversion V-te aru is best known as a kind of roundabout passive that permits
one to take the object of a transitive verb and turn it into the subject, as when Mādo o
simēru ‘(Someone) closes the window’ is converted into Mādo ga simete aru ‘The window
is closed’, which differs in meaning from Mādo ga simāte aru ‘The window is shut’ (resulta-
tive of Mādo ga simāru ‘The window shuts’) in that the latter implies no agent while the
former merely avoids mentioning the agent.97 We will call this common use of VT-te aru
the INTRANSITIVIZING RESULTATIVE. As we have seen in §3.2, the intransitivizing
resultative can apply only to transitive verbs of ACTION; there is no "Tomodati ga māte
aru ‘The friend is awaited’ because mātu belongs to the verbs of EMOTION, and there is
no ‘Kādo ga magatte aru ‘The corner is turned’ because magaru is a verb of MOTION
(= a quasi-intransitive verb). I have had difficulty eliciting examples for mōtu (and Yamada
1968a rejects "mōte aru) and for tōru, but tōtte aru can mean ‘is reserved (taken)’ or ‘is
removed (taken away)’; and hakonde aru ‘is borne/brought’ is an acceptable conversion
from hakobu. The intransitive resultative can be applied to CAUSATIVES from action
verbs only, and not to causatives from verbs of emotion or motion or causatives from
intransitives in general, so that the following sentences are to be rejected: "Untēn-suva ga
(kādo o) magasete aru ‘The driver is made/allowed to turn (the corner)’; *Tori ga
(sōra o) tobasete aru ‘The bird is made to fly (the sky)’; *Kodo no suwarasete aru
‘The child is made/allowed to sit down’. Pure passives will permit the POSSESSIVE
RESULTATIVE (to be described below), so that you can convert Monō o nusum’ ‘They
steal things’ into Monō ga nusumarēru ‘Things get stolen’ and then convert that into Monō
ga nusumarete aru ‘Things have been stolen’. Examples: Kakārete aru zizītu sonomōnō
wa harēnti nārō to i monō de wa nāi ga, bunsyoo ga i ‘The events written up are not in
themselves of scandalous delight or anything, but the [sentences =] style is good’ (SA
2685.98a); ... sono saikon-bānasi yo saikon no tomādōi(°) yo bosai no tuikoku nādō ga
egakārete aru ‘the story of his remarriage and the bewilderment of the new marriage and
reminiscences of his late wife are all portrayed’ (SA 2687.108d); ... zentai de zuuipp-pen
no sakuhin ga sippiti-zyun ni osamerārete aru ‘a total of eleven works are collected in
the order of their composition’ (SA 2687.108c); ... sekī ga sitei sarete atta ‘the chairs were
assigned ...’ (Tk 4.208). You can also apply the possessive resultative to an adversative

97. And it is probably unknown who was responsible for the ‘storing’ in the example Saiwai
kyuumei-bōoto ni wa syokuryōo(°) ya mizu ga zyuubun tunde atta ‘Fortunately there was ample
food and water stored on the lifeboat’ (SA 2674.129c).
passive (Hito ga monó o nusumáreté áru ‘People have had their things stolen’); but you cannot apply the intransitivizing resultative to an adversative passive even though it may contain an object: from Hito ga monó o nusumárérú ‘People suffer from having things stolen’ it is not possible to get *(Hito ga) monó ga nusumáreté áru. Instead, (?)Hito no monó ga nusumáreté áru ‘People’s things have been stolen’ might be possible, but only as a possessive resultative made on a pure passive (the marking of monó ga is due to the passive, not the resultative); and even then it will be comfortable only if made negative or a rhetorical question. Apparently the subject of the intransitivizing resultative (which comes from the object of the underlying sentence) must be inanimate; cf. BJ 1.283. Some grammarians take a dim view of such forms as sarete áru; cf. Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten 292a, which accepts uete áru, uwatte iru, and uerarete iru for ‘is planted’ but suggests that forms such as uerarete áru “be avoided”.

The intransitivizing resultative conversion can be applied to EXCESSIVES, provided they are built on a verb which would take the conversion in its own right; VT-i-sugité áru, VT-i-sugíasete áru, and VT-(s)ase-sugité áru are all quite acceptable, given the appropriate verb. And the excessive can be applied to the output of the conversion: Boo ga(o) magete ari-sugíru means much the same thing as Boo ga(o) mage-sugíte áru ‘The stick is too bent’. In theory, at least, it should be possible to create the sentence (?)Boo ga(o) mage-sugíte ari-sugíru, perhaps with the meaning ‘Too many sticks are overly bent’; but I have yet to run across an authentic example. Since the verbalization of desideratives (and other emotion words) with -garu yields a verb of EMOTION, you will not find *V-i-ta-gatte arú, even if the underlying verb is itself a transitive verb of action.

The V-te arú conversions can be made negative (V-te nái) but the infinitive form V-te nákute appears to be limited to use as a formal synonym of V-te nákute ‘is not and …’; the expected "V-te nákute su/uru does not occur. The conversions can be applied to a negativized verb: V-(a)nái de arú: Atena wa kakánai de átta ‘The address was unwritten’; O-bentoo wa tabénai de átta ‘The lunch went untouched’.

There are certain limitations on the intransitivizing resultative, once made. There is no *V-te ari-yasúi/-nikúi; instead you use V-te ari-gáti da and its negative (or build V-te ár-on the negative verb). And V-te ari-nágara (mo) will have only the concessive meaning ‘although’ regardless of the underlying verb. Are these limitations true also for the possessive resultative?

The second use of V-te arú can be called the POSSESSIVE RESULTATIVE to distinguish it from the STATIVE RESULTATIVE of V-te irú—with which it is, however, virtually synonymous in one of its meanings. There are three meanings, and each can be paraphrased: (1) ANTICIPATORY, like V-te okú (‘gets it done for later’)—but of more “stative” situations (Y 512); (2) EXPERIENTIAL, like V-ta kotó ga áru (‘has once/even/indeed done’); and (3) SIMPLE RESULTATIVE, like V-te irú (‘is in the continuing state resulting from doing’). The possessive resultative leaves the adjunct markings intact and it is not limited to transitive verbs.98 The following examples illustrate each meaning with intransitive verbs.

98 Hayashi 127 suggests that V-te áru expresses an action that is completed “for some purpose” and is “closely connected with intention and preparation”, hence (?) seldom used with the intransitive. It is interesting that KKK 25.12 found 15 instances of N o V-te áru and only two of N ga V-te áru; in written Japanese, at least, the possessive resultative would appear to be (given the intransitive gerunds)
§9. Adverbializations

(1) ANTICIPATORY: Boku(−) wa sakūban yōku nete āru kara (= nete ōita kara) kyōo no tēsuto wa sinpai nai ‘I got a good sleep last night (to be ready) so I’m not worried about the test today’; Kore-dake asonde āreba (= asonde okēba), kon-gakkii wa otituite benkyōo dekimāsu yō ‘Now that I’ve had a good holiday I should be able to concentrate on my studies this term’.

(2) EXPERIENTIAL: Nikkoo e wa iti-dō itte āru kara (= itta kotō ga āru kara), kōndo wa Hakone ni ikoo ‘I’ve been to Nikkō so this time I want to go to Hakone’; Konna mondai tō wa mae ni tori-kunde āru kara (= tori-kunda kotō ga āru kara) heiki dēsu ‘I have struggled with such questions before so it doesn’t faze me’; Ano yamā wa iti-dō gakusei no kōro nobotte āru kara (= nobotta kotō ga āru kara) ittō de mo go-annai simāsu yō ‘I climbed that mountain when I was a student so I’ll be happy to take you there any time’; Tyootyoo(−) ni wa iti-dō nātte āru kara (= nātta kotō ga āru kara) kōndo wa O-sūzu no yakū o si-tai ‘I have been Butterfly before, so now I would like to play the part of O-suzu’.

(3) SIMPLE RESULTATIVE: (?)(?)Titi wa móo kono kaisya ni gozyūu-nen mo tutōmete āru kara (= tutōme iru kara), hyaku-mān −gūrai no taisyōk(ū)-kin(−) wa moraerū daroo ‘My father has worked for this company more than fifty years so he should get a retirement allowance of a million yen or so’. It is not always obvious that a given instance belongs with one of the three meanings; some sentences may be ambiguous or vague in this respect: Koko made kīte āru kara, móo ikanakute mo ō ‘Since they’ve come here, there’s now no need for us to go’; Zyuubūn ni nete arimasu ka ‘Have you had enough sleep?’; Sokai sasete āru ‘I had them [the children] evacuated (during the war, and they are still there)’ (Kawabata: Saikai 89); (?) Nagā aida gakkoo e itte āru kara, nān de mo sitte ‘ru ‘He’s spent a lot of time going to school so there’s nothing he doesn’t know’. From /netenaikara/ you can not tell whether what is intended is nete ‘nai kara (= nete inai kara) or nete naĩ kara, but without the particle the accent will differ: nete ‘nai (= nete inai, cf. nete imāsen), nete nai (cf. nete arimasēn).

The same three meanings would seem to be possible for transitive verbs, but that is true only when the adjuncts—they are all expressed—are left intact. (In some of the examples I have cited objects with o/ga when it is also possible to make the intransitivizing resultative). Examples of transitives follow.

(1) ANTICIPATORY: Hurūi tegami o/ga hozon sitete āru ‘Old letters are kept’; Niwa no teirē o suru entei o yatōte āru ‘A gardener is hired to take care of the garden’; Kodomo o yōku sikatte arimasu kara (= sikatte okimāsita kara), dōo-ka kanben site yatte kudasai ‘Since the child has already been scolded by me, please forgive him’; Arakazime nanmin(−) o yosoo site mokuzoo no kyozyū-u-too o tātete atta no da ga, ... ‘Previously they had built some wooden shelters in anticipation of the refugees, ...’ (SA 2686.43c).

(2) EXPERIENTIAL: (?)Hitō o sinu hodo(−)ai-site āru (= aī-sita kotō ga āru) hitō wa dōko ka tigau tokorō ga āru ‘A person who has had the experience of deeply loving another person is somehow different’.

(3) SIMPLE RESULTATIVE: Kono zinzya ni wa dōnata o/ga matūttele(−) arimasu ka ‘Who is enshrined at this shrine?’; Koko wa hito ga hunde āru kara (= hunde iru kara),

over eight times as common as the intransitivizing resultative, though the latter is the only one which has received much attention in the textbooks. Y 516 discusses the growth of N o V-te āru and its replacement of N ga V-te āru.
§9.2.4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb

hunde nái tokoró o arukimasýóo ‘Since someone has already tramped in this snow, let’s find some place to walk where the snow is fresh’; Arayúru kéesu o keisan site áru ‘All [cases = ] eventualities have been taken into account’ (SA 2671.28d).

Causatives are readily acceptable: Sarako ni koosui o tukawasete átta ‘Sarako was being allowed to use perfume’ (Y 515); Móo zyotyyu ni kai ni ikasete arimásu kara, dóo­
zo go-sinpai náku ‘Don’t worry, I’ve already sent the maid out to buy it’. But the pas­
itive is more difficult to elicit; the following examples are accepted by some speakers.

(1) Adversative passive from intransitive verb: Watasi wa mae ni móo ue no ko ni
sinarete áru kara, kóndo no hukóó de wa amari óoki na dageki o ukemasén ‘Having suf­
fered the death of my oldest boy I am not so greatly shocked by this latest unhappiness’.

(2) Adversative passive from transitive verb: Hoorei ni yori, tatiiri o tomararete áru
‘Entrance is prohibited by ordinance’ (MJW).

(3) Pure passive: Koré-ra no búnshoo wa seikatu ni musubi-tüite kakárete arimásu
‘These sentences are written out of their daily lives’. Y 514 cites three examples of the
pure passive from early 20th-century fiction; Y 515 gives a couple of more recent exam­
ples but suggests it is on the decline.

Forms made on the negative V-(a)náide áru are uncommon and seem to be limited
to the ANTICIPATORY meaning: ‘leaves something undone (intentionally)’: O-yasumi
no tamé ni ano éiga(?) wa máda minai de áru no yó ‘I’m putting off seeing that movie till
the holidays’.

The following examples illustrate stylization (with goza imásu) and exaltation:
Otósama wa yoku sakúban o-yasumi ni nátte gozaimásu (o-ari ni narimásu, o-ari désu)
kara kyóó wa o-génki desu ‘Since your father rested well last night, he is fine today’;
O-namáe ga káite gozaimásu ‘Your name is written’; O-namáe o o-kaki site gozaimásu
‘I have your name written’; Watasi wa sakúban yoku yasunde gozaimásu kara, kyóó wa
génki desu ‘Since I rested well last night, I am fine today’.

The V-te áru conversions may be on the way out; Yoshida suggests they are losing
ground in favor of V-te iru, though some dialects (such as Tsugaru) are said to use -te áru
INSTEAD of -te iru (Y 516).

Some intransitive verbs will not permit the V-te áru conversion and others occur with
it only uncommonly. Those which do not permit the conversion include áru itself (átte
áru is from áu), i-ru ‘staves’, and ir-u ‘needs’ (none of which normally appear in the V-te
iru form, either); and also the following verbs, all of which lack imperative, desiderative,
and passive forms as well: kikoeru ‘is heard’, kómú ‘gets crowded’, miéru ‘is seen’,
mitukaré ‘is found’, níru ‘resembles’, suku ‘empties’, tariru ‘suffices’, tigau ‘differs’,
wakáru ‘understands’, ... . Alfonso 904 says the V-te áru form does not occur with the
following verbs, either: abáreru ’rampages’, abíru ‘bathes in’, agaru ‘rises’, akiraméru
‘abandons (an idea)’, amáru ‘remains (in excess)’, arásó ‘struggles’, aráwaréru ‘appears’,
atukaru ‘treats, manages’, hazimeru ‘begins it’, hakú ‘wears (on the feet/legs)’, hanasi-
kakerü ‘addresses, speaks to’, hikkósü ‘moves (house)’, kágir-u ‘limits’, kamáu ‘matters’,
kan-ziru ‘feels’, nozómu(-) ‘hopes (for)’, wasureru ‘forgets’. And Yoshida 516 says V-te
áru is now not used for arúku ‘walks’, oyógu ‘swims’, tobu ‘flies’, hataraku ‘works’,
odoróku ‘is started’, etc.

Verbs for which V-te áru are uncommon involve natural happenings largely outside

Apparently it is possible to ring the V-te áru conversions on most auxiliaries: with both intransitive and transitive verbs we find V-te oíte áru, V-te oíte áru (even oíte oíte áru), V-te agete áru, etc., but there seem to be doubts about ?V-te simatte áru, and *V-te ite áru is to be rejected.

Since both Máo go akete áru and Máo o akete áru occur and since in an adnominal sentence the subject marker gá can be replaced by nó (§ 13.1.6), it is possible to construct an adnominalization that contains an adjunct optionally marked with any of three particles: mádo no/ga/o akete áru heyá ‘a room whose windows have been opened’. A similar opportunity is presented by the desiderative: sibai no/ga/o mi-tái hitó ‘the person who wants to see the play’.

The resultative, once made, will enter into most of the constructions open to áru ‘exists’ itself. From the uses of V-te áru it is easy to see how, by contraction, the expressions have led to the modern perfect V-tá, the conditional V-tára, and the representative V-tári. Notice that V-te áru n[ó] desu can be further shortened to V-te and esu.

One difference between the syntax of possession and that of the V-te áru conversions is in the marking of the ‘possessor’:

Hito ni/ga(→ wa) N ga áru  
Hito ni/*ga+ wa N ga VT-te áru  
Hito ga(→ wa) N o VT-te áru

Hito ga(→ wa) N ga (... (§ 3.11)  Hito ga(→ wa) [? N ga] VI-te áru

That is, with TRANSITIVE ACTION verbs you have the option of converting the object (N ó) into the subject (N gá), but if that is done you must then either suppress the mention (but not the implication) of the underlying subject—i.e., you must omit Hito ga—or else convert it into a THEME with obligatory focus (typically subduing it with wá, though it may be highlighted with mó if the context calls for that). By looking at it in this way we can perhaps include the INTRANSITIVE RESULTATIVE as a special case of the POSSESSIVE RESULTATIVE, involving an optional subjectification of the object of transitive action verbs with the entailment of obligatory de-subjectification of the underlying subject into ni-marked possessor (but not ga-marked!) or into a focused theme.

The reason for this difference may be that Hito ga N ga áru is usually limited to INALIENABLE possession, while Hito ni N ga áru is used for ALIENABLE possession. Of course, Hito wa can be interpreted as either the subdued Hito ga or as a subdued thematization, and hence it is available for either interpretation. The resultative would seem to be getting treated as an “alienable” possession.

The possessive resultative, alone of the various V-te áru conversions, will permit subject exaltation, yielding V-te o-ari ni nárú: Yóku sirábeté o-ari ni nárú kara takusan o-yomi ni nárérú desyoo ‘Since you have got it thoroughly checked you should be able to read a great deal’.

In the following examples of V-te áru the focus or restriction, etc., is applied to the gerund: Nání ka kóite WA áru ga, hakkirí wa yoménai ‘Something IS written but it can’t be clearly read’; Nání mo sira-seté WA nái ga, móo dáre ka ni kiité sitte ‘rí desyoo ‘Nothing has been reported, but you can probably find out by asking someone now’; Keiyakú-syó(‘)
ni kaitē MO āru si, kuti de setumei mo site moraimāsita ‘It is (both) written in the contract and I got an oral explanation, too’; Kāmidana ni agetē KOSO nai ga, taisetū ni site imasū ‘It isn’t precisely put on the household altar, but we are taking good care of it’; Syokuryōō-hin(‘) ga katte DAKĒ āru ga, syokuzei no yōoi wa site nai ‘The groceries are bought at least, but the meal is not prepared’; Kisosō ga ositetē SAE ēreba dokusyyuu sasetē mo ii desyou ‘If the fundamentals just be taught, you can let them study by themselves’. The following types are less common: (?) Rōogo(‘) no yōoi ga site NĀDO/NĀNKA āttara, ima-goro kodomo no sewā ni natte ‘nai hazu da ‘If provisions are made for old age and all, there is no need these days to become a burden on one’s children’. I have been unable to elicit V-te (‘)GŪRAI āru or V-te BĀKARI āru.

It is more usual to apply the particles of focus, restriction, etc., to the conversion: Zyunbī site āri WA surū ga hu-zyūubun da ‘The preparations are made but they are inadequate’; Tōki ni wa yōoku kaitē āri MO surū ga, tajitei no baai wa damē da ‘It is sometimes well written but usually it’s no good’; Zyuubūn zyunbī site āri SAE surēba, sigoto sono-monō no wa anmari zikan ga kakaranai desyou ‘If preparations just be made adequately, the work itself shouldn’t take too much time’. Miscellaneous examples: Zyunbī ga site ātte mo, sikēn no aṣa wa sinpāi de oitukanaī ‘Even though I’ve got myself prepared, I’m uneasy with anxiety about the morning of the exam’; Heyā no naka ga konna ni kitanakcu site ātte wa okyakusun o o-toosi dekinai yō ‘I can’t show the guest in, with the room this filthy inside’.

9.2.4.3. -te oku, -t’oku. Although oku is atomic, it acquires an accent AFTER THE GERUND OF AN ATOMIC VERB in the forms -te ōita, -te ōite, -te ōitaru, -te ōitaru and their contractions -t’ ōita, -t’ ōite, -t’ ōitaru, -t’ ōitaru. In other forms, including the contracted versions, oku retains atomic patterns: -te oku, -te okēba, -te okanai (etc.) and -t’ oku, -t’ okēba, -t’ okanai (etc.). (By way of contrast, notice V-te ‘ta but V-te ita.) Verb gerunds ending in -de contract to -d’oku (nōnd’ōita = nōnde okita); the negative gerund V-(a)nai de will also contract: sinai d’oku = sinai de okita ‘leaves it undone’, sinai d’ ōita = sinai de ōita ‘left it undone’. In Ōita (north Kyūshū) -te oku contracts to -tyoku (Shibata 1961.220); Y 548 has examples. This is true also of parts of Shikoku (Miyara 1954.150).

The verb oku means ‘puts, places, sets (aside)’; as an auxiliary it is used to add one of the following meanings to the gerund:

(1) ‘does it and puts it aside; does it so the result is on hand; gets it done’. This meaning approaches V-te simau. Examples: Hatī-zī made ni i [(sono kane o)] atumete oite kudasai ‘Please have it (the money) collected (and on hand) by eight o’clock’; Teeburu o iyoyaku sit[e], ōitara dō désyoo ‘How about reserving a table?’; Asīta sikēn da kara yōku tō hon o l’yōnd’ōitari, ū teepu o l’kīt’ōitari sita (or: i sit’ōita) hōo gā i i ‘There’s an exam tomorrow so we’d better get some reading done and get some tapes listened to’.

(2) ‘does it and leaves it that way’; with negative gerund ‘leaves things as they are without doing it’. This means approaches V-te iru/āru. Examples: To o sīmte oite kudasai ‘Close the door and leave it shut’; Sono mamā ni i site ōite kudasai ‘Leave things alone; leave it as it is’; Hōn o l’akenā de l’oki-nasaī ‘Don’t open your books, leave them closed’; Kutō o l’ hakanā de l’ōite mo i i ‘Stay as you are—you don’t have to put your shoes on’; Dēnki o l’ tukete l’okimasyōō ka ‘Shall I put the lights on (and leave them on)’?; Dēnki o l’
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tukénai de | okimasyóó ka 'Shall I leave the lights off (as they are)?'; Siyóó ka | sinái de | okóó ka 'Shall I do it or not?' (= Siyóó ka yameyóó ka). A negative gerund + [wa] + okanai means 'can’t resist (refrain from) doing, is bound/sure to do': Tóoku ni Yodogawa Nagaharu-si ga tótuzyo to site arawaréru siin wa, kankyouko no bakusyoo o yobazu ni wa okanái daroo ‘Especially the scene where Mr Yodogawa Nagaharu suddenly appears is bound to call forth a burst of laughter from the audience, I think’ (SA 2645.108a). Cf. the negative gerund + irarenai/orarenai ‘can’t help but do’, p. 520. More examples:

... kakutoo o umazu ni wa okanai noomin ... ‘farmers who just have to come to fisticuffs (who can’t let it go without coming to blows)’ (SA 2676.97b); Daizai-teki ni mite mo, dôkusyal(−) ni syókkoo o ataezu ni okanu sinkoku na hanasi da ga, ... ‘From the point of view of subject matter, too, it is a serious story that is sure to give the reader a shock ...’ (SA 2674.92d).

(3) ‘does it and lets it go at that (for the time being), does it for now (as a makeshift or temporary arrangement), lets it go at doing; does once anyhow; does once and for all; goes ahead/on and does it’. This meaning approaches V-te miru, V-te simau. Sometimes the expression will be anticipated by a prefatory Kari ni ... ‘Temporarily’ or ‘For the time being’. Examples: Tó-ni-kaku I kiti óte kudasai ‘Let him have a hearing at least’; Tatóebla || káre ga | seikoosinai to site okoo ‘Let’s say he fails to succeed(, then ...?)’; Koo site oki-tai n desu ‘I want it this way for now’; Zya, || ni-sen-en || agete okimasyóó ka ‘Shall we, say, let it go at giving him two thousand yen?’ or ‘Shall we go ahead and give him two thousand yen?’; Awánai de | oítara || okóó ka || ná ‘I wonder if he’ll get angry if I don’t go ahead and see him?’; Átte i okaná de || daizyóóbu ka sira ‘I wonder if I can get by without seeing him?’; Syokuzi o sit’ óite wa || doo ‘How about going ahead and eating?’; Kusuri o nōnd’ óite || né ‘Go on and take your medicine, now’; Itte oku || ga ... ‘Let me tell you now (once and for all), ...’.

(4) ‘does it in advance (so that it will be ready), does it now (so it will be out of the way), does it first (so that other things can happen later); does it in preparation or anticipation; prepares, anticipates, readies (by doing); gets it done (now/first—so one is free for other things), gets’. This meaning approaches V-te iuru/aru, V-te miru; it differs from Meaning (1) in emphasizing the resulting state. Examples: Káite oita tegami o || te-watásita ‘I handed over the letter that I had (earlier) written’; Kónban || yóóku || nete oki-nasá ‘Tonight get a good night’s sleep (so you will be fresh for tomorrow)’; Kippu o || katte okimasyóó ka ‘Shall I get the tickets now (for later use)’?; Denwa site oita híoo ga || zya [ná] desvoo ka ‘Shouldn’t we phone first?’ or ‘Shouldn’t we be phoning (now)’?; Sirabé oitará || hāha ni mo || siraset’ okanákyuta || ‘When I’ve got it checked out I must let mother know too’; ... íma || hoosoo wa || róokuu site o-oki ni náru n desu ka ‘are you (pre)recording your broadcasts now [instead of doing them live]’ (Tk 2.278a).

Tóttte(-)oku is usually considered to be a derived compound verb with the meaning ‘sets aside, reserves, keeps, holds, saves (in store)’: Watasi no tamé ni i sékí(−) o lótette(-)oite || né ‘Please save me a seat (for I am coming)’. But see the discussion on p. 513.

Gerunds of static, punctual, and involuntary verbs are difficult to put into these meanings. Apparently áru ‘is’ and ir-u ‘needs’ never take the V-te oku form, so that átte oku will come from áu and itte oku can only be from iku ‘goes’ or iu ‘says’. But examples of certain other verbs in question have been accepted by some speakers: isóide oku ‘hurries now (so that one can take it easy later)’, oyóide oku ‘gets the swimming out of the way now (so as to avoid possible bad weather later)’, uti(−) o dété oku ‘gets out of the house now (so
that later ...’), matő o tátte oku ‘goes ahead and leaves town’, arůte oku ‘lets it go at walking’, ótite oku ‘gets one’s fall [e.g. by parachute] out of the way’, sünde oku ‘takes up residence (to avoid some consequence expected otherwise)’, sünde oku ‘dies once and for all’, ite oku ‘stays for the time being’, ... Acceptable examples can be constructed for nátte oku ‘becomes it now (so that later)’, kawatte oku ‘turns into it now’, sarete oku ‘gets/lets it be done to one now (so that later)’, site moratte oku ‘lets someone do it for one now’, ...

Some emotion verbs seem to accept the V-te oku conversion: nozonde oku ‘expects (for the time being)’, sitagatte oku ‘obeys (in anticipation)’; what about yorokonďe oku, ái-site oku, mätte oku? Omotte oku ‘thinks (for the time being)’ and wasurete oku ‘forgets (for now)’ are acceptable.

Excessives can take the conversion, though it is hard to find examples: (?)si-suíte oku ‘overdoes for now’, si-sugiinaite de oku ‘lets it go at not overdoing’, si-suíte okanai de okanai ‘doesn’t overdo for now’, si-suíginai de okanai ‘doesn’t let it go at not overdoing’. Moreover, the excessive can be applied to the conversion itself: site oki-suiru ‘all too often/much lets it go at doing it’, (?)site oki-suirinai ‘does not too often/much let it go at doing it’. And that is true even when the conversion has itself been applied to an excessive: si-suíginai ‘all to often overdoes it for the time being’, si-suíginai de oki-suiru ‘all too often doesn’t overdo for the time being’, si-suíte oki-suirinai ‘doesn’t overdo it for the time being too often’, si-suíginai de oki-suirinai ‘doesn’t all too often leave it at not overdoing’.

The facilitative-propensive conversions can be applied to the V-te oku conversion: site oki-yasűi ‘it is easy to let it go at doing’ or ‘tends to let it go at doing’. Also applicable is the (concurrent-)concessive: keiyaku site oki-nagaruku ‘despite one’s promise’. Examples of subject exaltation applied to gerund or to auxiliary are rare; Y. 548 says this does not occur at the end of a sentence, but he offers a non-final example from Kawabata: Okásaan no sinigao o mite o-oki ni nattarā, kit-tōboete iraseta to omou wa ‘I think [? you] must have remembered once [? you] gazed at mother’s dead face’.

Causative, passive (pure or adversative), and potential can be applied either to the gerund or to the auxiliary, or—in theory—to both; but none of the forms are particularly common. All the following examples are the result of elicitation.

-(s)asete oku: Nagāi aida II matāsete oita | kyaku to, II ture-datte II sóto e II déta ‘I accompanied the guest out that I had kept waiting so long’; Tāroo kun wa II móo II kodomo zya ní kara II ziyū ni II sí-tai kōto o II sasete ōtara | dō do usu ka ‘Taro is no longer a child, so why not let him freely do what he wants to?’

-te okaseru: Zyōtyuu ni II gōhan no II sitaku o II site okasemášu kara ... ‘Don’t worry, I’ll leave the rice for the maid to prepare’.

? -(s)asete okaseru: ? Ano kúrasu wa II senséi ga | irassyáru made II zyosyu ni II rensyuu o sasete okasemášyō ‘Let’s have that class drilled by the assistant until the teacher arrives’. This would be better with simple okimayōo.

-(r)arete oku: Konna yasāii sigoto nara II makasárete II oité mo, II dekiru II zisin ga arimášu ‘If I am left entrusted with such an easy job I have confidence that I can do it’.

-te okareru: (1) Pure passive: Hi tōri de II oite okareta ‘I got put by myself’. (2) Adversative passive: To o (1) aka-panashi ni site okarete, II dorobo ni hiráreta ‘We had the door left wide open and were visited by a thief’. (3) Potential = -te ok(ar)eru: Konna tabemóno(’与时俱) wa II nágaku II hozon site ok(ar)eru ‘You can keep such food for a long time’.

99. Authentic examples: ítu made mo II kimi o II kono mamá ni II sitē wa Iokenai ‘I can’t keep you...
Examples of V-te oku with focus, restrictives, etc., applied to the gerund: Go-i ken o | ukagatté WA | okimá su ga, | ll go-i ken ~dóori ni | suru to wa | o-yakusoku dékimá sen ‘I am asking your opinion, to be sure, but I can’t promise that I will act according to it’; Anó- hito ni | zizen ni | hitókoto | kótowátte SAE | okéba, | ll gózitu(\() \) no | gota-gota wa | orokóránakatta kal mo sirenai ‘If I had just given him a word of refusal in advance, perhaps the later trouble would never have arisen’; Sono | bakudai na yúusi ni | túite wa, | sítényoo no | mimi ni | ireté SURA | okazu, | ll katte ni sité imá su no | da sóo da ‘They say he didn’t even let the branch manager hear of that huge loan but used it for his own purposes’; Sonó-hito ni | átte | DAKÉ WA | okimásita ‘I let it go with just seeing him’; Zat-tó | yóoi | sité DÁKE(\^) | okéba, | ll áto wa | sono ba ni nátte kara | dékimá ‘If you just make rough preparations, the rest can be done on the spot’; Kamidá na agéte KOSO | okanáí ga, | ll taisétu ni sité i má su ‘I don’t exactly keep it on the household altar, but I take good care of it’. I have been unable to elicit V-te BÁKARI oku, and the following two types are far from common: Hízyóó-zi no | yóoi o site ~GURAII | okenáí n desyoo ka ‘Couldn’t we do at least emergency preparations?’; Yuigon o káite NÁDO | oku hazu ga náí ‘There’s no need to write a will or anything’. It is more usual to apply the particle of focus, restriction, etc. to the conversion: lwarete | sigoto o site oki WA | suru ga, | ll zimu-teki de | línsetu na | tokoró wa | lzenzen nái n desu ‘He does what he is told to do, but it’s business-like and without a bit of kindness’; Seiketu ni site oki SAE | suréba, | ll sonna byookí ni wa | lka karáimá sen ‘If you just keep your clean you won’t catch that sort of disease’. Miscellaneous examples: Sara ya (1) tyawan o, | ll konna ni yogósé ôite wa | ldamé de | ‘The saucers and cups mustn’t be left so dirty’; Íma | l tábé-tákú | nákattara | ll noko sûite | ôite mo | lìi desu | l yó ‘If you don’t feel like eating now it’s all right to leave it for later’; Yóku | l sitaku o site ôite kara, | ll haziméte kudasái ‘When you are well prepared, please begin’; Húruí | l monó wa | lataká-mí(\(\)) | ga | átte, | l tótte-mó | lìi desu kedo, | l ánmari húruí (1) | l monó | bákari | l tótte | ôitá nzya [= tótte ôitá no de wa], | l síno tte | l monó ga | nái to | l onomó n desu ‘Old things have a warmth and this way for ever’ (SA 2793.105b); Káge e | l mawatte | l híkyóó na | l koró o | l suru yóó na | l yátu wa, | ll bókul(\(\)) | wa | l yuru sûite okenai ‘I can not forgive a scoundrel who scurries around in the shadows doing dastardly things’ (Y 549).
are quite nice, all right, but if there is too much preserving of just the old things, there's nothing in the way of progress, it seems to me' (SA 2685.122d).

9.2.4. (4). -te simau, -timau, -tyau. The gerund-auxiliary expressions V-te/-de simau freely contract to V-timau/-simau and V-tyau/-zyau. Notice that, while nónde simau 'ends up drinking (etc.)' contracts to nónzimau and nónzyau, when the gerund is negativized you find only nomanai de simau 'ends up not drinking', which will not contract to *nomanaizimau or *nomanaizyau, and the variant formation nomanakute simau will not contract to *nomanakutimau or *nomanakutyau. In addition to these common contractions, in Y 556-7 you will find examples of Kyûshû -tumau/-zymau and of Kyôto-Ôsaka -te 'mau = -te (si)mau. (Notice that -te 'mota = -te simatta and -te 'mae = -te simae.) In Kushimoto (Wakayama prefecture) the contraction of V-te simau is V-tau (Shibata 1961.157-8), so that V-tatta is equivalent to Tôkyô V-tyatta.

The verb simau means 'puts (stores) away' or 'shuts up (completely)' and it may be used after a gerund in its basic meaning, which can be cued by careful phrasing: Huyumo no o II zenbu I aratte I [soré-ra o I] simatta 'I washed the winter clothes and put them away'. But, especially with the juncture reduced, the final verb in such a sentence can also be taken as an auxiliary 'I finished washing all the winter clothes'.

In addition to two emotion-colored uses to be described later, there are at least three distinct auxiliary meanings for V-te simau (and the contractions):

(1) 'finishes doing' (the gerund can not be STATIVE or PUNCTUAL): Tûi ni II tâiyoo ga I sizunde simatta 'Finally the sun finished sinking'; Yat-ô I kotowari-zyoo o I kâte simatta 'Finally I finished writing the refusal'.

(2) 'does it completely, does all of it, does it all the way through' (the gerund can not be STATIVE): Zenbu I naku-natte simatta 'It all vanished' = 'We came to have none at all'; O-kane o I otoâite simatta 'I lost all the money'; Kono hôn o I honto ni yônde I simattâ nara | [or honto ni yônzyatta nara | ], sono súzî o I setumei I dekîru desyoo 'If you have really read this book through you should be able to explain its plot'; Yokutyoo, I syokuzi o suru tokî, I kotoôa ga I zenzen tuu-zinai no ni I komari-hatete simatta 'The next morning at breakfast time we were at a complete loss for being unable to understand the language' (SA 2656.62a); Omae I sonna ni yose ga suki I nara I hanasi-ka ni nâttaime 'If you enjoy yose (theatrical storytelling) so much, go ahead and become a full-fledged professional storyteller' (R).

(3) 'ends/winds up by doing; gets around to doing; finally (at last) does, does at the end' (the gerund can not be STATIVE; the output will not permit the hortative or the imperative): Tôootôo I zên I kootei o I arûite simatta 'We finally wound up walking the whole way'; Sonna zyoodân o I itte iru to, I hontoo ni I obâke ga I dêtyau I zo 'You keep kidding like that and we'll end up with a ghost actually appearing!'; Tabe-sugite I o-naka o I kowâite simatta 'I ended up with a bad stomach from being such a glutton'; Tôootôo I au I ëâte simatta 'I finally got around to seeing the bastard'; Kônîti de wa I tukawanaku nátte I simattâ keredo mo, I Heian I 'zidai I nádo de wa I moosi-agaru I to I i mi de I "kikoyu" I ga I hizyou ni ëôoku I tukawaretâ 'Although it has ended up going out of use today, in Heian times at least "kikoyu" (= kikoeru) was used quite a lot in the meaning of telling a superior' (Ôno 1966.68). Notice that ikiru 'lives' is durative, not static, so that you can
say Hyaku made [= Hyaku-sâi made] ikityatta ‘He ended up living to be a hundred’.

Sometimes V-tyatta is used just as a strong past, and that constitutes a fourth meaning: Ittyatta ‘They’re gone!’; Isya ga kita to toki ni wa ill sude ni isinde simatte ita ‘When the doctor arrived he had already passed away’. But often V-te simatta (or V-timatta/-tyatta) show annoyance or displeasure at the sudden deterioration of a good situation or the frustration of one’s expectations: Saihu o otôsite simatta ‘I lost my purse; I WOULD go and lose my purse!’ Compare the exclamation Simatta ‘Dammit!’ Quite recently the V-tyau form has been spreading in Tôkyô to lend an implication of undesirability to the verb, something like V-rû/-tâ kara iyâ da ‘does/did it so I am displeased’, and that constitutes a fifth meaning: Nân de mo nônzyau ‘He’ll drink any damn thing’; Dôo nâttyatte n daro [= nâtte simatte iru no daroo] ‘What the hell is happening?’ (SA 2663.48b). In this usage even aru can occur: Kodomo ga âtyau to taihen da nâ ‘It’s hell to have so damn many children!’; Yasumi da to omôtâra sore ‘dôkoro zya î naku î sikên made î âtyatta ‘I thought it would be a day off but, far from that, we had to go and have a damn test!’; Ätyatta kara ‘We’ve got too damn many of them (so we’re glad to be rid of this one!’).

There appear to be few, if any, restrictions on the verbs than can take V-te simau in either the fourth meaning (strong past) or the fifth meaning (displeasure); but stative verbs are not permitted in the first three meanings. Alfonso (464) reminds us that V-i-owaru means ‘finishes doing’ with the simple idea of STOPPING, and no implication of completion or thoroughness: tabs-owatta means ‘I finished eating (= what eating I was doing)’ but tabete simatta can also (and usually will) mean ‘I ate the food all up’—or ‘I ended up eating’.

It is not always clear just which of the meanings of V-te simau is intended: ... mîo î sukkâiri î tkare-kitte simatte ... ‘(?) ending up) completely exhausted now’ (SA 2671.36d); Kutabatte simae ‘Drop dead!’’. The sentence Baka da î ná, î dôo site î tâbetyawanakatta n da (SA 2666.110e) could be translated as ‘How stupid, why didn’t I EAT the darn thing?!’ or ‘How stupid, why didn’t I eat the thing UP?’ but the context (a frozen sweet that melted on the way home) suggests the former is more appropriate.

Alfonso 934 calls our attention to a pleonastic double application of the potential in the form TIME de V-ete simau-eru ‘can finish doing it in TIME’ as in Iti-zikan de yômete/kakete simau-eru hodô kantan desu ‘It is so simple you can read/write it in an hour. Perhaps this represents a rather loose connection ‘you can do it and then/thus you can wind things up’ or the like.

There are examples in print of subject exaltation applied to the conversion: Anâta to yat-tô kekkon dekiru to omottâra, anâta wa tatakai ni turete ikarete o-simai ni naru ‘Just when I think I’ll be able to marry you at last, you get dragged off to war’ (Y 554). As a command, V-te o-simai is said to be soft, feminine, and old-fashioned (Y 554): Kâesite o-simai yô ‘Give it back, now!’

It is possible to apply the simau conversion to a negativized verb: Sikasî î kâre wa î sono zidôo-sya(−) no î naka ni î nokotte ita î tûbâ no î kotô wa î iwanai de simatta ‘But he

100. This is usually said to be from the perfect of simâru ‘gets shut’ as the accent would indicate. But Y 556 reminds us that Miyara (1954.82) thought it came from a shortening of Sippai site simatta. Simau itself is thought to be a variant of sumâu an [inferred?] old frequentative of sumu ‘settles, ends’ (cf. sumâu ‘dwell’).
ended up saying nothing about the spit that was left in the car’ (Y 555); Dâre ga î nání o î itâ'ka wa, î töotoo î wakârazu ni simatta ‘He ended up completely at a loss as to who had said what’ (Y 555). Compare V-{al}zu-zimai, §9.1.7b. It is also possible to negativize the auxiliary: Minnâ gâ kàëtte simawanai utî(‘) ni renraku site kudasâî ‘Get in touch (= Give us a call) before everyone has left’.

Causative, passive (pure or adverative), and potential can be applied either to the gerund or to the auxiliary, or—in theory—to both; but none of the forms are particularly common. Most of the following examples are the result of elicitation.

-(s)ajete simau: Ōooki na î otoî o (l) asate, î lakanboo no mè o î samasa-jete simatta ‘I finally got the baby to wake up by making a loud noise’.

-te simawaseru: Syukudai o site simawasete kara î asobi ni yaru kotó ni î simasyôo ‘When we have made them finish their homework let’s send them to play’.

-(s)ajete simawaseru (interpreted as a single causative?): ?Zyotyuu ni î soozi o sasete simawasete kara, î l kaimono ni î dekakéru tumori dësu ‘After I have seen to it that the maid has swept up, I intend to go shopping’.

-(ra)jete simau OR (less common) -te simawareru: (1) Pure passive: Koosin-zyô(‘) ni sirâbarette simatta [OR (?) sirâbete simawaret] ‘He has finished undergoing investigation by the private detective agency’; Dâ karai sêken [sic] no î taisei tte monô wa, î zyaanarizumu no î té de î tukurârette simau ‘Thus (the tide of) public opinion turns out to be created by the hands of the journalists’ (Tk 2.151a). (2) Adversative passive: Ô-kâsi o otootti ni minnâ taberârette simatta OR tabete simawaret ‘I ended up getting my candy all eaten up by my little brother’; Sot-tô tabako o nönde iru tokorô o, ânî ni mirârette simatta ‘I ended up getting seen secretly smoking by my older brother’. (3) Potential = -(ra)jete simau OR (more common) -te simaeru: Konna mizikâi tegami nara gö-hun ‘înai ni kâite simaeru OR (?)kâkete simau OR (PLEONASTIC) kâkete simaeru ‘Such a short letter I can finish writing within five minutes’.

-(ra)jete simawareru: ‘Sekkaku kâîta î tegami o î kodomo ni î yaburârette simawaret ‘I suffered by ending up suffering from having my carefully written letter torn up by the child’. This would be better with plain simatta.

-(ra)jete simawaseru: Probably not used.

-(s)ajete simawaseru: ?Zibun de suru tumori datta î tésuto o î Tanaka san ni î mudan de î gakusëi-täti ni sasete simawaret ‘I suffered from having Mr Tanaka have the students do the test that I was intending to do myself (= give the students the test that I was planning to take myself)’.

-(ra)jaterete simau: Dooryoo ga yasûnda no de, î l (watakusi ga l) ni-ninmae no sigoto o sasarette simatta ‘As a colleague was on leave, I ended up being made to do the work of two’.

-te simawaserareru: ?Ni-ninmae no sigoto ná no ni, î gö-zî made ni î zênbu î hitôri de î site simawasereta ‘Despite the fact that it was two men’s work, I was made to finish it all up myself by five o’clock’.

Examples of focus, restriction, etc., applied to the gerund: Yooyaku î sâgo made î kàite WA î simattá ga, î yómu ni î tânai î sippâi-saku ni î nátte simatta ‘I finally DID finish writing it, but it wound up an unreadable failure’; Tegamî o kàite SAE î simaeba, î l kyóo wa î suru kotó ga î náî ‘If I finish just writing this letter, I will have nothing (more) to do
today'; Kono hón o || yónde SAE || simáéba, || asita no sikén wa || daizyóobu da 'If I finish just reading this book, I won't have to worry about tomorrow's exam'; Káite KOSO || simawanái ga, || án wa || owari máde || dëkite iru 'I've not finished exactly writing it, but the plan is worked out to the end'; Moo iti-mai || káite DAKE || simáéba, || kyóo no (I) sigoto wa || owari desu 'When I finish just writing one more page, today's work will be at an end'. I have been unable to elicit V-te || GÚRAI simau or V-te || BÁKARI simau, and V-te NÁDO simau is not common: Arigane o || zénbu || naku-síté NÁDO || simawanái uti(‘) || nyokin si-nasái 'Before you end up maybe losing all the money you have, put it in the bank'.

It is more usual to apply particles of focus, restrictives, etc., to the conversion: Sigoto o || owari máde || site simáí SAE || suréba, || ato wa || náni o || site mo || kamaimásen 'If I just finish doing the job to the end, afterward it doesn't matter what I do'; ... káette || yugánde(‘) || simáí SAE || simásen ka ‘... don't you end up, on the contrary, all the more distorted?’ (SA 2673.143b). Miscellaneous examples: Minn£a tukatte simáte wa || komáru 'If you use it all up there's a problem'; Minn£a tukatte simáte mo || yó 'It's all right to use it all up, I tell you'; ... imootó ni || tikayóü || otokó wa || dare de mo || korosite simai-kanénai no de aru 'he has to kill off any man who approaches his little sister' (SA 2689.120a); Syukudai o site simáte kara || asobu koto ni || suru 'When we finish our homework we'll have some fun'.

9.2.4. (5-6). -te [iku]; -te kúru (máíru). The notion of MOVEMENT in Japanese is represented by a pair of verbs with opposite deictic specifications: iku means 'goes/comes there (to you or them, to that place, to that time, from now on)' and kúru means 'comes here (to me or us, to this place, to this time, up to now').101 The straightforward meaning is usually appropriate when no other verb is present in the sentence or when the motion verb is preceded by a gerund of manner or movement: uti(‘) e [aru íte] kúru 'comes to our house [on foot]', éki made [kuruma ni notte] iku 'goes to the station (in a taxi)', wahuku o kíte iku/kúru 'wears Japanese clothes (to the function there/here)'. With other verbal gerunds, V-te iku/kúru is often interpretable in three ways: the motion verb can be taken at face value, it can be taken as an auxiliary, or it can be taken as part of an errand. Any voluntary action can be the mission of an ERRAND, and errands are reported differently in English and in Japanese. The English speaker says that he 'goes and gets' or 'comes and gets' something, neglecting the obvious fact that the errand-runner then moves on; the Japanese speaker says that he 'gets and comes' or 'gets and goes', neglecting the obvious fact that the opposite movement must have happened before the action could take place. Thus Sinbun o katte kúru means 'I'll go and buy a newspaper', reporting a THITHER errand, and Sentaku-mono o tótte iša ka means 'Did they come and get the laundry?'. inquire about a HITHER errand. The sentence Bóku(‘) [ga] míté kúru (SA 2658.55b) is to be translated 'I'll go see'. And the sentence Heyá o soozi site ikimasyóó ka 'Shall I come clean your room (and then go)?' may be taken either as an errand or as a simple sequence of verb + verb with the translation 'Shall I clean your room before I go?' Where English says simply 'I've been to (the bank, the store, etc.)' Japanese usually will say ... e itte KÍTA 'I have come (= am back) from going to ...'. The ERRAND is a special extension of the basic meaning of the motion verb, and so it retains a certain independence that is

101. But kúru is used to mean iku 'come to you' in Toyama prefecture and in many parts of Kyūshū e.g. Kagoshima (H 1968.59), as well as Okinawa (Hokama 155). Apparently these dialects follow the English notion of deixis; I presume that iku is used where English would use 'go'.

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lacking to auxiliary uses of iku and kúru. For example, the motion verb in errand-reports can be subjected to exaltation (V-te irassáryú etc.) since it retains its valence with the agent. When used with the extended, auxiliary meanings the verbs permit neither subject nor object exaltation; in Koo sita ten o kangaete mairímásu to ... ‘When I come to think about such points ...’ the verb mair-u is being used as an elegant synonym of kúru and marks the sentence as stylized at the honorific level. (Of course, in the unlikely event that the cogitation was some sort of errand, you might interpret the sentence as ‘I went away to think about it and am now back with you’.)

Some straightforward (rather than auxiliary or errand) uses of the motion verb can be seen in the following examples: Tanaka san kara denwa ga kakátte ll kita ‘A phone call came from Mr Tanaka’; Náni mo kikoete kónai ‘I can’t hear a thing’; Utí(ê) e kætte iku ‘He goes home’; Kaisya kara kætte l kúru ‘He comes home from the office’; Tábete ll ikimasyóó ‘Let’s eat and (then) go = Let’s eat before going’.

The two auxiliary meanings have to do with GRADUALNESS or with ONSET (beginning) of a continuing process. Examples with kúru are more easily come by than those with iku, so we will start with V-te kúru.

**V-te kúru**

(1) ‘gradually comes on/in doing; becomes more so and more so, does it more and more’: Atatakái iheyá ni ll oít’oita kara, II ringo ga itándê l kita ll yó ‘The apples have (gradually) spoiled because they were left in a warm room’; ... híyoo ll bákari ikasándê(ê) l kúru ll zidai, II ... ‘(in) a period when costs only are steadily mounting ...’ (SA 2673.40b); Zibun ga ll iká ni likite l kita ka o l hanásita 1 told of how I had lived my life’; Mizu ga sünde l kúru to ll soko ga miete ll kimasú. 1 Náhani mo miete l kónai 1 ná ‘When the water clears the bottom becomes visible.—Nothing is becoming visible at all’; W-kun mo ll dandaná ll soozóö-yöoku ga ll yútaka ni ll nátte ll kúru ‘W too will acquire a richer and richer imagination’ (lg 1962.74); ... toiu húu ni ll kängae-naosarete ki-tútu 1 lluru no desu ‘is in the process of coming to be rethought along the lines of ...’ (Tanigawa 140-1).

(2) ‘begins, sets in, starts up, starts being (doing); keeps on (persists in) doing; has been doing right along (from then on)’: Kyuu ni onaka ga itándê l kita kara ll isya ni itta ‘My stomach suddenly started hurting, so I went to the doctor’; Natú ni wa ll ásá yó-yi ni ni llráuru to ll sórá ga ll sirándê l kúru (ll sírami-hazimeru) ‘in the summer the sky starts to lighten when it gets to be four in the morning’; Nárete l kúru no mo ll moo súgu desu ll yó ‘You’ll soon get used to it’; Yuki ga ll íma ni mo ll hútte ll kísóó da ‘It looks as though it will snow any minute now’; Koo mite 1 l kúru to ... ‘If we start viewing it like this = Thus thought of ... ’ (SA 2649.43e); ... masúmasu ll zizyoo wa ll yayakósíiku ll nátte 1 l kúru ‘... things start getting more and more involved’ (SA 2651.66c); Sikási ll nél, ll kore mo ll kéizai ni 1

102. And, by semantic extension, perhaps in these examples with the potential: Zibun wa ll máda ll sono onná nakute mo ll kíkite yueru 1 can go on living without her’ (Y 542); Omae no yóo na, ll kore kara ll yo-nó-naka no l kooohuku bákari laziwatte ikeru l onná ga ll ... ‘A woman like you who now can go on tasting nothing but the happiness of this world ...’ (Y 542). See also -te wa ikenai ‘must not’ and -(a) nakute wa ikenai ‘must’ (p. 498). The subject-exalting euphemism miérú ‘appears = comes’ can be substituted for kúru in the straightforward uses, but not the errand or auxiliary situations: Åkikó san ga kætte miete hontoo ni yókatta desu nél ‘I am really glad that you have come back, Akiko’. Thus motte/turete miérú ‘brings’ are possible but *katte miérú ‘goes and buys it’ is not. (The other euphemisms for iku/kúru can be used for errand or auxiliary situations as well as the straightforward uses.)
§9. Adverbializations

Sheityo no tamé ni, kokuhuku sarete {|| kité | orimásu ‘But this [= the seasonal slump in hotel occupancy] too is beginning to be conquered, thanks to the growth of the economy’ (SA 2669.48d).

V-te iku

(1) ‘gradually goes on/off doing; becomes more so and more so, does it more and more’: Kaze wa || sidai ni || unarí o || masite itta ‘The wind gradually increased its roar’ (lg 21); Roohei wa sinazu il kiete iku nómí ‘Old soldiers never die, they just fade away’ (MacArthur); Sigoto wa || kкатазuíte || ikanakattá ‘The affair dragged on unsettled’ (lg 21); Mótokó wa || masúmasu || mukutí na || musumé ni || nátte (||) itta ‘Motoko got to be a more and more reticent girl’ (lg 1962.73); Mótokó wa || otona ni || nátte || ikú no ga, || nan-to-nákú || uréikú || náí (||) kotóm o || náí ‘Motoko found growing into an adult somehow not always enjoyable’ (lg 1962.86); Itami wa || yawaráide (||) itta ‘The pain gradually eased’ (SA 2642.36d); ... kin o || usinatte iku (||) Amerika wa ... ‘America who is losing more and more (of her) gold’ (SA 2885.24c).

(2) ‘gets underway with, begins doing; will become/happen (from now on = kore kara [see Alfonsó 458]):’ Sinde iku || hitai no kazu wa ... ‘The number of soldiers who will die (= go to their deaths);’ Horóbóite (‘iku || minzoku ... ‘A dying race (= a race that will die out);’ Kore kara || nonbiri || benkyóo site ikkó ka to || omótte ‘I’m thinking of taking it easier from now on’ (SA 2671.46b)—the sentence-final gerund can be taken as ellipsis-te [iru] or as an equivalent of omoú (§9.2.1a); Kore kara || sámu ku || nátte || ikú desyoo ‘From now on it will get colder (and colder)’—Sámu ku || nátte || kúru desyoo could be said with much the same meaning, but perhaps adding the idea ‘We here in our area will be getting the cold’. An example with a negative gerund: Kono mamá de || huránai de || ittára ... ‘I hope it keeps on not raining like this’.

Some sentences can be taken in either sense, ambiguously: Ito-goro kara kono tokei ga okurete kita no ka sira means either ‘I wonder how long this watch has been losing time?’ or ‘I wonder when this watch started losing time?’; Tabako o yameta totan ni || hutótte || kita no || yóo means either ‘I’ve been gaining weight from the moment I gave up smoking’ or ‘I started to gain weight the moment I gave up smoking’. The difference seems slight, but it is apparently felt by the native speaker, so we must speak of two meanings for the auxiliary. Often, however, the distinction seems blurred, perhaps owing to the aspect of the gerundized verb: Kono sympésetu no || myuuzikaru-ka wa, || bóku(‘) no || issyoo no sigoto no || yóo ni || lómóete (||) kita ‘The setting to music of this novel came/began to seem like my life work’ (SA 2651.64b). Adverbial elements will sometimes help bring out the intended interpretation: Bóku(‘) wa, || I DANDÁN TO || íra-ira site || kúru || zibun || oséru || kotó ga || dekinaku || nátta ‘Gradually growing impatient, I lost control of myself’ (SA 2651.64b).

The initial vowel of iku freely drops after the gerund; the shortening sometimes turns up in print: ... dète || kanáí n desu || yó ‘they don’t go out’ (SA 2660.49c); ... yukkúri (||) tomatté || asondé ‘tte || kure-tamaé ‘... please stay a long time before you go’ (Y 541); Aitumo || kúru || tanbi ni || nanka || oite ‘koo to (||) surú ga, || wasi wa || dan-zen, sonna monó wa || uke-toran to || lukkáesite yaru ‘He tries to leave something every time he comes, but I flatly refuse to accept any such gifts and make him take them back’ (Y 541); Karigane san wa || né, || kooban e (||) tureraréte ‘tte to || jú n desu || yó ‘Mr Karigane, they say, was taken off to the police box’ (Y 541); Àa, || dandáh || ânta ga || tooku nátte ‘ku ‘Oh, you are gradually
§9.2.4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb

getting farther and farther away’ (Y 542); ... ittai [di-o] site [ita] yatte ‘ku tumori na n da ‘just how do you intend to get along (in life)?’ (Y 542); Hōsikerya [m] kura de mo motte ‘ke ‘Take as much as you want’ (Y 542); Hikisio de oki no motte ‘kareta no mo mo zū bun [di-z] atta ‘be l nāa ‘There musta been a lot carried out to sea by the ebb tide, too’ (SA 2670.107)—for atta ‘be ‘musta been’, see p. 609.

After the gerund of an atonic verb the first syllable of certain forms of the auxiliary iku acquires an accent: site itta, site itte, site ittara, site ittari. When the shortened form is used, the accent will fall on the last syllable of the gerund (which has an underlying accent to begin with, though it is usually suppressed by underlying junctures): site ‘tta, sité ‘tte, sité ‘ttara, sité ‘ttari. (The reductions of site + ita, ite, itara, and itari differ only in lacking the extra t: site ‘ta, sité ‘te, sité ‘tara, sité ‘tari.) Other forms of V-te iku will have the expected accentuation, whether shortened or not: site [i]ku, site [i]kanai, site [i]kéba, site [i]koo, site [i]ke, etc. The perfect form of kodomo o turete iku ‘takes along the child’ will be kodomo o turete itta or kodomo o turete ‘tta. The shortening of V-te [i]ku results in convergence with some forms of V-te kūru:

/hakondekimásu/ = (1) hakonde kimásu
           (2) hakonde [i]kimásu
/hakondekiwa sinai/ = (1) hakonde ki wa sinai
           (2) hakonde [i]ki wa sinai
/mottekimásu/ = (1) motte kimásu
           (2) motte [i]kimásu
/mottekiwa sinai/ = (1) motte ki wa sinai
           (2) motte [i]ki wa sinai

The final syllable of -te kūru, like other instances of the imperfect ending -ru, sometimes assimilates to a following n, as in this dialect example: Wasi ni iken si-hazimete kûn no zya ‘[He] started giving me a piece of his mind [= criticism]’ (Y 543).

In his study of iku and kūru Morita examined 4939 examples from modern fiction and found the following distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iku</th>
<th>893</th>
<th>V-te iku</th>
<th>1162</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kūru</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>V-te kūru</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these figures we can conclude that V-te kūru is nearly twice as common as V-te iku, though iku and kūru as main verbs are of about the same frequency. A comparable ratio for V-te kūru vs. V-te iku (427 vs. 244) was found in the statistically wider study of KKK 25.78b.

An expression of bringing or taking is often treated as a unit, even though it is made up of a gerund (typically motte for things and turete for people, as the ‘taken’) followed by iku/kūru. In ... goso-to [gossori] motte ikareta ‘got it all taken away from him’ (SA 2684.50c), the passive is applied to the ‘taking’ phrase as a whole. And in Isya mo turete ikenai ‘We can’t even take a doctor along with us’ (SA 2680.115b) the potential is applied to the phrase as a whole. But in ... turerarete kita sū-nin(*) no wakamonō(*) ... ‘several young men who had (been brought =) come with him’ (SA 2678.29a) the passive is applied to tureru before the gerund-auxiliary conversion.

Examples of focus, restriction, etc., applied to the gerund: Zyuurai no laku hoo mo

[Continued...]
aratoméréte WA | kita ga, | zennmen-teki na kaisei ni wa | hodo-tóoi(·) ‘We have begun to revise undesirable laws, but we are a long way from overall reform’; Tuyói | kaze ga húki, | hidoku | huri-dasité MO/SAE | kita ga, | këihoo(·) wa | déte | inai kara, | taitúu de wa | áru ‘‘A strong wind is blowing and it has even started to pour down hard, but there is no alert out, so it must not be a typhoon’; Ano byooin wa | zenkai ‘dókoro ka, | hi-goto(·) | ni | wáruku | nátte SURA | iku yóo ni | miéru ‘That patient, far from recovering, looks as though he were gradually getting even worse by the day’; Bukka wa | agátté KOSO ike, | i sagáru kóto wa | zettaí ni nái daroo ‘Prices are precisely rising gradually and will simply never come down’—for (kósó) ike, see p. 556; Bukka ga, | kóngo(·), | i sagáte NÁDO iku hazu ga | nái desyoo ‘There’s no likelihood that prices will come down or anything, from now on’; Morátté KOSO | itté mo, | kurete itta | tameshi ga | nái ‘Although they have been precisely getting it, they have never been giving it’; Kiité KOSO | kite mo, | osíte kureta kóto | ga nái ‘Although they have been precisely inquiring, they have never told it’; Nihongo no kíso o | narátte DAKÉ likéba, | áto wa | Nihon e | itté kara | dódon | rënyuu suréba | umaku | narímasu | yo ‘If you learn the fundamentals of Japanese, you can get good at it if you work steadily on the rest of it once you get to Japan’; Rúsú datta kara, | meisi o oíte DAKÉ | kimási ta ‘He was out so I just left my calling card’. I have been unable to elicit examples of V-te ‘GÚRAI iku/kúru; and even the following types are not common.’103 Asonde BÁKARI itte | tetudátte itta kóto wa | nái ‘He goes along loafing and has never started helping’; Sóto de | tábete BÁKARI | kite, | uti(·) dé wa | tit-tó mo | syokuzi o sinaí ‘I always just eat out and never come home to eat’; Ano pàat’ii ni | takísíido o | kite NÁDO iku | hituyoo wa | arímasen ‘There is no need to wear a tuxedo or the like to that party’; Uti(·) no pàat’ii ni | takísíido o | kite NÁDO | kúru | hituyoo wa | arímasen ‘There is no need to wear a tuxedo or the like to our party’.

Examples of focus, etc., applied to the auxiliary: Harikéen-Zyéén wa | kon’yahan karà | yowamátte i kí | WA | surú ga, | máda-máda | keikai no hituyoo ga áru ‘Hurricane Jane WILL be getting weaker from midnight on, tonight, but caution will be necessary for quite some time’; Kono ten ga | kairyoo sarete iki | SAE | suréba, | syóorai no | mítousoi wa | akaruku náru ‘If this point just starts getting improved, the prospects for the future will brighten’; Nán-do | syóotai | sarete mo, | m-i-miyage hitótu | motte ki | MO | sinakereba | áto de | reizyoo no Íp-pon mo | káite | yokósí mo | sinaí hitó da ‘However often he gets invited he never even brings a single present nor does he even write a single thank-you note’; Ti o wáketa | kyóodai de | arí-nagára, | I tagai ni | tagunété iki | SÚRA | sinaí zyóotai da sóo da ‘While they are blood brothers, I understand the situation is such that they don’t even visit one another’; Tomatte iki | KOSO | sinaí ga, | yonaká ‘sugi made | asonde iku kóto wa | siba-siba áru ‘I don’t precisely spend the night but I do often visit till after midnight’; Zettaí ni | múdan(·) de, | yosó ni | tomatte ki | NÁDO | sinaí hitó desu ‘He never stays out elsewhere without permission’. (In the last two examples the ‘go’ and ‘come’ are perhaps better treated as full verbs rather than as auxiliaries.)

The humble verb mái-u is used as object-exaltation for both iku and kúru, and this extends to some of the auxiliary uses, as well; often mái-u is chosen merely to be polite,

103. And the motion verb is not used as auxiliary in most (perhaps all) of these examples. Would the first example be better translated ‘He has always come and loafed and never come and helped’?
as we have seen elsewhere. Mair-\(u\) has an old-fashioned synonym san-ziru\(\text{(-)}\), and it too is sometimes used as an auxiliary; examples of V-te san-ziru\(\text{(-)}\) will be found in Y 545-6.

The verb usér\(u\)\(\text{(-)}\) ‘disappears, gets lost; dies’ is used as a vulgar equivalent of iku and kuru, and this usage extends to the auxiliaries; examples of V-te usér\(u\)\(\text{(-)}\) will be found in Y 546, where it is said that the verb sometimes also serves as the equivalent of (V-te) iru.

9.2.4. (7). -te miru; -te go-ran. The verb miru means ‘looks at’ or ‘sees’ and it can retain its basic meaning when following a gerund, as you sometimes tell from the juncture: Hon o totte\(\text{ }\)mi māsita ‘I took the book and looked at it (or read in it)’. But, especially with the juncture reduced, the final verb may be taken as an auxiliary: ‘I tried taking the book (to see what the result or effect would be, or to see what it would be like)’. As an auxiliary the verb miru means ‘does it to see (what the effect or result will be)’ or ‘samples doing it, tries it to see (what one’s reaction will be)’; sometimes the meaning is ‘does it AND finds out’ as in Site miru to yasakatikatta ‘found it easy to do’. I have elsewhere (Martin 1970) called such expressions EXPLORATORY forms. Notice that the meaning is not ‘tries TO do it = attempts it’; that is said by using the expression V-[y]oo to suru (§21.4).

Examples of V-te miru: Kāre no\(\text{ }\)tatibā ni\(\text{ }\)tūtī te kiite miru ‘I will try asking about his position on the matter’ or ‘I will see if I can find out his position’; Nāni ga\(\text{ }\)hāitte\(\text{ }\)I irū\(\text{ }\)ka\(\text{ }\)wakaranai no\(\text{ }\)de\(\text{ }\)hako o\(\text{ }\)akete\(\text{ }\)mita ‘Not knowing what was inside, we opened the box to find out’ or ‘... and found out’; Zē-hī\(\text{ }\)iti-dō\(\text{ }\)ittē mi-tā to\(\text{ }\)I omōtte\(\text{ }\)imāsū ‘I certainly hope I can go there and see (how things are) sometime’; Kono\(\text{ }\)kago\(\text{ }\)no tori\(\text{ }\)no\(\text{ }\)seikatu\(\text{ }\)kara\(\text{ }\)tobi-dāsī te\(\text{ }\)mita\(\text{ }\)kara\(\text{ }\)dō no na\(\text{ }\)no ‘Why don’t you try flying away out of this life of a caged bird?’; Ano\(\text{ }\)ki\(\text{ }\)no\(\text{ }\)tyōozōō\(\text{ }\)mi o\(\text{ }\)nobotte\(\text{ }\)mī\(\text{ }\)koto\(\text{ }\)I irū? ‘Have you tried climbing up to the top of that tree?’; Namazakana\(\text{ }\)o\(\text{ }\)tābete\(\text{ }\)mita\(\text{ }\)i\(\text{ }\)omosirō\(\text{ }\)I\(\text{ }\)keiken o\(\text{ }\)mita ‘I had interesting experiences such as trying raw fish’; Kagami\(\text{ }\)mite\(\text{ }\)I\(\text{ }\)mi\(\text{ }\)ro\(\text{ }\)yo\(\text{ }\)I\(\text{ }\)miro ‘Try looking in the mirror; Look in the mirror and see’ (Y 550).104 The gerund can be highlighted: Omōtte\(\text{ }\)mo\(\text{ }\)mi\(\text{ }\)yo\(\text{ }\)I\(\text{ }\)‘Give it a thought, anyway’ (SA 2659.131b); Kangāete\(\text{ }\)mo\(\text{ }\)mi\(\text{ }\)ro\(\text{ }\)yo \(=\) I\(\text{ }\)mi\(\text{ }\)ro\(\text{ }\)yo \(=\) I\(\text{ }\)‘Just give it a thought’ (SA 2650.118b); ... sono-go\(\text{ }\)sukosi\(\text{ }\)kara\(\text{ }\)no\(\text{ }\)tūkete\(\text{ }\)mo\(\text{ }\)mi\(\text{ }\)ro\(\text{ }\)i\(\text{ }\)I\(\text{ }\)mī\(\text{ }\)mita\(\text{ }\)I\(\text{ }\)toko\(\text{ }\)I\(\text{ }\)ro\(\text{ }\)yō ‘... later I tried a bit both paying attention and checking, whereupon ...’ (Tsujimura 67).

Verbs that are static or involuntary are hard to put into the exploratory conversion as such, but if the sentence is used as a condition or the like the meaning seems to be attenuated and otherwise questionable sentences are quite acceptable. For example, Hanā ga saite miru ‘The flowers try blooming’ would be unacceptable outside the personifying context of, say, a fairy story, but Hanā ga\(\text{ }\)saite\(\text{ }\)mita\(\text{ }\)kara\(\text{ }\)āngai\(\text{(-)}\)I\(\text{ }\)kīrei de\(\text{ }\)nakatta is perfectly all right in the meaning ‘When they bloomed, they turned out to be surprisingly lacking in beauty’. Perhaps the reason for the acceptability is that the second part of the complex sentence implies the introduction of some source of reaction that is not there in the simplex—‘when they bloom and WE LOOK at them’. The meaning of V-te mireba (or V-te miru to) is often something like ‘when we consider that; seeing that, now (that); since’, very similar to the meaning of sentence + kara ni wa (‘just because’ §17.1); in these expressions the provisional form retains some of the literary ‘causal’ meaning that is otherwise largely lost in the colloquial (cf. §9.3). There seem to be few if any restrictions on the kinds of verbs that can occur in such sentences: Oyā ga\(\text{ }\)attele

104. In addition to the expected imperatives, there is a dialect form V-te o-mi, sometimes contracted to V-t’ o-mi. Y 551 has examples of kangāete o-mi and yōnd’ o-mi ya.
§9. Adverbializations

Having parents to do as I like'; Kaze ga ħuite  miru 'When the wind blows you see the strength of that building'; Ame ga ħuite miru 'When it rains you find out the condition of the soil'; Tookyoo e ħuite miru 'When I got to Tōkyō I found it terribly noisy'; Watasi ga ħuite miru 'When I opened the box I found something interesting inside'; Man'yō-shū no zinbun ni ħitate miru 'When I got home I found him in high spirits from drinking'; Sono hako o ħite miru to omosirō mono ga ħitate 'When I found something interesting in the box' (Ono 1966.160).

Examining of actual examples from throughout the Man'yō-shū reveals many instances of ...

The gerund can be passive (sarete miru 'tries having it done to oneself') or causative: Dono-gurai hanasēru ka hanasēseta miru dōo desu ka 'How about trying to get him to talk to see how much he can talk?'. The passive is not commonly applied to the auxiliary miru ('site mirerēru') but the causative can be applied (site misasēru 'gets someone to try doing' and even sasete misasēru 'gets someone to try getting someone to do'): Dono-gurai hanasēru ka hanasite misasētara dōo desu ka 'How about having him try talking to see how much he can talk?'

It is possible to exalt the subject but not the object: Háyaku ħossyātte go-ran ni narimasita ka 'Did you try saying it fast?' but not *Háyaku moosī-agete haiken simasū ka 'Shall I try saying it fast for you?' Haiken suru/itasu is used only for the literal meaning 'looks' or 'sees'; there is no object-exalting equivalent for the auxiliary, since there is no object involved in the auxiliary construction itself. Go-ran also appears alone as ellipsis for the command go-ran nasāi (= mi-nasāi or mi ro): Taerēru sāmu-sa ka dōo ka sūnde go-ran 'Live there and see whether you can stand the weather or not'; Háyaku ħitte go-ran 'Try saying it fast'; Kangāete go-ran 'Give it some thought'.

The several meanings of V-te miru can perhaps be summarized as the normal uses of the gerund with an extended use of the verb miru to mean 'react': (1) 'does it and then/so takes a look' (literal meanings), (2) 'does it so as to react', (3) 'does it with a resulting reaction' (= 'and finds out').

Northern Ryūkyū speakers use a double exploratory form cognate to V-te miru 'does and looks and sees = tries doing', apparently with little or no difference in meaning from the simple exploratory (cf. Martin 1970); similar forms are found elsewhere in the Ryūkyūs, e.g. on Okinawa. And in view of Maeda's strictures about such pleonasm in standard Japanese, the double exploratory is perhaps more widespread than has been generally realized.

Causative, passive (both pure and adverstive), and potential can be applied either to the gerund or to the auxiliary—or, in theory, to both.

-sasete miru: Sukōsii muzukashi ka mo siredasēn ga tō -ni-kaku kono sikēn o.}
§ 9.2.4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb

sasete miru kotô ni | simasyóo ‘It may be a bit difficult but anyway let’s try giving this test’.

-te misaseru [little used]: Ryóori wà oisii monô o | aziwâtte | misasénakereba | zyoozú ni | naráñai ‘To get good at cooking you have to let people try tasting delicious things’.

-(s)sasete misasérëu: NOT USED?

-(r)arete misaseru: (1) Pure passive: NOT USED? (2) Adversative passive: Sigoto o | makaserârëte l mite | hazimëte | sono muzukáši-sa ga | wakáttâ ‘When I tried getting saddled with the job I realized for the first time its difficulty’; Oyá ni l sinarete míru to l | sono l arigá-tâ-mí(”) ga | yóoku | wakâru ‘When you experience the death of a parent you appreciate your indebtedness’. (3) Potential = -(r)arete míru: NOT USED?

-te mirârëru: (1) Pure passive: Nóoryoku o | támésite l mirârëta | ‘I had my ability tested’. (2) Adversative passive: Tegami o | lakëte mirârëta ‘I had someone try opening my letter (to my displeasure)’ or ‘I was discomfited by having my letter opened and looked at (or: to look at)’. (3) Potential: Siken-teki ni | nara l site mirârëru desyoo ‘You could try doing it as an experiment, surely’.

-(r)arete mirârëru: NOT USED—except when the passive is used for subject exaltung, as in Go-zibun de zikken o sarete mirârëtara | (= nasätâ-te go-ran ni nâttara | ) itiban yorosëi desyoo ‘It would be best to do the experiment yourself’.

-(s)sasete mirârëru: LITTLE USED—except when the passive is used for subject exaltung, as in Siken-teki ni | gakusei ni | zikken o sasete mirârëtara | (= sasate go-ran ni nâttara | ) ikâga desu ka ‘How about having the students do the experiment as a kind of examination?’

-(r)arete misasérëu: NOT USED

-(s)saserârëte míru: Hoka no hitó ga | hânásu no o | kiite ìta tokí wa | yasası-soo ni | omowârëta ga, l zibun de iwaserârëte mite, l muzukâši(”) l kotô ga l wakâttâ ‘When I listened to the others talk it seemed to appear easy, but when I tried having myself be allowed to speak, I realized that it is difficult’.

Examples of V-te míru with focus, etc. applied to the gerund: Kiité WA | mimášu ga, l dönaj ni henzi ga | erârëru ka wa | wakari-kanemášu ‘I will try asking but there’s no telling what kind of reply can be had’; … nañkotéo ni kakâ-ëte MO | mítâ ga, l … ‘she even tried undertaking persuasion by tears, but …’ (SA 2649.105d); Tegami o | ni-santúu yónde DAKÈ | misëra, l sonó-hito no | nóoryoku no l teido(”) ga | wakáru | monó desu ‘If you try just reading two or three of his letters you see the level of his ability’. I have been unable to elicit examples of V-te BAKARI míru, and neither V-te (~)GURAI míru nor V-te NÁDO míru is common: Ítu made mo | hito o tanónamu | ni, l zibun no tegami wa | zibun de kâite GURAI l mitâr l dóo desu ka ‘Instead of always asking others, how about trying to write your letters yourself?’; Zassi, l sinbun nádo o | yónde NÁDO l mítê mo, l íma no | Níñhôn no zyootái wa | soozoo dekinai hodó l kawatte simatta rasi ‘Even if you read the magazines and newspapers and all you can’t imagine how conditions in Japan have completely changed, I understand’.

It is more usual to apply the particles of focus, restriction, etc., to the auxiliary: Irooro na kotô o | site mi WA | surú ga, l náñi mo tuzukete siyoo tô wa | sináñi n desu ‘He tries doing all sorts of things, but he shows no inclination to do anything over a period of time’; Hima ga ãreba | gôruhu o | site mi MO | surú n da ga … ‘I sometimes try playing a
bit of golf when I have a free moment, but...'; Site mî SAE l surêbaî l kantan da tte iu kotô ga l wakårû desyoo 'If you'd just try doing it, you'd see how easy it is'; Site mî ro to l iu nara, lî site mî MO l surû ga, lî muda darôô to l omoimâsu 'If you tell me to try doing it, I'll try doing it, but I don't think it will be of any use'; Tô- ni-kaku îl owari mâde î site mî WA l surû ga, î lî l kekka ga erarêu to wâ l omoenai n desu 'Anyway I'll try doing it to the end, but I can't believe any good result will be obtained'.

The temporal ablative can be applied to the gerundized auxiliary: Kiite mîte kara, îl sono rekôôdo o îl kau kotô ni îl sitâ n da 'After giving it a listen, I decided to buy the record'.

9.2.4. (8). -te miêru. The verb miêru 'it seems, it appears' can be used as an auxiliary after a verbal gerund: tukârete miêru 'looks tired', yaseta miêru 'looks thin, appears to have lost weight'. These expressions are common in Nagoya.\textsuperscript{104a} Tokyô speakers prefer V-te iru (or V-ta) yôo ni miêru (tukâreta yôo ni miêru, yaseta yôo ni miêru). Cf. also tô miêru, p. 1008. Examples of the V-te miêru conversion: Kâre ni wa îl matî no yoosu wa îl sukkâri l tigatte miê 'To him the town appeared completely changed' (Ig 11); Koosen ni yotte îl tigatte miêru kotô mo lårû ga, î... 'It sometimes looks different depending on the light, but...' (Tk 3.235b); Sikaru to îl onnâ no kao ga îl sâkette [sic] l miê 'On being scolded the woman's face seemed to crack' (Ig 32);... îtu-nî-nâku îl sizume miê 'she appeared to be sunk in unaccustomed gloom' (Ig 32); Wahuêku ni nárû to îl kaette îl hûkete îl miê 'He looked all the older in Japanese clothes' (V 114); Soo iu toki{\textsuperscript{1}} îl Ayao no l sirôî l hôî [h]o îl usi l sakura-iro ga sâsite, îl zibun ga köî-site iu îl yôo ni îl nanamêite îl miê 'At such times there was a light pink tint to Ayao's white cheeks and she looked fetchingly in love' (Ig 1962.98); Suityuu ni iroo boo wa, îl suimen no tokorô de îl örête îl miê.îl Kore wa îl suityuu ni nárû îl boo no bûbun ga îl uki-agâtte îl miêru kara de aru 'A stick that has been put in the water looks bent from the surface. This is because the part of the stick that is in the water appears to float up' (V 114);... kono ginkô îl îl hûkete îl miê 'these silver coins... to Yoshiko seemed splendidly full of majesty...' (Y 340).

Notice that the verb miêru can also mean 'appears' in the sense of 'shows up', i.e. 'comes', as a synonym of arawâru or kûru. Sometimes this is the appropriate interpretation, e.g. in Kâette miêru = Kâette kûru. The sentence Okyakusan ga naitê miêta is ambiguous; it can mean either 'The guest showed up crying [= in tears]' or 'The guest seemed to be crying'. In the sense of 'shows up' the subject can be exalted (o-miê ni nárû) but the auxiliary will not undergo exaltation conversions.

Examples of focus, restriction, etc., applied to the gerund: Zyûu-nen îburi ni âtta, îl sonô-hito wa îl tösî o torû l dókoro ka, îl wakagâette SURA/SAE îl miêta 'Met after ten years, he—rather than aging—appeared even to have been rejuvenated'; Sînî 'zên to îl sitê WA îl miêru ga, îl sînî 'dôkoro ka... 'He DOES seem gentlemanly, all right, but no gentleman he!'. I have been unable to elicit V-te BAKARI miêru, V-te DAKEîl miêru, or V-te KOŠO miêru; and the following types are not common: Hadaka zya nai n da kara, îl suite 'GURA l miê'atûe îl kamawanai desyoo! 'Since I'm not (really) naked, it surely doesn't matter if it [= the garment] seems to be transparent!'; Suketê NÂDO l miêru îl hûuku wa îl zettai ni kimaseñ 'I absolutely won't wear clothes that appear to be transparent or anything!'—(here sukeru is apparently to be taken as a spontaneous potential (the sentence could be said with the intransitive Suiteî').

\textsuperscript{104a.} But in Nagoya and Gifu V-te miêru is used as an equivalent of the subject-exalting V-te irassâyuru. Cf. NKD 18.505a.
§9.2.4. Verbal gerund + auxiliary verb

It is more usual to apply the particles of focus, restriction, etc., to the auxiliary: Sore o kiru to, I tosi-o tōtte I mie WA I suru ga, I zyoohin na I sibui I kimono da to oomoi̇masu ‘To be sure, I DO look older when I wear that, but I feel it is an elegant, austere kimono’; Sono kimono wa I hin ga naĩi si, II tosi-tōtte I mie MO I suru kara, II kawanai kōto ni I sitāra II dōo desu ka ‘That kimono lacks quality and you even look older in it, so why not decide against buying it?’; Anmari tosi-tōtte I mie SAE I sinākereba, II zimī na I kimono no hōo ga I suki na n desu ‘Just so I don’t appear too old in it, I prefer a plain kimono’; Sono kimono wa, II tosi-tōtte I mie KOSO sure, II kessite hadē zya I arimasēn I yō ‘Though I may precisely look old in it, that kimono is not the least gaudy’—for (kōso) surē, see §9.3; Hadē na I kimono o ki-tātte, II wakahātēte I mie NĀDO I simāsen I yō ‘She may wear a gaudy kimono but she doesn’t seem restored to youth or anything’.

9.2.4.(9). -te mise rū; -te o-me ni kake rū. The verb mise rū means ‘shows’ or ‘displays’; with a verbal gerund it can serve as an auxiliary with the meaning ‘shows that one can (or will) do it, displays one’s ability (or determination) to do it’: Watasi ga I l kono ki ni I nobotte mise rū kara ‘Just you see how I can climb up this tree’; Honto ni dekīrū nara II site misē ro ‘IIf you can really do it, show me!’; Watasi ga (I) ano onnō o I warawasite mise rū ‘I’ll (show you I can) make that woman laugh (—just you watch!)’; Kāre kara II nige te mise rū ‘I’ll get free of him, just you wait and see’; Tadāsii (I) mitō o I ayūnde I mise māsu ‘I’ll show people I can lead a proper life’; Ono wa II soo itte I nāmida no I tamatta me de II waratte mise ta ‘Ono put on a smile with his tear-filled eyes as he said that’ (Ig 22); Sugūreta I kanka ku o mōta I hitō-tati o II tekitoo ni ērāde mise rū kōto ga I nozomasi (“) ‘It is desirable to show that we can suitably select people of outstanding sensibility’; Tāguti wa I oogesa ni odo rōte I mise ta ‘Taguchi put on exaggerated surprise’ (Ig 22); Go-tyuumo n-doo ri II nāmida mo I nusun de I mise tū I yō ‘You name it, they’ll steal it’.

A more literal meaning seems to be present in some sentences: ... watasi no hōo ni I uinku site I mise ta ‘gave a wink in my direction’ (SA 2679.39c); Tosi-gai(”) mo (I) nāku II seinen no yōo na I tāido o I site mise rū no ga, II kāre no I kusē da ‘He’s always displaying a youthful attitude unbecoming his age’.

I have only a few examples of restrictive, focus particles, etc., applied to the gerund, and they are not common types: Kāite DAKÉ I mise reba, II kuti de (I) setumei sina kute mo I wakāru ‘If you (show you will) write it, at least, it will be clear without an oral explanation’; Kanzi no hitō-ya I hu tatā I kāite “GŪRAI I mise māsu I yō ‘I’ll show I can at least write one or two Chinese characters’; Syabēte NĀDO I misēnakute mo, II kimi gaI Eigo ga umāi kōto wa II yōku I sitte ‘ru I yō ‘I well know you are proficient at English without your showing me you can talk it and all’. I have been unable to elic it V-tē BĀKARI mise rū or V-tē KOSO mise rū.

It is more usual to apply restrictive, focus particles, etc., to the auxiliary: Tēzina o I site mise WA I surū ga, II tane-ākasi wa (I) sinaĩ (= torīkku wa I osiete kurena) ‘I’ll show you (I can do) the trick, but I won’t tell you how it is done’; Meiyuu da kara I mūri ni I tanomārēba, II kyakku no zasiki de II odotte mise MO I siyōo ga, I bakudai na (I) syarei ga iru ‘He is a famous actor so that, while upon persuasion he will even display his dancing privately in guests’ rooms, it calls for a huge fee’; Doozyoo sīta yōo na I kao o site mise KOSO/SAE/SURA/NĀDO I surū ga I hōnśin(“) kara de wa I nai ‘He does precisely/even/even/perhaps show a sympathetic face, but that is not his true feelings’.
§9. Adverbializations

Notice that the auxiliary can be converted for both subject and object exaltation, since the meaning is such that it is in valence with the subject of the gerund: YOU show that YOU can do it, YOU do it and display YOUR doing of it. If the subject is exalted the formation may be regular (V-te o-mise ni nárú, o-V-i ni nátte o-mise ni nárú) or euphemistic (V-te o-me ni kakérú, o-V-i ni nátte o-me ni kakérú); if the object is exalted there are only the regular forms (V-te o-mise suru/itasu), and these are uncommon.

9.2.4. (10). -te súmu; -te sumásu. The verb súmu means 'comes to an end, terminates; settles'. From these basic meanings a number of others are extended, as when sumimasén is used to mean 'there is no end to [my rudeness or obligation] = excuse me; thank you'. Another extended meaning is 'gets by, makes do (with), gets off (with), settles (for)'—often under conditions of deprivation or hardship. Thus in Kenkyusha's examples Bakkin de súná 'I was let off with a fine' and Sukósí no són de súná 'He got off with a small loss' the idea is that the matter came to an end with some less-than-expected harm. Sometimes a negative is implicit: ... higai(\textsuperscript{1}) ga l sukúnákute \textsuperscript{II} súmu hazu da ... 'ought to get by with little damage' (SA 2647.87a); kane ga sukúnákute l súmu 'gets by with little money'; kono mamá de l súmu 'gets by as it is (with no change)'. Often the negative is explicit: kegá o l siná de (= kegá ga sezu ni = kegá ga nákute) l súmu 'escapes without injury'; buzi ni súmu 'comes off without mishap', ...

When used with the negative versions of the verbal gerund, V-(a)nái de or V-(a)zu ni, the verb creates an expression that means 'gets by without doing, manages to avoid doing' or 'needs not do', as in these examples: Sore nárá l wáža-wáza l Oosaka máde l ikázi ni súmu 'In that case you need not go all the way to Ōsaka' (Kenkyusha); Soo suru to l ni-do [\textsuperscript{1}] dekakená de l súmu 'It will save you going out again' (id.); Siranákyá l siraná de l súmu monó [\textsuperscript{[i]}] sirașetá kara l mondai ga l ōokiku l nátta n da 'Because it was let known what might well have been left unknown, the problem grew bigger'.

Although before other auxiliaries the regular negative gerund V-(a)nákute is obligatorily replaced by the circumlocution V-(a)nái de, or its equivalent V-(a)zu ni, súmu seems to allow either form, as exemplified by the following sentences: Wadai o kaeréba l huka-oi sinákute l súmu kara desu 'It's because if you change the subject [often] you need not pursue it deeply' (Shibata 1965.27); Mótto-mo l konna kotó o l sinákute l súmu l hoooho mo áru 'Of course there are ways to get by without doing such things' (SA 2688.45d); ... zibun no káko no l sigoto ni sekinin o kan-zinákute l súmu ... 'manages not to feel any responsibility for his past acts' (SA 2679.104b). An example with highlighting of the negative gerund: ... ká o l tóku ni l mondai ni sinákute mo l súmu ... 'gets along without making a special point over whether ...' (Kabashima 99).

You will also find V-(a)naku to mo—and (?) V-(a)zu to mo, §21.1.9(9), used with súmu: Sosite, l aíté no hannoo o mi-nágara, l áru l bún wa l kanketu sinákute to mo l súmu darób si, ... 'And, with an eye on the other party, some sentences will probably get by without being completed, and ...' (Shibata 1966.140-1).

But unlike other auxiliaries we have been discussing, súmu is not limited to VERBAL gerunds, for there is an adjective gerund in ... súgu l kawákú no de l karukute l súmu, l ... 'it dries fast so you can get by with its being light in weight' (SA 2662.99a) and in ... yakusya no ninzu [u] ga l sukúnákute l súmu 'you can get by with a small cast' (SA 2688.109d); there is a gerundized adjectival/(precopular) noun in Zairýó wa l kiwaméte l wázuka de l súmi, ... 'They make do with very scant material, ...' (SA 2650.97d); and a
§9.2.5. Auxiliary constraints and sequences

gerundized predication of a pure noun turns up in this text: Nihon-go to Eigo no tigai de,|| Eigo wa ll HITÔKOTO DE | sûmu no ga, ll Nihon-go da to nagai kotto ga | arimásu kara || hâyaku | iwanâkya | naranai ‘With the differences between Japanese and English it sometimes happens that what can be said in one word in English is long[er] in Japanese so that you have to say it fast [to synchronize]’ (SA 2664.36b). The nominal sentence can be negative, in the form N de nãkute or N de nási ni: Nihón wa || naze || sóo de | nási ni | sônde | iru ka to iu to, ... ‘The reason why Japan gets by without (being like) that ...’ (Tanigawa 156). There are even examples where sûmu follows a CONDITION, marked by the provisional: Nisen-en kara | itiman-en ‘teido no | bakkin o harâebal | sûmu koto | da ... ‘You can get off by paying a fine ranging from ¥2000 to ¥10000’ ... (SA 2665.126c); ... o-môtya o | hitotu | kae|ba | sûmu ‘you can get away with (= cope by) buying a single toy’ (SA 2793.46b); Íza to | náreba, || syân-ryoo ga | aite imásu kara, || soko o tukaebal | sûmu desyo|o ‘In a pinch the company employee dorm is open so we can make do with it, I figure’ (SA 2671.41b); ... gekkyuu kara | gosen-en ‘zûtu | hikarérya | sünzyau | [ = hikaréba | sünde simau] ‘You can manage it by having five thousand yen taken out of your salary every month’ (SA 2668.110a).

It is not clear that we need treat sûmu in any of these expressions as an auxiliary, but it should be observed that the verb seems to be “subjectless”—what ‘ends up’ is the situation. For that reason, sûmu will not usually undergo exaltation conversions. Yet it is possible to have exaltation when you causativize sûmu: Ana ta ga/wa ll okyakusan ni | soo nasarâni de | o-sumae ni náreru desyoo ‘You will no doubt be able to let the guest out of doing so’. This is because the causative has a subject of its own, the instigator of the happening.

Sumaséru is not only the causative (= súm-ase-) of sûmu;105 it is also the POTENTIAL (= sumás-e-) of a transitive counterpart sumasú ‘manages (it) with’ as in hiyoo o rokusen-en de sumasú ‘keeps the expenses down to ¥6000’.106 The expression V-te sumásu means ‘makes do with, gets along with’ and V-(a)nai de sumasú or V-(a)zu ni sumasú means ‘gets along without, does without’ as in ... hìrumesí o kúwazu ni sumášita ‘would do without lunch’ (Kenkyusha). The forms occur frequently in the potential ‘can/can’t do without’ as in these examples: Gosen-en de wa | sumasénai ‘I won’t be able to get along on ¥5000!’; ... hito e gûrazu ni wa | sumasénai | sottyoku-sa de ... with a cheeky outspokenness that (can’t but =) is bound to lacerate’ (SA 2659.69c); Go-men nasái to | ayamâte | sumaseraréru | mondai yâ ni náy desyoo ‘It’s hardly a matter that you can dismiss with an apology of“Excuse me”’.

9.2.5. Auxiliary constraints and sequences.

Auxiliaries can generally be applied to the mutative conversions of §9.1.11: -ku nátte/site iru, ... miru, ... oku, ... simau, ... yaru, ... morau, etc. There are minor restrictions; though A-ku (N ni) site áru is quite acceptable, ?A-ku (N ni) náte áru is doubtful, at least for the standard language, and we should perhaps reject the proffered example (*)Moo

105. As in Keikan mo tyûui daké de sumásese kurerú ka mo siremasen ga, ... ‘The police may let you off with just a warning, but ...’ (Tsukagoshi 101a).

106. Some speakers use sumaséru for the transitive sumásu, as is taught in BJ 2, but the usage is not recognized by the lexicographers (e.g. MKZ5). The last example below could be taken as the potential of transitive sumaséru.
sensei ni natte aru kara seikatu wa sinpai wa nai ‘Now that I’ve become a teacher I have no worry about my livelihood’. As noted earlier, the excessive can generally be applied to the auxiliary or to the underlying verb, and on occasion even to both. In addition to the cases noted individually in the preceding sections, the following all seem to be acceptable, though some (here given with examples) may require special circumstances: -te oki-sugiru; -i-sugite oku (Kai-sugite oku to hu-keizai da ‘If you buy too much ahead it’s uneconomical!’); -te simai-sugiru; -i-sugite simau; -te iki-sugiru; -i-sugite iku (?); -te ki-sugiru; -i-sugite kūru (O-yu ga ātuku nari-sugite (l) kūru ‘The water is getting too hot!’); -te mie-sugiru; -i-sūgite miēru (Yase-sugite miēru ‘Looks too thin!’). The following will seem strange to most speakers, unless the excessive is made negative: -te mise-sugiru; -i-sugite misēru (Nomisugite (l) misēru l zō ‘I’ll show you I can drink too much!’); -te yari-sugiru (age-sugiru, kure-sugiru, kudasari-sugiru); -i-sugite yaru (ageru, kureru, kudasāru—Nomisugite yaru zō ‘I’ll drink too much for you, since you insist!’); -te morai-sugiru; -i-sugite morau (Nomisugite morawanai zō ‘I won’t have you drinking too much on my account!’).

We observed earlier that subject exaltation can generally be applied either to the sentence underlying the gerund or to the auxiliary, with certain restrictions for particular auxiliaries; but object exaltation is largely limited to the gerund (there is no *-te haiken suru despite -te go-ran ni nāru). (Kāte ōru occurs alongside o-kaki site iru/ôru, but ōru is often used as a polite synonym of iru rather than as the “humble” equivalent; that accounts for the subject-exalting orārēru = irasshāru or o-ide ni nāru in any of the uses of iru.)

Can further auxiliary conversions be reapplied to a sentence that already contains one? With the exception of reapplication of the SAME conversion (*-te ite iru etc.) there are few restrictions. And quite a few of the auxiliaries CAN be reapplied (once) to a sentence with the identical auxiliary; usually this is because there is more than one meaning, so that -te simatte simatta can mean ‘got it done and over with dammit’ or the like and -te oite oku can mean something like ‘let’s it go at doing it in anticipation’, but -te mite mīru may simply reinforce the meaning (Site mite miyōo ka ‘Shall I try doing it—and see?’) and the favor auxiliaries are recursive semantically since you can favor a person by doing a favor for someone else.

On p. 549 is a chart of the possible sequences of some of the more common auxiliaries.

Now the question arises: After having reapplied auxiliary conversion to a prior (different) auxiliary, can we continue the process until all different possibilities have been exhausted?

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§9. Adverbializations

(5) -te ōite simatte iru
-te ōite simatte áru
-te ōite simatte oku
-te ōite simatte miru
-te ōite simatte yaru/morau

(6) -te ōite moratte iru
-te ōite moratte áru
-te ōite moratte oku
-te ōite moratte miru
-te ōite moratte simau
-te ōite moratte yarau

(7) -te mite iru
-te mite yarau

(8) -te mite iru
-te mite áru
-te mite simau
-te mite yarau
-te mite miru

(9) -te simatte iru
-te simatte yaru/morau

(10) -te simatte áru
-te simatte miru
-te simatte simau
-te simatte yaru/morau

(11) -te yatte iru
-te yatte morau
-te yatte yaru

(12) -te yatte áru
-te yatte miru
-te yatte oku

(13) -te yatte mite iru
-te yatte mite áru
-te yatte mite yaru
-te yatte mite miru

(14) -te moratte iru
-te moratte yarau
-te moratte miru
-te moratte simau
-te moratte yaru

(15) -te moratte áru
-te moratte miru
-te moratte yaru
-te moratte morau
-te moratte yarau

A few examples: -te ōite áru: Sore-dake kai-konde oite läreball nisän-niti wa l mötu desyoo If that much food has been bought you can live on it for a few days'. -te ōite miru: Sibāraku sono mama ni site l ōite | mitara | dōo ka sira 'Why don't we leave it as it is and see what happens?' -te ōite kureru: Yuuzin ga l tehai site l ōite kureta l gaidō-zyoo to l hutari de l ne l ... 'With a lady guide that a friend had kindly arranged for, just the two of us ...' (SA). -te iite miru: Kono mama l kono miti o l aruki-tuzukete ōite miyōo ka sira 'I wonder if I should keep on walking this road like this to see' -te simatte áru: Sore wa l möo l yattyatte áru koto ni l naru l nāa 'They are already having that done, you know' (SA 2635.40e). -te kete simau: ... dassan l l ūresiku l natte kete simatta 'ended up gradually becoming happy' (CK 985.379); Soo iu kyōooiku o l oyazī("") ni l ūkete l kityatta n desu 'That's the sort of education I ended up getting from my old man' (SA 2650.42c). -te yatte kureru: Ufî("") no kodomo ni l eigo o osiete yatte kudasai 'Please teach English to my child for me'. -te yatte morau: Sigoto no susumi-guai o l mite yatte l itadaki-tai 'Please do him the favor of checking on how the work is going'. -te moratte/itadaite áru: (Daigaku kara morauru ōo ni l l tetūzuki o l site itadaite áru no l desyoo ka l 'Have arrangements been made for me (so that I can receive it from the University)?'; lma, l O-kimi san ni l kuruma o yonde moratte áru kara, l sore ni notte o-kaeri naasai (= o-kaeri naasai) 'We've had a taxi called by O-kimi for you to go home in' (Y 512). -te moratte yatte kureru: Kónban wa l akirâmete l omae ga håri o l ūtte moratte yatte kure 'Please let yourself receive
the favor of his treating you with acupuncture tonight’. -te yatte simatte kîte āru: Kâite yatte l simatte l kîte l āru ‘I have come to the point of finishing writing a letter for him’ (KKK 23.36).

All auxiliary sentences can undergo the following conversions: concurrent-concessive (-i-nagara §9.1.3); -i-gati da (§9.1.5–Nete ī wa si-gati dâ ga, hitô byooki zya nai ‘I AM inclined to be in bed a lot, but it isn’t a severe illness’); evidential (-i-sôo da §20); desiderative (-i-tai §7); representative (-tári §9.5); perfect (-tâ §11); and negative—applied either to the underlying gerund or the auxiliary, or independently to both. Tentative (-rû darôô §12.1) can apply to all auxiliaries, but neither the hortative (-yoo §12.2) nor the imperative (-ê §16.1) can apply to -te āru, for āru itself lacks the forms, so that whenever you see -te arôô or arôô you know that they are literary tentatives (§12.3) equivalent in meaning to -te āru darôô. For the purposive conversion (-i ni iku etc. §9.1.1) we find all auxiliaries except īru and āru; there is no "-te i/āri ni iku, nor is there "āri ni iku ‘goes to exist/have/occur’ despite the acceptability of i ni iku ‘goes to stay (at a place)’. For -te kara (§9.2.3) we find all auxiliaries except āru; there is no "-te âtte kara despite the fact that in the meaning ‘occurs’ âtte kara is possible (soo īu kotō ga âtte kara ‘after such a thing happening’). Causatives and the various passives seem to be possible for all auxiliaries except āru: there is no "-te araseru/ararêru just as there is no "araseru, and ararêru is limited to use as a subject-exalting form (equivalent to o-ari ni naru ‘deigns to possess’). The conversion -i- -tate da (§9.1.6) occurs with -te mîru, -te yaru, and -te morau, but not with -te īru, -te oku, and perhaps -te simau (unless the example Nûnde simai-tate da ‘is fresh from drinking’ is acceptable). A more detailed check on acceptability of the various other conversions is needed.

You can apply FOCUS (such as highlighting with mo or subduing with wa) to any two parts of a sequence V + Aux (+ Aux + ...), including two parts both of which are auxiliaries. This seems to be true regardless of the length of the sequence, and independent of the choice of focus, which may be identical (... wa ... wa; ... mo ... mo) or opposite (... wa ... mo; ... mo ... wa). It is unclear whether the restriction to only two members of the longer sequences is a matter of grammaticality; perhaps the unacceptability is simply due to a feeling that the speaker is being unduly cranky or clumsy if he tries to apply focus to more than two spots. In any event, sentences such as the following should be acceptable, given the context or situation to call for the focus:

Kâki wa/sae l site okî wa/mo l sinâkatta. (⇒ Kâite okanâkatta.)
Kâki sae l site ōite l kure mo l sinâkatta. (⇒ Kâite ōite kurenâkatta.)
Hatarâkî mo l site i sae l site kurerêba ... (⇒ Hataraite ite kurerêba ...)

But those with a repeat of oku are generally rejected:
*Kâki wa/sae site okî wa/mo site ōite kurenâkatta.
*Kâki mo site okanâi de ōite wa kurenâkatta.

(I have not given translations for these rather unusual sentences, since the interpretation of focus depends so heavily on context.)

It is more common to apply focus once, either to the auxiliary (V-te i sae surêba, V-te okî wa sinaî, V-te, simai mo suru, etc.) or to the underlying sentence (V-i sae site irêba, V-i wa site oku, V-i mo site simawanai, etc.). Examples of this have been given under each of the auxiliaries individually.

Japanese provides a number of devices to express CONDITIONS, both situational and temporal:

1. the gerund—often subdued or highlighted (-te wa/mo, §9.2.2);\(^{107}\)
2. various conjuncturalizations such as sentence + to (§17.2), sentence + nara (§17.8), literary tentative + gā (§17.5) or + to (§21.5), etc.;
3. nominalizations with nó de [wa/mo];\(^{108}\)
4. direct nominalizations with nī itattē wa (itattāra) or nī sitē mo (§14.6);
5. adnominalizations to various postadnominals (bāi 'situation', 109 tokorō 'circumstance', kotō 'event', tokī 'time', etc.), which are usually adverbialized in one way or another, e.g. -anai kotō ni wa (§14.1);\(^{110}\)

For S₁ ka to omōu to S₂ 'not only S₁ but also/even S₂' see §15.6.

A simple condition is often anticipated by an introductory adverb mósi [mo] 'say' or tatóe(“) 'suppose', the former most commonly anticipating -tāra or -ta bai and the latter anticipating -te mo, though other combinations occur:

MÓSI: MÓSI || genzitu no seiyō-ritu ga || taka-sugiru TO, || ... 'If the actual growth rate is too high, ...' (SA 2674.45c); MÓSI || dekiru kotō NARA, || ... 'If (it is) possible ...'; ... MÓSI || hituyoo to ÂREBA || ... 'if it proves necessary' (Gd 1969/9.66b); MÓSI || sunpoo ga ook-i-sugiru TOKI WA || hasami de kireba l yōi 'In the event that the measurements should be too large, you can cut it with scissors' (SA 2650.98b); MÓSI || soo'on no onoyo-sōkutei o site morai-tai TOKI[1] || ... 'In the event that you wish to have a volume measurement on the noise, ...' (SA 2687.119c); MÓSI || koo iu baii no tookei ga || sēibi sarete ita TO || SITÂRA, || ... 'If statistics for such situations were made available ...' (SA 2685.16a); ... MÓSI || o-negai suru hakobi to natta || SÂI NI WA, || yorosiku negai-tāi no de arimus '... in the event that sometime (it should develop that) I request it [= your opinion] of you, I hope you will kindly favor me' (Kaneda in Ono 1967.303); ... MÓSI || nâkkaku ga || soo-zâyoku sita || BAAI NI WA, || 'in the event the cabinet should all resign' (Tk 4.211a); MÓSI || kumiai ga, || mân’iti || kyôka o || site kurenai BAAI NI WA, || 'If there should be a movement to the community association should not grant permission, it is arranged so that an appeal (of dissatisfaction) can be made' (SA ...\(^{107}\)

For example, expressions with Ipippo de wa ... tahōo de wa ... 'On the one hand ... and on the other ...' (cf. §9.2.2).

For example, Sûgu || keisatsu o yondâ no de wa, || Kenedi || giin no deisui “burī ga || bārete simu ‘If they had called the police right away Senator Kennedy’s drunkenness would get exposed” (SA 2637.29b)

Desu kara || watasi wa || soo iu îmi no || sinpâ wa || nai to || kâkusin simasu || nē, || Āta baii wa.[= Āttara] || kai te mo, || ii to || lōmōu n desu ‘So, you see, I firmly believe that there are no worries in that direction. If there were, I think it would be quite all right for you to write about them’ (SA 2671.18e).

Ningen ga inai kotō ni wa sâkkoai-to sei no zitugun wa muzukasii daro ‘Without [enough] human beings the realization of a three-shift [work] system will be difficult’ (SA 2640.19c). With direct nominalization of a literary predicative: ... kotō naî ni [wa] ‘without doing; unless it happens that’ (KKK 3.139). See also -(al)nai wake ni wa ikanai ‘it is impossible not to; one must’, -ru wake ni wa ikanai ‘one can not (possibly); it is impossible to/that ...’.\(^{110}\)
In this section we consider two important morphological categories of modern Japanese: the PROVISIONAL (-réba) and the CONDITIONAL (-tara). In order to account for certain clichés common to modern written Japanese we must notice where the literary language differs from the colloquial in its use of the provisional and also take into account a form we will call the LITERARY HYPOTHETICAL: V-ába, NEGATIVE V-(a)zu [n]ba, A-ku[n]ba. The meanings involved in the several categories are these:

1. 'if = provided (that)', expressing a PERQUISITE condition;
2. 'if = if perchance', a CONTINGENT condition;
3. 'whenever, every time that', a CONSEQUENTIAL condition (a GENERAL or ITERATIVE TEMPORAL condition);
4. 'when (in the past)', a PERFECT TEMPORAL condition;
5. 'when (in the future)', an IMPERFECT TEMPORAL condition;
6. 'because, since', a CAUSAL condition.

The following chart shows the usual differences between the literary and the colloquial languages in expressing these meanings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LITERARY</th>
<th>COLLOQUIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) 'provided that'</td>
<td>-réba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) 'if perchance'</td>
<td>-ába</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§9. Adverbiazations

(3) 'whenever' -réba -réba, -rú to, -té wa

(4) 'when (in the past)' -réba -rú to
(5) 'when (in the future)\footnote{111} -téra [ba]

(6) 'because, since' -réba -rú kara

One of the most common uses of the literary provisional, to express a causal condition, is not preserved by the colloquial language. But the 'because' meaning often carries over into the modern language when kóso 'precisely' is added: V-réba koso is roughly equivalent to V-te irú kara koso/sá and V-(a)nákereba kóso means much the same thing as V-(a)nákatta kará koso/sá. Thus the semi-literary expression Sáreba koso means 'For that very reason' (= Sóo da kará koso), coming from Sárú (< Sá áru) 'It is that way' (= Sóo da). Good examples are found in Mio 88 and 64: Tabérú hitó ga l'área koso l'utte mo l'iru 'I SELL them for the very good reason that there are people who will eat them'; Sore wa l'sadámáte irú; l'sadámáte l'iréba koso l'hakkíri l'ií-kírénaí n da 'That is decided; precisely BECAUSE it is decided I can't give you a straightforward statement'; Íma no l'midáreta yó(-) ni l'irirárenákereba kóso l'hontoo ni l'sensei no l'oóki kótó ga l'wakárimásu 'I appreciate your greatness, sir, precisely because you have been rejected by this corrupt world'. The entire sentence ending in -réba koso is directly predicated in this example: Sore mo l'Sügiko san to iu, l'bóku(-) no l'tikara-dánoní no l'hitó ga l'área koso da to l'omóú 'I think that it is precisely because there is someone named Sugiko to lean upon me'. An example within an adnominalization: ... otto l'ái-suréba koso l'sékku sosu l'kyózeto sezu ni l'iriráne l'hitozuma no sínri o l'riarátuku ni l'egáta l'kono tyóochen-syóøsetu ... 'this novel which has realistically portrayed the psychology of a wife who must refuse her husband sex because she loves him' (SA 2676.99b).

The provisional in such sentences need not be limited to a verbal nucleus:
Itzirúsikereba koso hosigári mo surú n da l'COVET it just because it is so remarkable'.

When the nucleus is nominal, the LITERARY provisional form of the copula (náreba = ni [wa] áreba) is used: Anna nóámáda m o l'onná náréba koso l'makoto-rásku l'nagasérú l'monó ka to ... 'Wondering whether she can cry such genuine tears precisely because she is a woman ...'. Rarely, this expression will include a literary perfect (to be explained below): V-táreba [koso] = V tá kara koso/sá; A-káttareba koso = A-kátta kara koso/sá. Cf. Mio 121. An example: Hito-itibai(-) no l'dóryoku o l'sitáréba koso l'seikoo sitá no desu 'We succeeded precisely because we put in special efforts'.

The SHAPES of the provisional and the conditional forms are confusing, since the colloquial copula borrows the literary hypothetical náréba as its provisional, usually shortening it to nára. When we apply focus to kore nára[-ba] 'if it is this' we get kore dé wa/mo áreba, for it is the equivalent of the literary provisional kore náréba (with the focus kore ni wa/mo áreba), though the latter also—and more commonly—has the meaning 'because it is this', equivalent to the colloquial kore dá kara.

Below you will find a chart that will be helpful in exploring the forms for various predicates. The simple form is explained in terms of the corresponding form under focus-

\footnote{111} Despite the translation, I assume that suréba in the following sentence is a special case of the first meaning ('provided that') rather than a temporal: Kansei suréba l'sekai l'saitoyo to iu l'Seikan-tónneru wa l'... 'The Aomori-Hakodate Tunnel, which [it is said] will be the world's longest when/once it is completed (= upon completion) ...' (SA 2668.58). The literary hypothetical form would be sèba; suréba is the provisional.
§9.3. Conditions

subduing in both literary and colloquial structures. (Note that we are talking only about corresponding FORMS, not about meanings.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LITERARY</th>
<th>COLLOQUIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>exist’</strong> PROV áreba = ári wa suréba</td>
<td>áreba = ári wa suréba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PROV {aránéba = ári wa senéba}</td>
<td>nákereba = (?ári wa sinákereba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYPO araba = ári wa seba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG HYPO arázu{n}ba = ári wa sézu{n}ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘be’</strong> PROV náraba = ni wa áreba</td>
<td>nára-bal = dé wa áreba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PROV {naráneba = ni wa aráneba}</td>
<td>zya/de = dé wa nákereba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYPO narába = ni wa árabba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG HYPO narázu{n}ba = ni wa arázu{n}ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj PROV -káreba = -kú wa áreba</td>
<td>-kéreba = -kú wa áreba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PROV -karázareba = -kú wa arázareba</td>
<td>-ku nákereba = -kú wa nákereba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYPO {? -kárába} = -kú wa árabba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG HYPO -karazu{n}ba = -kú wa arázu{n}ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘do’</strong> PROV suréba = si wa suréba</td>
<td>suréba = si wa suréba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PROV senéba = si wa senéba</td>
<td>sinákereba = si wa sinákereba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYPO séba = si wa séba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG HYPO sézu{n}ba = si wa sézu{n}ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cons Vb PROV C-éba = C-i wa suréba</td>
<td>C-éba = C-i wa suréba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PROV {C-anéba = C-i wa senéba}</td>
<td>C-anákereba = C-i wa sinákereba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYPO C-ába = C-i wa seba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG HYPO C-azu{n}ba = C-i wa sézu{n}ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vow Vb PROV V-réba = V wa suréba</td>
<td>V-réba = V wa suréba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PROV {V-néba = V wa senéba}</td>
<td>V-nákereba = V wa sinákereba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYPO V-ba = V wa seba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG HYPO V-zu{n}ba = V wa sézu{n}ba</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The forms for the copula must be carefully distinguished from the homonymous forms of nár- ‘become’:

náraba = nári wa áreba (literary and colloquial provisional ‘become’) = ni wa áreba (literary provisional ‘be’)

Common clichés made with the hypothetical include iwába(‘so to speak’ (= itte míreba), náraba ‘if possible, preferably’, suki árabba ‘given an opening, at the least/first

112. The unfocused nuclear split -ku áreba for -kéreba occurs in written materials, perhaps as an ellipsis -ku [sae] áreba; see p. 316 (§5).

113. But bases of more than one syllable will replace the front vowel (i or e) with u. Thus (SA 2660.136d) we find nagamüreba = colloquial nagaméraba ‘upon scrutiny’. The attributive (= adnominal) form is similar: nagamúru kotô = nagamérú kotô. Cf. §13.8a.
opportunity’, sinába [morotomo] ‘if death [then together]’, sikáraba ‘if so’ (from siká ári ‘it is so’) = sáraba (from sá ári ‘is so’) — also used for ‘farewell’ (sayoo nára): Isógaba maware ‘If in a hurry, take the long way around’. Yorábá táizyu no káge ‘If you are going to lean, (choose) a large tree’ (= ‘If you must rely on someone, make it someone of influence’); Hitó o norowaba aná hútatu to yara de, ‘As they say, he who curses will get cursed, …’ (Okitsu 1.311); Ugókaba koso útu zó ‘One move and I shoot!’; … The negative hypothetical turns up in sikarazunba ‘if not so; otherwise; or else’. Sometimes V-(a)zu[n]-ba narána (or the like) will appear where you expect V-(a)nákereba narána ‘must’; V-(a)zu[n]-ba is equivalent to V-(a)nákute wa or V-(a)nái de wa or V-(a)nai to ‘unless’. But in these expressions you will also find V-(a)zu wa (the literary negative infinitive, sub-dued) usually contracted to V-(a)za’a, as in the example of kóz’’aa naránee = kónákereba narána ‘must come’ cited in §8.5. The adjective hypothetical A-ku[n]-ba turns up in the sentence-introducer áwa-yókuba ‘if things go well’—awa- is a bound noun of obscure etymology, perhaps derived from áw- ‘meet’; here is another example of A-ku-ba = A-kérebá: Mósí, î sensé ga o-yorosikú-ba (= o-yorosikérebá), î kón’ya ni de mo, î o-ture simuló keredo … ‘If you wish, I will accompany you this very night (but …)’ (Fn 378b).

And the colloquial copula provisional, as we have observed, is borrowed from the literary hypothetical narába, and usually shortened to nára.114 But Yoshida (436), mindful of the differences in meaning, would derive nára by contraction from literary nár[eb]a rather than by apocopeation from nárá[ba]; colloquial narába would thus presumably be considered a new formation. The literary language makes provisional and hypothetical forms on the perfect: the provisional is -tareba, borrowed into the colloquial when followed by kóso (as mentioned earlier), and the hypothetical is -táraba. The latter is usually taken to be the origin of the colloquial conditional -tara[-ba]; but Yoshida (225), mindful of the differences in meaning, derives colloquial -tara from -táraya, a contraction of -táraba, thus presumably making colloquial -tara ba a new formation rather than a continuation of the literary -táraba. (See the corresponding etymology for nára, above.) For perfect conditionals V-i-s-eba (aríséba, nákáriséba), see p. 575.

Similar in form to the provisional is the literary CONCESSIVE: áre[-do], náre[-do], A-kéreb[-do], suré[-do], C-é[-do], V-ré[-do].115 Verbal negatives have the form -(a)né[-do]: Búsi wa kuwáne-dô ta-yaóózí ‘For the warrior [it is important to maintain] a high tooth-pick though he does not eat = Appearances must be maintained despite poverty’. The -do can be highlighted with mó: Barúto-kái [sic] wa î lénkí [ga] seiró náre-dô mo î lámî [ga] lákakatta ‘The Baltic Sea was fair weather but heavy seas’ (SA 2666.84b); Kóe wa î suré-dô mo î lágatá wá î miénwá î dorór [da] ‘It’s a case of hearing their voices but not seeing their [figures]’ faces’ (SA 2684.118e). The literary concessive expressions are roughly equivalent in meaning to the colloquial -tè mo (or -t’átte) ‘even if/though’ or -i-nagara [mo] (§ 9.1.3); ... tô wa ie[-do] [mo] = tô [wa] itte mo = tô wa i-i-nagara ‘though one says that …’ is a way to thematize a concession: Daigaku-byóoín to ie-do mo byoooin wa byooin

114. In parts of the northeast the hypothetical forms in -aba are still used where the standard language would use conditional forms in -tara (Zhs 1.211).

115. In the literary language it is considered obligatory for a sentence to end in the concessive form (always without -do) when it contains a kóso-marked adjunct: Kore kóso kúsyákere ‘Precisely this is vexing’. Set phrases of this sort will turn up in the colloquial: Katakí kóso l tigae (or: lu kotó kóso l tigae) Í kângáwa wa Íonázi da ‘To be precise, the form differs (or: the way it is said differs) but the idea is the same’. This usage is still heard in Hachijó-jima and it turns up in set expressions in a number of other dialects (see Kindaichi in Kóza-kokugo-shi 1.156).
§9.3. Conditions

[da] ‘it may be a “university hospital” but a hospital is a hospital’ (SA 2685.62d); Tasyoo no tate-masi ga atta to wa (1) ie, II tatémôno wa II tóoozí no II mama ‘Although there have been some additions the building remains much the same’ (SA 2688.26a). Paired literary concessives will turn up in clichés such as mâte-do {mo} kurase-do {mo} ‘though one waits, though one lives’, as in these examples: Sikái, II mâte-do II kurase-do II kizýûn-kyuu no I hoje mo I yóku I nárazu, “But long though we wait the base pay itself gets no better, and ...” (SA 2660.153b); Tokoró-ga, II mâte-do II kurase-do, II Š-k’un wa II sutázio(“) II arawaréna ‘But wait as we would, young S did not appear in the studio’ (SA 2655.111a) – on the imperfect negative translated by the English past, see p. 603; ... mâte-do mo I kurase-do mo II tugu nain o II sinain desu ‘wait as we will they make no reparation’ (SA 2681.45b). Another pair of literary concessives, highlighted: ... Káru to iu I inú wa, II turete arúku to II imó-yá no I máe ni I tati-domari, II HIKÉ-DO mo II ŌSE-DO mo II limó [o] kau I mãe wall ugokánu to iu I inú datta ‘... a dog named Karl was a dog that when walked would stop in front of a sweet-potato seller’s and, whether you pulled or you pushed, not move till you bought a sweet potato’ (SA 2663.102). The same pair without the highlighting: ... osé-do I hiké-do II boo wa II biku to mo (1) sezu, ‘push it or pull it, the rod wouldn’t budge ...’ (SA 2678.140ab). A different pair: Noruwee-seki no I kamotu-sen (1) ga tuuka sitá ga, II yóbé-do II wáméke-do, II dàre mo kanpán(“) II arawarénakatta ‘A freighter of Norwegian registry passed by, but call and yell as we would nobody appeared on deck’ (SA 2673.71c). You will also find the literary concessive unpaired: Nusúmi wa I suré-do, II hidoo(“) wa I sezu ‘Though I may steal [things], I commit no atrocities’ (SA 2642.104d); notice the predicative use of the literary negative infinitive sezu. Another reading: Nusúmi wa suré-do ... ‘Though I commit theft, ...’—with the verbal noun derived from the infinitive rather than nuclear focus.

We are following Japanese grammarians in treating A-kâre, âre, and N de âre as imperatives (§16.1), even in their special uses that resemble the concessive, such as sinrui(“) de âre kiumi(“) de âre ‘whether it be a relative or an acquaintance’ (SA 2665.36c) and nâh to mo âre ‘whatever (it) may be’. Other ways of stating concessions will be found in §17.6 and §21.5 (literary tentative + ga/to).

You may run across a provisional verb form made on the polite stylization -mâsu (§22.1), but according to Tsujimura 203 the form -mâseba is “not standard” and the form -mâsureba was never common, even in earlier periods.

The perfect hypothetical and concessive are sometimes used in modern written Japanese, as is the perfect attributive (= adnominal) form -târu; see §9.5.

Hayashi 107-8 calls our attention to a usage that can be called the OBSERVATIONAL CONDITION, to be translated ‘When ... (what was noticed was) ...’ or ‘Upon ...-ing I notice(d) that ...’, as in his examples: Usiroyo mirû to, II Nakamurâ-kun(“) ga II niko-niko waratte iru ‘When I looked back I saw Nakamura smiling’—I assume the imperfect here is used as a narrative (or vivid) past; Aša I ōkitel mirû to, II sôra ga II hâretê ita ‘When I got up in the morning I found the sky clear’; Kaizyyoo ni ittâra, II máda II hitô I mo kote I inâkatta ‘When I went to the meeting hall (I found that) there was no one there yet’; Zyón ga II áruiete I târa, II saihu ga II ōtite ita ‘Walking along John noticed a purse lying on the ground’. Perhaps this is a similar example: Hitó-yama I koséball môô II Nagano-ken da ‘One mountain beyond and you are in Nagano Prefecture’ (SA 2684.62d).
Since there is more than one way to state a condition, it might seem possible to embed conditions within conditions without the nagging of a repeated form, but I have had difficulty eliciting examples.\textsuperscript{116} It is, of course, possible to make a condition out of variously formed complex sentences, e.g. gerund-conjoined as in ... yasu̱ku katte II taka̱ku | ureba | moo̱kuru ‘You make money if you buy cheap and (then) sell dear’ (SA 2684.48a). And in the following example the negative provisional is applied to a sentence which has earlier applied a favor conversion (§10) to infinitive-conjoined sentences: Kekekyoukii | seii|ka ga | motto | umai | seizi o yari, | kyooioku-ka ga | tyan- to | sita kyooioku o yatte kurenakereba, | kono zoootai wa | tuzukimasu I ne ‘After all, unless the politicians favor us by carrying on with a more skillful politics and the educators by carrying on a proper education, these conditions will continue to exist, you know’ (Tk 3.6a).

The ending -(r)e ba optionally shortens to -(r)ya[a]\textsuperscript{117} and the ending -kereba optionally shortens to -kerya[a] or further to -kyâ[a]. A shape such as /kakyâ/ can represent an abbreviation of either kâki wa or kâkeba. Both -(an)kerya[a] and -(an)kyâ[a] are old-fashioned abbreviations of -(an)nakereba, by way of -(an)nakerya[a] and -(an)kyâ[a] . In Kansai speech the form -(n)ebâ is used in place of -(n)nakereba; it contracts to -(n)nya, and sometimes further to -(n)na. In place of -(n)naI the traditional Kansai form is -(n)nu and that shortens to -(n), as we find in the polite negative -masen even for the standard language; corresponding to -(n)nu to, another way to state a negative condition (‘unless ’...’), Kansai speech has -(n)to. In written Japanese you will often run across such Kansai-like forms as Kakânereba naran[u] = Kakánakereba naranai ‘must write’ and in the Kansai area you will hear such things as Kaerâny[a] corresponding to standard Kaerânak[er]ya = Kaerânakereba ‘(I’ve) gotta go home’ or the synonymous Kaerân to [ikan]akan = Kaerânai to [ikenai] . The Kansai counterparts of sinaI and sinâker[y]a = sinâkerereba are senu and senêba (or sênya or sêna), respectively, but seuzaIba is sometimes used in place of senêba; cf. Ikazu- ba naru ‘mâi = Ikanâkerereba naranai daroo ‘I guess I must go’.

Expressions such as (sinâkerereba naranai) = sêny[a] naran will sometimes reduce further to sên naran or even, in rapid speech, sên nân. For some dialects it would be appropriate to set up an ending -(a)nn[a][a]; an Osaka example: dasân naran ‘must send’ (SA 2676.132d).

Examples of various contractions of provisional forms: Aa, | hanâ | tukutt’ okya | yokatta | nâa ‘Oh, I wish I had grown flowers!’ (SA 2686.37c) = tukutte okëba yokatta; Sore de pensiriin de mo | tukayâa, | sugaI naottimau ‘Then if you use penicillin or something, it’ll clear up right away’ (Tk 4.2ab) = tu kaeba, sugu naottte simau; Nâni ka to I omoyaa, | tairyoo-gyâkusatu no | kottesu kara I ná ‘[The word “purge” is cleverly chosen] because you wonder what it may be when what it refers to is mass slaughter’ (Tk 2.160b).

\textsuperscript{116} These may be examples: Kono syoōbai e | hâittara, | yositaI, | waIasi waI | syoooi sinaI ‘If once in this business you should quit, I won’t approve’ (R); Moo, | tawakusi ga ikite ireba, | mO石, | ârita ga I kono syoōbai [o] | yositaI, | mooI, | korosite simau [soko] makè iwaremasite ‘... ‘Now, so long as I am alive if you should quit this business, then I’ll kill you’—I was even told that [by my mother]’ (R).

\textsuperscript{117} lêba ‘if one says’ shortens to iyâ[a], ireba ‘if one stays’ or ‘if one needs’ to iyâ[a], and ireba ‘if one shoôts (an arrow)’ to iyâ[a]. Notice also V-tee [i]iyâ[a] = ireba; V-tee ârya[a] = areba; V-te miyâ[a] = mireba; V-te moraya[a] = moraeba; V-te simaya[a] = simaeba, V-timaya[a] = V-timaeba = V-te simaeba, V-tya[a] = V-tyaeba = V-te simaeba; V-tee [i]kyâ[a] = V-tee ikaeba; V-te kuryâ[a] = kureba; V-te kureryâ[a] = kurerereba; V-t’okya[a], V-te okya[a] = V-te okëba; ...
omóeba ... kotó desu kara ná; ... úso o i iyá, ll ... ‘if he’s telling a lie’ (Kb 105b) = iéba; Nihón no ll yaráná l narán l kadai wa ... ‘The problems that Japan must handle ...’ (SA 2679.46c) = yaránákeréba naráná; ... yaránáa, ll iken ... ‘must do’ (SA 2689.147c) = yaránákeréba ikenai; ... iron-na riakusyon o l kangáénya ikan ‘we have to think of the various reactions’ (SA 2678.48b, Kanagawa-born Hatano Akirá) = kangáénakéreba (ikanai =) ikenai; Gensoku tó ka l kati-kan to ka, ll sisin nári ll mokuhyoo nári o, ll sekinin-sya wa ll simesáná ikan to omóu n desu ‘Principles and values, directions and goals must be shown by the responsible people, I think’ (SA 2678.48b, Id.) = simesánákeréba (ikanai =) ikenai; ... sono mae ni ll keikaku o ll yóo l kikána ikan ‘one must carefully inquire into the plans in advance’ (SA 2686.49a, the mayor of Nara’s Asuka village) = yóoku kikánákeréba ikenai; ... sore ní wa ll kan o kakaéna ikan ‘for that one must spend money’ (SA 2686.49b., Id.) = kakaénákeréba ikenai; ... sena ikan ‘must make it ...’ (SA 2686.49-50, Id.) = sinákéreba ikenai; ... sen to l akán ‘must do it’ = sinai to ikenai; Só yá kara, ll sake wa ll kúuki no l ée i tókó de l tyozoo séna i kan no desu l né ‘So you have to store liquors in a place with good air, you see’ (Tk 4.76a, Osaka speaker) = Sóo da kara, sake wa kúuki no íí tokoró de tyozoo sinákéreba naráná no desu né; ... yóozin l sénkerya l narán ‘we must be careful’ (Tk 3.17a–Niigata speaker) = yóozin sinákéreba naráná.

9.3.1. The provisional: -réba.

Provisionals are freely made from virtually all sentences, including causatives, passives, desideratives, negatives, sentences containing exaltation, gerund + auxiliary, etc. The provisional negative translates as ‘provided/if ... does/is not’ or ‘unless ... does/is’. This leads to the expressions of obligation V-(a)nákéreba + naráná, ikenai, or damé da; there are synonyms V-(a)náku te wa + ikenai, naráná, or damé da (§9.2.2) and V-(a)zu ni orarénai (§9.6), all of which also mean ‘must’.

118 Just as V-(a)náku te wa ikenai is optionally shorted to V-(a)nákutyá (§9.2.2), similarly V-(a)nákéreba naráná can be shortened to V-(a)nákerya or V-(a)nákyá—in Kansai also V-(a)nkyá, V-(a)ná, V-(a)na: Kaérán[k(]ya, Kaérán[k(]ya, Kaérán[k(]ya ‘Gotta go (home)’; Kotosi wa l mata, ll atarási l te o l kangáéńakya ‘This year again I gotta think up a new gimmick’ (SA 2680.114e); ... go-ongáesi sinákéreba [naránai] tte l kimoti ga tuyoi ... ‘I have a strong feeling that I must repay my obligations ...’ (SA 2670.113b)—tte represents tó iu.

The negative provisional can be (pro-)predicated and adnominalized to the noun zyookén(‘) with the meaning ‘(under) the condition that it not happen’: Hutatabi l kono utí(‘) no (1) siki o l matagánákeréba l nó l zyookén(‘) de, ll kóno no (1) mondai wa l yat-tó yurusité moratta ‘I was finally forgiven the recent affair, on the condition that I never cross the threshold of this house again’.

118. There are subtle differences between naráná and ikenai (or damé da): ikenai and damé are common ways to warn someone else not to do something, and sinákéreba ikenai (or sinákute wa ikenai) will not mean ‘I must do it’ unless you are speaking of an obligation that is objectively expected of you as a regular thing. For a single act sinákéreba ikenai will mean ‘you (or he) must do it’ and the corresponding form for ‘I’ will be sinákéreba naráná. The forms V-(a)nákéreba naráná (etc.) and V-(a)náku te wa naráná (etc.) are characteristic of eastern (Kantō) dialects and the western (Kansai) version is V-(a)néba narán[u], but you will come across such blends as V-(a)nákéreba narán[u] and V-(a)néba naráná (Y 186); the forms in general became popular in written Japanese during the Meiji period. Our discussion centers on the verbal obligation forms, but there are similar forms for adjectives and nouns: Sinzyukú de nákereba naráná ‘It has to be Shinjuku [for me to find it enjoyable etc.]’ (R).
The forms of the provisional, as we have observed, are made by attaching the endings V-(r)ēba, A-kērea, N nāra. In dialects of the northeast, e.g. Iwate, speakers use N dāra (Zhs 1.317). And in more formal styles, as in public speeches or written materials, you will come across the uncontracted copula in the form N de āreba.

One common use of the provisional is to introduce a sentence meaning 'does/is the more .. .' or the structure that means 'the more one does/is the more .. .': S₁ → S₁-rēba S₁-ru hodo/dake S₂. The sentence may be verbal, adjectival, or nominal, and the provisional can be replaced by the conditional S-tāra (giving it an unreal flavor 'might ... would') but not by S-(r)u tō (§ 17.2) or S-tē wa: Kono hō o yūmeba I yōmu hodo/dake walakū 'The more I read of this book the more I understand it' (or: ... yōndara ... wakarū desyoo); Ōokikērea I ookī hodo/dake i i 'The bigger the better' (or: ... ōokikattara ... ii daroo); Sizuka nara I sizuka nara hodo/dake sukī da 'The quieter it is the better I like it' (or: ... dattara ... suki daroo); Sirēba I siru dake i i wakaranaku I naru 'The more I find out, the less I come to understand' (SA 2680.103a).

As our first example shows, in the hodo/dake phrase adjuncts need not be repeated with the predicate. A verbal noun may be omitted in the hodo/dake phrase: Sirabērea I sirabēru hodo i i kenkyuu sureba I [kenkyuu+ suru hodo i i ] monogoto wa, I kongaragātte i i walakaranaku I nātte I kūru 'The more they investigate and the more they research, the more complicated and unclear things get' (SA 2662.28a). You need not repeat the gerund of a gerund-lexical phrase: ... sittereba I [ ] i ru hodo i i 'the more you know, the more .. .' (BJ 2.245.32). In place of N nāra N na hodo, you will sometimes find N de āreba [N de āru hodo: ... rippa na hito de āreba I āru hodo, I I 'the finer a person he is, the more .. .' (SA 2680.44a). Rather than the colloquial provisional of the copula nara [-ba], writers will sometimes prefer the literary provisional nāreba, especially after an adjectival noun: Nēssin nareba nēssin no hodo/dake yoi 'The more enthusiastic, the better'. (Remember that nāreba with -abā is the literary hypothetical of the copula.) Instead of N ga A-i hodo/dake you may find A-i N hodo/dake: Takai I hayā hodo I I hāyaku I husagattyā I n desu 'The more expensive the rooms [in the hotel] the sooner they are filled' (Tk 3.234a).

The condition can be dropped: Yōmu hodo/dake I walakū (daroo) 'The more I read the more I understand'; Soo i i ten de de ātatarasi I I zisyo hodo I I i i to i i kōto ni naru 'In that respect it is a case of [saying] the newer the dictionary the better' (Shibata 1966.145).

Either or both sentences may be negative, with 'more' changed to 'less': Kāre ni I awānakerēba I awānai hodo I I 'The less I see of him the better' (or: ... awanakattara ... i i daroo); Kāre ni I ēba I ēru hodo I i ai-taku I nāru I naru 'The more I see of him, the less I want to see him' (or: ... attara ... naru daroo); Kāre ni I awānakērea I awānai hodo I I ai-taku I nāku I naru 'The less I see of him, the less I want to see him' (or: ... awānakattara ... naru daroo).

Observe the use of the provisional (and its synonyms) in the following expressions:119
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(-tā to surēba} & \quad (§ 11 + § 21.4 + § 9.3) \\
\text{\(-tā no nara} & \quad (§ 11 + § 14.2 + § 9.3) \\
\text{\(-tā no de wa} & \quad (§ 11 + § 14.2 + § 9.2.2) \\
\text{\(-tā no zya} & \quad \text{‘if (say) one should .. .’}
\end{align*}
\]

119. And also: (\(-rū/-tā ni o mīreba = -rū/-tā kara ni wa ‘seeing that ...; just because ...’; (\(-kotō o kangaē)-rebā toozen no kotō da ‘it is natural to (think that ...)’.

\[\]
Each of these also occurs with the imperfect ‘if (one does) ...’ or the like, so the listener should be prepared to hear all the following forms:

- $V$-rú n zya = $V$-rú no de wa
- $V$-tá n zya = $V$-tá no de wa
- A-í n zya = A-í no de wa
- A-kátta n zya = A-kátta no de wa
- N ná n zya = N ná no de wa
- N dátta n zya = N dátta no de wa

An example: Sorya, rakugo o l sasimukai de kiitá n zya, ll omosiróku mo ll okásiku mo ll nái ‘But if you were to listen to vaudeville patter tète-à-tête it would be neither interesting nor comical’ (Tk 3.145a).

Translation of the negative provisional—and synonyms sinai tó (§17.2), sinai kótó ni wa [usually + negative] (§14.1)—is often smoother with English ‘unless’ + affirmative (sinákereba ‘provided one does not do = unless one does’).

Either the provisional or the conditional—or $S$-$rú$ + tó (but not $S$-té wá)—can be used to express a wish: O-káne o mòraéba (morau tó, morattára) ìí no ni ... ‘If I get the money it will/would be nice, but ...’ = ‘If I get the money’ or ‘I wish I would get the money’. Examples: Sosité ijima o tukùtte ñono yóó na à yuùzin to iissyo ni ìì hakubutú-kan ìì bìyùtú-kan o lììtò kùru to ìì ‘And then I hope to find time to go see museums and galleries with friends of that sort’ (SA 2665.121a); Moo sukósi i se ga takái to ìì ‘I wish I were a bit taller’ (Hayashi 135); Senseï ìì gò-zaitadu da to l yóî to l omóù ‘I hope the teacher is home’ (ibid.). Sometimes a more literal translation is appropriate: Tama ni wà, ìì hitóri de ìì yatte miru to l yóî no da ‘Every now and then it’s good to try doing it alone’ (ibid.).

Often only the condition is expressed, with the desirability implied: O-káne o mòraéba (morau tó, morattára) ... ní ‘If only I were to get the money, you see ...’. If the unfulfilled wish is pushed to the past, the conditional is required: O-káne o morattára yokatta no ni ... ‘I wish I had got the money (but I didn’t get it)’. Although the statement of approval that concludes the sentences, when expressed, is typically íî (= yóî), occasionally an unusual synonym will turn up: Dekíreba tyûkintoo-kinmu keikèn-sya [or: tyûkintokinmu-keikèn-sya] de Arabia-go ga hanesèreba bètää [da] ‘If possible, it would be better [= we would prefer it] if he were someone with work experience in the Middle East and able to speak Arabic’ (SA 2665.19e—from a job description). The condition is sometimes focused with sàe: Kenkòo de ìì súnao de sàe àrèba ìì ‘All they have to be is healthy and obedient’ (SA 2642.40)—from kenkoo de súnao nàra, the provisionalization of kenkoo de súnao da, a gerund-conjoining of two adjectival nouns.

When the provisional (or the equivalents -té wá or -rú tó) means ‘whenever’ it can be followed by either the imperfect or the perfect in the later clause; but when followed by the imperfect the provisional is also sometimes used to mean ‘when (in the future)’, equivalent to-tára. Accordingly a sentence like Áme ga hûreba (hütte wa, hûru to) YASÚMÚ can mean either ‘Whenever it rains we (always) rest’ = Áme ga hûreba (etc.) yasúmu monó da; or ‘When/If it rains we will rest’ = Áme ga hûttaa yasúmu, depending on whether the imperfect is taken to be iterative (habitual) in meaning or to refer to a single act in the future. But Áme ga hûreba YASÚNDA can mean only ‘Every time it would rain we would rest’, more or less the equivalent of Áme ga hûreba yasúmu datta ‘We used to rest when it rained’. The only way you can say ‘When it rained we rested (= stopped)’ to refer
to a single time in the past is by using the conditional: ̈ame ga HÚTTARA yasúnda. Cf. KKK 23.234. (Exceptions to this description are those perfects that are made on the conjoined sentences explained in §9.3.2.)

Hayashi 135 describes a use of the provisional copula following a noun or a directly nominalized verbal or adjectival sentence, in which the condition (‘if it be N₁’) is immediately followed by a permissive conclusion ‘it is satisfactory for it to be N₁’:

Pán nara l pá̂n de l sì, ll góhan nara l góhan de mo l ı́ı ‘If it’s bread, that’s all right; and if it’s rice, that’s all right, too’; Iyá nara l iyá de [mo] l ı́ı ‘It doesn’t have to be liked’; Áru nara l áru de l yóí sì, ll nái nara l nái de [mo] l yóí (or: nái nara l nákute [mo] l yóí) ‘If there is some, fine; if there isn’t, fine’; Káeru nara l káeru de [mo] l ı́ı ‘You/We don’t have to stay’; Káetta nara l káetta de [mo] l ı́ı ‘It doesn’t matter if he’s left’; Káeránakatta nara l káeránakatta de [mo] l ı́ı ‘It’s all right if he didn’t leave’; Takái nara l takái de [mo] l ı́ı sì, ll yásuí nara l yásuí de [mo] l ı́ı (or: ... takakute mo ı́ı sì, ... yásukute mo ı́ı) ‘I don’t care whether it is expensive or cheap’. When two such statements are put next to each other for contrast, either or both can be highlighted: ... dé [mo] yóí. But if the first is highlighted, the second is likely to be highlighted also.

The provisional will sometimes set up a rhetorical question that immediately introduces an explanation: Náze nara ... no dá kara ‘(If we ask why) the reason is that ...’. A similar usage will introduce a highlighted potential: ... éba l é mo l síoó (= súñ daroo) kerendo l ... ‘It can, of course, probably be said that ... but’ (Maeda 1962.79); Motóro koko de l náze l wára gá l okóatta ka, ll bunseki súrebá l bunseki mo dekíru ‘You can, of course, analyze why a laugh occurred here’ (Maeda 1962.79). And this is very similar to expressions of the type N₁ nára N₁ (dé) and N₁ mo N₁ nára N₂ (...), for which see p. 245 (§3.10).

Expressions of the type V₁-reba V₁-tá de are a lively way to say V-ta baai ga áreba/ áttara ‘if/when it happens that it has occurred’, made by the gerund conversion of a direct nominalization (predicated) of an iterative construction ‘if does V₁ then did V₁’:

[Bootoo súrebá l ‘Gáizin gu kátta kara’ l tó l setuméi saraké kíta. ll Ságáreba l ságátta de, l mátá l ‘Gáizin gu uttá kara’ l l to sú no wá l okásíkú wá l nái ká ‘[When prices soared it got explained with ‘It’s because foreigners have been buying’.] When they have had occasion to fall isn’t it odd to say again ‘It’s because foreigners have been selling’?’ (SA 2679.28bc).

When the iterative construction is adnominalized to ... monó da it can be used to report a vivid reaction ‘incredible though it seems, it actually did happen’: Hídói (l) gakkai ga l áreba l átta l monó da ‘There was never such a dreadful (scholarly) meeting!’ (SA 2650.121a). The iterated verb need not be perfect; we also find V₁-reba V₁-ru monó da: Kawáreba l kawaru monó de aru ‘He is much changed’ (Fn 171a). Cf. the use of ttára and ttéba, §21.2.

There are a number of sentence-opening clichés that are framed as provisional predicates, e.g. gáí-síte éba ‘generally speaking’. See §24 for examples.

9.3.2. Conjoining parallel sentences with the provisional.

One use of the provisional is to conjoin parallel sentences with corresponding adjuncts that are highlighted by mó: Kaze mo húkeba ll āme mo l húru ‘The wind blows and it rains, too’—cf. Kaze ga húkeba ll āme mo l húru ‘Whenever the wind blows it rains, too’ (§5.4);
§9.3.2. Conjoining parallel sentences with the provisional

Sakana mo tōreba | ryō mo suru ‘We both fish and hunt’; Tyōosyo mo | àreba | kettén(”) mo (1) áru ‘It has its merits and its faults’ (Nagano 1966.164);  O-kane mo nákereba | zikan mo nái ‘I have neither the time nor the money’; íroíro | soko ni wa | okasii kotō mo | àreba | kanasii kotō mo | átta ‘All kinds of things happened there, both amusing things and sad’ (Kb 13a); Eigo mo wakarānákereba | Huransu-go mo hanasānai ‘I understand no English nor do I speak French’; ìi | hanasi mo | mimí ni háireba | warúi | hanasi mo | kiita ‘Good stories have come to my ears but I have also heard bad ones’. As the last example shows, the ‘corresponding’ adjuncts correspond SEMANTICALLY but not always in grammatical form; here the condition contains the underlying intransitive sentence hanasi ga nái háire and the conclusion contains the underlying transitive sentence hanasi o kiita, with the subject of the former and the object of the latter in semantic correspondence.

When the adjuncts are grammatically as well as semantically correspondent AND when the verb is identical, the sentence can (optionally) be reduced: Watasi mo (| ikeba) | ootoó mo | iku ‘Both my brother and I are going’; Titi kara mo (| moraeba) | hāa kara | moratta ‘I got some from both my father and my mother’; ... ue kará mo (| miraeba) | sita kará mo | mirarérú ... ‘it can be viewed both from above and from below’ (Tk 4.156b); ... konō-goro(”) wa | watsai nádo | kodomo no kóo ni wa | mira kotō mo (| nákereba) | kiita kotō mo | nái yōo na | nín ga | hüe | kiita ‘... lately dogs have proliferated of a sort that had never been seen or heard of when WE were children’ (SA 2663.103c).

Instead of the adjuncts, the nucleus of each predicate itself can take the highlighting: Hatarákî mo (| suréba) asobi mo si-násai ‘Both work and play!’ Or, with verbal nouns: Sigoto mo (| suréba) undoo mo si-násai ‘Engage in both work and sports’. The conjoined sentence need not be verbal: Mizičaka mo (| àreba) | jášuku mo | áru ‘It is both short and cheap’; ... gyōosya | itótte wa | ìtaku mo (| nákereba) | káyuku mo | nái ‘the dealers (neither hurt nor itch =) couldn’t care less’ (SA 2666.20b); Heyá wa | kiréi de mo (| àreba) | sisuka de mo | áru ‘The room is both clean and quiet’; Kore dé mo (| nákereba) | sore dé mo | nái ‘It is neither this nor that’.

Adjectival nouns can be conjoined with adjectives: Naru-hodo | ká-re-ka | mōzí wa | ìmaku mo | nákereba | kiréi de mo | nái ‘To be sure, the characters they write are neither very good nor very neat’ (SA 2659.134b); Mattakù|hugai-nákù mo | àreba | teizoku na kónzyoo de mo | áru ‘He is both pusillanimous and has a vulgar nature’ (Fn 12a)—this example is peculiar in using AN na N as if the entire phrase were an adjectival noun. But the reduction is possible only if the adjectival noun appears in the conclusion: Heyá wa | jášuku mo (| àreba) | kiréi de mo | áru ‘The room is both cheap and clean’—with or without the reduction; Heyá wa | kiréi de mo | àreba | jášuku mo | áru ‘The room is both clean and cheap’—ONLY with no reduction.120

When unreduced, all such expressions are ambiguous: the sentence may be taken as

120. More examples with adjectival and adjectival noun: Ano apáato wa | hiroku mo (| àreba) | ánka de mo | áru kara, | kariyo kó to | omotte imásu ‘I am thinking of renting that apartment since it is both spacious and cheap’; Ano apáato wa | ánka de mo | àreba | hiroku mo | áru kara | kariyó kó to | omotte imásu ‘I am thinking of renting that apartment since it is both cheap and spacious’; Ano apáato wa | hiroku mo (| nákereba) | ánka de mo | nái kara, | damé desyoo ‘That apartment would be no good because it is neither spacious nor cheap’; Ano apáato wa | ánka de mo | nákereba | hiroku mo | nái kara, | damé desyoo ‘That apartment would be no good because it is neither cheap nor spacious’.
Adverbializations

Often tightly conjoined in this special sense (somewhat like that of Sentence + si §17.3) or it may be taken as loosely conjoined in any of the several meanings of the provisional. The difference in interpretation will generally be slight. Sometimes an adverbial element is used to introduce the second part of the (unreduced) expression: Norite o usinatta umá mo liréba, HANTAI Ní liréba mo lusinatthié mo lita ‘There were both horses that had lost their riders and, conversely, soldiers who had lost their horses’ (Ig 1962.93).

The following is an example of an adverbial conjunction of this sort seem to be semantically parallel, and the focus can sometimes be applied to unparallel parts of the two sentences, as in the first of the following three examples: Sono basyo wa Ténki ga l'yóku mo l'àreba l'kootuu mo [1] bénri da ‘That place has both good weather and convenient transportation’; Sono basyo wa Ténki ga l'yóku mo l'àreba l'kootuu ga l'bénri de mo l'àru ‘That place both has good weather and (has) convenient transportation’; Sono basyo wa l’ténki mo l'yókereba l'kootuu mo [1] bénri da ‘That place is both good for its weather and convenient for its transportation’. But such sentences are unlikely to be reduced: *... yókereba l'kootuu mo bénri da.

9.3.3. The conditional: -tara.

Sentences can make a conditional form that means ‘if’, ‘when’, or sometimes (as a substitute for -réba) ‘whenever’. The possible meanings vary with the tense and aspect of the sentence to which the conditionalized sentence is attached, as follows:

\[ S_1\text{-tara} + S_2\text{-tà} \] ‘WHEN \( S_1 \) happened \( S_2 \) happened’
\[ (S_1\text{-tara} + S_2\text{-tà}) + \text{daroo} \] ‘probably WHEN \( S_1 \) happened \( S_2 \) happened’
\[ S_1\text{-tà} + (S_2\text{-tà} \text{ daroo}) \] ‘IF \( S_1 \) happened \( S_2 \) probably happened’
\[ S_1\text{-tà} + S_2\text{-rü} \]
\[ (1) \] ‘IF \( S_1 \) happens \( S_2 \) will happen’
\[ (2) \] ‘WHEN \( S_1 \) happens \( S_2 \) will happen’
\[ (3) \] ‘WHENEVER \( S_1 \) happens \( S_2 \) happens’ (= \( S_1\text{-réba} \) ... )
\[ (S_1\text{-tà} + S_2\text{-rü} + \text{daroo} \]
\[ (1) \] ‘probably (1), (2), (3) [above]’
\[ S_1\text{-tà} + (S_2\text{-rü} \text{ daroo}) \]
\[ (1) \] ‘IF \( S_1 \) happens \( S_2 \) will probably happen’
\[ (2) \] ‘WHEN \( S_1 \) happens \( S_2 \) will probably happen’

Notice that the order of application of TENTATIVE (§12.1)—before or after sentence conjoining—makes a difference in the meaning. This can be signalled by juncture: an underlying minor juncture may separate the tentative that is applied to the larger sentence: ... hanásu l'ódaroo and akerú[1] l'ódaroo versus ... hanásu darō and ... akerú darō.

In contrast with the provisional ‘if’—meaning ‘provided that’ and indicating a 50-50
likelihood—the conditional ‘if’ means ‘suppose that’ and implies doubt or unreality; thus, if the concluding sentence is to be in the past it must be put into the perfect tentative -tā (§ 12.1): Sono hōn o yōndara wakātta (da)roō ‘If I had read that book I would have understood’. Otherwise the meaning will be ‘when’: Sono hōn o yōndara wakātta ‘When I read that book I understood’; To o akete mitāra sōto wa akari tukiyō datta ‘When I opened the door (to see) it was a bright moonlit night outside’. (But if the tentative is applied AFTER the two sentences are conjoined a wider range of meanings is possible, as shown above.) When the concluding sentence is imperfect tentative (-rū darō), either the provisional or the conditional can be used; the likelihood of the conclusion differs accordingly: Sono hōn o yōndara wakārū darō ‘If I should read that book [as well I may not] I’ll understand’; Sono hōn o yōmeba wakārū darō ‘If I read that book [and I may or may not] I’ll understand’ (= Sono hōn o yōmu to wakārū darō).

Either the conditional or, less commonly, the provisional can be used in seeking and giving advice ‘it would be good/better to do what?’: Dōō sitāra i desyoō ka or Dōō sureba i desyoō ka ‘What should I do?’. Migi no hōo e ittāra i desyoō or Migi no hōo e i ikēba (i = i (to) l i desyoō ‘You should go to the right’. In giving advice, you can instead use the expression corresponding to English ‘had better’: V-ta hōo ga ii ‘the alternative of doing ... is better’ (§ 13.2) as in Migi no hōo e itta hōo ga i i desyoō ‘You had better go to the right’. This can also be used as a way of asking advice, or selecting between two alternative courses of action: Migi no hōo e i tāta hōo ga l i desyoō or Migi no hōo e i itta hōo ga l i desyoō ka ‘Would it be better to go to the right (or to the left)?’ Compare V-rū hōo ga ii ‘It is better to (do)’. Although there is little contrast in meaning between Sinu hōo ga ii ‘He’d be better off dying’ and Sinda hōo ga ii ‘He’d be better off dead’, the negative brings out a difference: Sīnai hōo ga ii ‘He’d better not die’, Sīnākatta hōō ga i i ‘He shouldn’t have died’. Cf. Sīnā n zya nākereba ii desu ga ... ‘I hope he didn’t die’.

The conditional is used in obliquely inviting someone to do something, with the concluding sentence (ikāga/dōō desu ka ‘how about it?’) often omitted, as in these examples from Mio 293: Hiza o lo-kuzusi ni nāttā ‘Please sit comfortably’; Attakāi (i) uti(−) ni l mesigattāra ‘Eat it while it is hot’. The concluding sentence may be ii zya nāi ka ‘wouldn’t it be good (or all right)’ as in this translation of the English slogan ‘Let’s give peace a chance’: Senso o yamete l heiwa ni kākete l mitāra l i zya nāi ka (SA 2680.21a). The invitation can include the speaker himself: Kono hen de yametāra [i dōō] ‘How about [our] stopping here?’

Vivid emphasis can be added to a description by using a conditional quotation followed by nāi or arimasen or gozaimasen or āri wa sinai/simase n ‘there is none [so much so as what I quote]’: Uresii [to i]ttāra l arimasen ‘It’s ever so delightful!’; Kōvāi [to i]ttāra l nāi ‘Most frightening!’; Muzukāsii-sa [to i]ttāra l arimasen ‘Difficulty beyond compare!’; Kōnnan na l kōto [to i]ttāra l arimasen ‘Troublesome isn’t the word for it!’; Sono arisama(−) [to i]ttāra l gozaimasen ‘What a sight!’; Hayāi no l hāyaku l nāi no [to i]ttāra l arimasen ‘You’ve never seen such speed!’ (See § 15.13); Okasii no l okāsiku l nāi no [to i]ttāra l arimasen ‘It’s the funniest thing ever!’; Hazukāsii ttāra l āri ya (= wa) (l) sinai ‘I’m ever so embarrassed!’ (Morishige 144–also, with arīya, Okitsu 1.500); Bakakakāsii ttāa arīya sine (ē = āri wa sinai) ‘How utterly stupid!’ (Okitsu 1.361); Êiga(−) ga l tēreni no l nīkisutā ga, ll kozōte l būtai ni l hātu-syūtun (sī(te)), l sono (l) nigiyaka-sa ttāa l nākatta ‘All the stars of cinema and television appearing together for the first time on the stage, there’s never been such a flurry!’ (SA 2658.110e): Sono yomi-kāta no l hetasa-kagen to i ttāra l arimasen ‘You can not imagine the clumsiness with which they read!’
Somewhat surprisingly, a conditional sentence can be quoted (§21) in the form -tāra to omōu ‘I wish that ...’ or ‘I hope that ...’ but this is perhaps best treated as a shortening of -tāra ī (to omōu) ‘(I think that) it would be nice if ...’: Sore kara o-hanasi o tenkai site itadaketāra [ ] to oomimāsu ‘I’d like you to develop your discussion starting from that (question)’ (Tanigawa 90). Here is an example with the quoted condition adnominalized—and, I presume, ellipsis implied before and after tō: ... kono Kanada-hōosiko o sankoo ni sitāra to no likemolāru ‘... there are some who suggest learning from this Canadian formula’ (SA 2681.105c). For N1 ka to omōttara N2 dātta as a device to express an unexpected identification, see p. 246 (§3.10).

The conditional is freely made from virtually all sentences, including causatives, passives, sentences containing exaltation, desideratives, negatives, gerund + auxiliary, etc. The form is made by attaching to verbals -tāra/-dāra (with shape adjustments identical with those of the gerund), to adjectivals -kattara, and to nominals dattara. All of these forms are optionally extendable by (-)ba: -tāra (-) ba, -kattara (-) ba, dattara (-) ba. The extended forms, though historically respectable, are felt to be slangy, rough, or impolite in colloquial speech. Compare the copula provisional nāra-ba and the particle sequence ō ba (§2.3). Notice that in A-kērēba and V-(r)ēba, the -ba is not today an extension, but part of the ending, since-kērē does not (today) freely occur except before /ba/ and we do not want to associate ōba with the imperative -ē since that would not account for the attachment of the provisional ending to vowel verbs in the shape -ēba.

It might be possible to say that the conditional is the perfect -tā (§11) + a particle or extension ōra (occurring nowhere else), perhaps as an abbreviation of -tā [no] nara; compare the remarks in §9.4 and §17.9. One difference between a condition expressed by the provisional (-reba) and a condition expressed by the conditional (-tāra) is that the setting-in or beginning of the provisionalized happening can be simultaneous with the setting-in of the conclusion, but the beginning of the conditionalized happening must always precede the start of the conclusion. Thus there is a semantic trace of the perfect still present in the conditional. This was noticed also by Kuno 1973.183, who tells us that in S1’tara S2 “S2 happens after S1 is completed”. He also observes that in reference to past events “S2 normally represents an unexpected or surprising event ... [the opposite of S1-te kara S2]”; this is because S1 and S2 must have no “self-controllable time sequence”.

9.4. THE REPRESENTATIVE: -TĀRI

A sentence of virtually any type can be turned into a form we will call the REPRESENTATIVE; it has also been called the ALTERNATIVE. The form refers either to representative (typical) happenings and conditions or to intermittent (repeated, alternating, distributed) happenings and conditions. The representative adverbialization is most often followed by the dummy verb suru to make a new sentence: Hāittari [detarī] suru ‘They keep coming in [and going out]’. The subject of the several happenings may be a single person who is doing several things (Kāre ga X o sitāri Y o sitāri suru ‘He does X and Y’).122

121. Or are they? See the suggestion on p. 556 that colloquial nāra ba and -tāra ba are new formations. By “new” we mean “relatively new”: Yoshida (239) tells us that -tara ba is common in older Meiji literature.

122. Examples: l̩ti-žikan -gūral saunā-situ ni l̩detāri l̩hāittari (l̩) sit, l̩ato wa l̩zut-ū[1] (l̩) sóhwa de l̩nete iru n da ‘What I do is go in and out of the sauna room for about an hour and afterward stretch
or it may be several persons either all doing the several things or each doing something different: Káre-ra ga X o sitári Y o sitári suru ‘They do X and Y every one of them’ or ‘They do various things, some doing X, some doing Y’.\textsuperscript{123} Here is a clearcut example of the latter: Sono ut(\textsuperscript{m}) ni, Bunroku ga byooki ni náttari, Bunroku no saikuun ga sindári simáste né ‘Meanwhile, [Shishí] Bunroku got sick and his wife died, you see’ (Tk 2.184b)—for the sentence-final gerund, see §9.2.1a.

According to NHK 1970.119, the structure \textit{\texttt{V1-tári V2-tári suru}} is tending to be replaced by \textit{\texttt{V1-i mo V2-tári}}\textsuperscript{2} ru. I believe the following sentences may be examples of that:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\texttt{... syooga kko o}} I \texttt{dete III zyookyuu [no] tyúugaku ni i susumu monó to, I lkoosyyo [= kootoo-syoogákkoo] e ittári, I súgu I zitugyyo ni túku I monó to no [I] aida ni, ... ‘between those who, upon leaving primary school, advance into an upper middle school and those who go to higher primary school or go directly to work ...’ (KKK 3.70); ... tosi-gai mo naku I baka na I gakusei mitái na I kakkoo o sitári, I táido o site I misérü ga ... ‘at his age he still acts like a stupid schoolboy and displays [such] behavior ...’ (id.); Oyá ga ko o korosítári, kodomo ga oyá o korosu ‘(It sometimes happens that) parents kill their children and children kill their parents’ (SA 2835.45a).
\item In the following example the concurrent is applied to the resulting structure: \textit{\texttt{Dénsya(\textsuperscript{m}) ni náttari, I lko o nomí-nágára lI kangoeté ru n desu ka ‘Do you do your thinking while riding on the train or drinking liquor (or the like)?’ (SA 2653.43d). Here we would expect \textit{\texttt{Dénsya(\textsuperscript{m}) ni náttari, lko o nándari si-nagara ... ... ‘Haven’t you been troubled at times for lack of a common language with Mr Layton and his group? —It hasn’t happened’ (SA 2664.37b)—the answer represents [Kómáta kotó ga] nái ‘I haven’t been troubled’. And a single \textit{\texttt{...-tári + sinai}} can sometimes be translated as ‘never’: Sikási I kono ryuugi o I hitobito ni I kyooosei sitári wa I sinákatta ‘But he never forced this style on people’ (Óno 1966.214); Ane mòl imootó o I otooto to I [I] itte, I imootó to I ittári wa [I] sinai ‘[In Heian times] the older sister calls her younger sister otootó [just as the older brother calls the younger brother] and never calls her imootó [as is the later practice]’ (Óno 1966.161). With a single \textit{\texttt{...-tári + question}}, the translation may be ‘ever’: Dóo site I kámera o I moti-kondári I sitá no ka I wakaránai ‘I don’t know why he ever carried a camera in [to] the high-pressure oxygen tank where an electronic spark caused a fatal
\end{itemize}
§9. Adverbializations

fire]’ (SA 2647.26b). Even with more than one representative, ‘sometimes’ and ‘never/ever’ often make the best translations: ‘Tuide-nágarà(”), ll toózi | sitamati no katei dé wa l syúhu
no l kotó o ll “ókusan” ll to l l l yondári, ll otokó-no-ko ya l onná-no-ko no l kotó o ll “bootyan”
dá no ll “ozyóosan” da no to l yondári wa l sinákkata ‘Incidentally, the downtown families of
that period would never call a housewife “okusan” or boys and girls “bootyan” and
“ozyoosan”’’ (Maeda 1962.21). There are times when ‘some’ or ‘none’ or ‘any’ is a good
translation: ‘Hatuun-hoo o káita | syómotu ga l nokótte ll itári | l l l ll su ru ‘There are some [or:
a few] books preserved that have written of the pronunciation [of the times]’ (Óno
1966.170). Notice the translation ‘all’ in the following passage: ‘Minná, o-báka-san l née, ||
Sonni na sawáidari site, || O-née-sama ga l bikkúri l nasáru wa l yó ‘You children are absolute-
ly the living end. Making all that noise!’ (SA 2678.138-9).

A sentence which juxtaposes a pair of “representative” single events plucked from the
news of the day: ‘Gendai wa ll heiwa l heiwa to ll kuti dé wa | tonaé-nágarà, ll Nihon-too o
huri-kazásita l gakusei ga l hikóo-ki o l notttári, ll hahaha ya l kantan ni l akanboo o l l l
hineri-korosítári | su ru (l) yo-nó-naka desu ‘The present-day world is one where they cry
peace peace with their mouths while a student brandishing a samurai sword hijacks an air-
plane and a mother casually chokes her baby to death!’ (SA 2678.138-9).

The sentence with ...-tári su ru may be made to mean ‘can do such things as ...’ by
adding kotó ga dekíru; and suru kotó ga freely drops (§ 14.2.3) so that you are left with
sentences like Hánttaír détári [ | suru kotó ga] dekíru ‘They can (do such things as) enter
and leave’ and ... ziyúu ni ll nándari | tabetári | ll dekíru ‘I’ll be able to drink and eat freely
[once I give up my boxing career]’ (SA 2651.46c). The particle gá may be retained from the
omitted su ru kotó ga: ... tiisái [l l kodomo de l zibun de l kitári l núidari [ ] ga l
dekínai no de l ... ‘since small children are unable to dress and undress by themselves ...’;
see below. The verb suru, or dekíru (shortening of suru kotó ga dekíru), can be separated
from the -tári form by the particles wá and mó; i.e., it is possible to focus the representa-
tivized sentence in a way similar to focus applied to the nuclear sentence: Tabetári l
netári | su ru dáké/bákári desu ka? lie, ll benkyoo sitári mo | l su ru ‘Do you just eat and
sleep? No, I study, too’; Netári l ókitári wa ll sine ‘I don’t (just) go to bed and get up’.

You can attach mó to the second of a pair of representatives, or to both: Benkyoo o
sitári l undoo o sitári mo | l su ru; Benkyoo o sitári mo l undoo o sitári mo | l su ru. Or
the highlighting can be placed on the underlying nuclei (in our example, the verbal nouns):
Benkyoo o sitári l undoo mo sitári (l) su ru; Benkyoo mo sitári l undoo mo sitári (l) su ru.
(l have not given translations, since each such sentence is ambiguous in so many different
ways.)

The auxiliary that picks up the representatives can be focused: Benkyoo o sitári, ll
undoo o sitári l sí wa (l) sine ‘I do not do such things as studying and exercising’;
Benkyoo o sitári, ll undoo o sitári sae | suréba ll ‘If you just do such things as studying
and exercising ...’ . It is possible to make various more complicated structures, but you
will seldom run into such sentences.

Below are some results from the application of highlighting focus to various parts of
the sentence Tegami o káitér hón o yóndári su ru:

1.  Tegami o káki mo l sitári l hón o l yómi mo l sitári (l) su ru.
2.  Tegami mo káitér l hón mo l yóndári (l) su ru.
3.  Tegami o káki mo l hón o l yómi mo l sitári (l) su ru. [Unusual.]
4.  *Tegami o káki mo hón mo yóndári su ru.
§9.4. The representative: -tāri

(5) Tegami o kaitari mo hon o yondari mo suru.
(6) Tegami o kaitari hon mo yondari (1) suru.
(7) Tegami mo kaitari hon o yondari (1) suru.
(8) Tegami o kaitari hon o yondari mo (1) suru.
(9) Tegami o kaitari hon o yondari i so mo/wa surū ga ...

It is possible also to have adverbial adjuncts for the dummy suru: Nihon-go de yondari kaitari wa i tu mo i site iru 'We are always reading and writing in Japanese'; Tabetari no nōndari wa koko de wa [1] sinai 'We don’t eat and drink here'.

Examples of -tāri separated from suru by other focus and restrictive elements and the like: Sūgōku tōretari NANKA site ‘ru tokotorii, i okashi ‘It’s funny how terribly shy I sometimes feel’ (SA2666.44b); ... kyuu ni i soo i yametari NANKA (1) suru to ‘if you do things like suddenly quitting that way’ (Kb 153a); ... dōo-yara i ima no i yonō-naka de wa, i minnā syōttyuu i kenasitari i kenasaretari i BAKARI site i irū no de, i homerareru to i bikkūri site ‘in this modern world with everyone barely getting along disregarding and being disregarded, to get praised is startling ... ’ (IC 985.391); Ziyūu ni i tabetari no nōndari SAE i dekiru yūo ni i nārebe i kore ‘izyoo no i nozomi′(′) wa i arimasēn ‘If it can just get so I can freely eat and drink I won’t have any higher aspirations’; Zetubuu no hate i zisatu o hakattari SUARA i sita sóo da ‘I hear he was in such despair he was even planning suicide’; ... kansyaku o okositari MADE i suru yūo ni i natta ‘got to the point where she would even sometimes fly into rages’ (Fn275a); Ōnna ni wa i otya-hakobi o i sitāri o-kyaku no annai o i sitāri SIKAI dekina i to i omotte i ru n desu ka ‘Do you think women can only bring in tea and show the guests in and that sort of thing?’; Watakusi ni i nōndari i tabetari KOSO i zinsei i i sōki-nan i tanosimi(′) da ‘For me the greatest pleasure in life is precisely drinking and eating’; Neta kkirī desu kara i tattari i suwattari NĀDO wa i dekimasēn ‘He’s become bedridden, so he can’t get up or sit down or anything’; Tānin no warūguti o iittari NANKA suru yūo na i hitō zya i arimasēn ‘He’s not the sort of person to speak ill of others or the like’; Ooze ni [1] hitō no i mae de i hanasitari NANTE i dekimasēn ‘I couldn’t talk in front of a crowd of people or anything like that’; Zyooodān o iittari i hito no warawasetari DE MO i dekiru yōo na i kudāketa i hitō nara i i n desu ga ... ‘I hope he’s an affable person of the sort that can tell jokes and get people to laughing, say’; Netāri i ikitari D′ATTE (or DE MO) i i kara i ikite i-tai ‘I want to stay alive even if it’s just getting up and going to bed every day’; Zibu ni i hēyā o i soozi sitāri i zibun no irū o i sentaku sitāri –GURAII wa i zibun de i i sinakera i kate i i motemasēn i yō ‘You can’t expect to be able to have a household = get married if you don’t clean your own room and wash your clothes and so on, yourself’; Kana o kaitari i yōndari i BAKARI de wa i yakū ni i tatānai desuyo ‘Just learning to read and write kana won’t be of much use, surely’; Denwa no bān o i sitāri i otya o hakondarai i DAKÉ ga i onnā i dekiru i sigoto zya nai desuyo ‘Just answering the phone and bringing in the tea is not all the job that a woman can do, surely’. The last several examples have an omitted suru or a direct nominalization of the representative.

Examples of -tāri WA: Kedo, i hontoo ni sugureta i geinoo(′) to i iu i monō wa, i kantan ni i sutaretāri wa i sinai mōn desu ‘But when artistry is truly superb, it must NOT be allowed ever simply to die out’ (SA2669.101c); ... wareware wa i i ‘yuuyusii′ i i to i kiite mo, i soko ni i tabūu no i iiki o i omoi-ukabetāri wa (1) sinai ‘... we hear the word ‘yuuyushii′ without calling to mind any feeling of tabu to it or the like’ (Ōno 1966.44). And examples of -tāri MO: ... kinyuuyu no baai ni wa i kuugun no hikōo-ki o i dooin site i hīnan i sasete [1]
Adverbializations

Sentences may contain one or more -tari sentences followed by suru, and those that contain more than one can freely replace suru with da: Háittari détari da; Yókattari wárukattari da; Byooki dattari génki dattari da. This means the represented-sentiment has been propredicated (§ 3.10); the resulting nominal can be adnominalized in regular fashion, with da changing to no: Húttari yandari no těnki da ‘It is the sort of weather that rains off and on’. Some phrases are sufficiently idiomatic in meaning to justify separate dictionary entries, e.g. nitāri yottāri (no monō) ‘(things that are) much of a piece, six of one and half a dozen of the other’. The phrase need not be adnominal, for you can say Minnā nitāri yottāri desu ‘They are all much the same’; another example is negattari kanāttari [da] ‘[is] just what I have been wishing’, though this is often tightened into compound negattari-kanāttari [da]. The predicatified representative can go through most of the conversions available for a predicatified nominal: Netāri ōkitāri da ‘They are lying down and getting up (severally or alternately)’ → Netāri ōkitāri zya nā; Netāri ōkitāri de, ...; Netāri ōkitāri ni tigai nāi; Netāri ōkitāri ni suginai; Netāri ōkitāri no hazu/tumori da; Netāri ōkitāri nā no da; Netāri ōkitāri zya nāi no da; Netāri ōkitāri nagara [mo] ...; etc. A few examples: Kaigyoo si-tate no kōro wa, ma-yōnaka ni oosin o tanomarérū to, yo- doosi tiryoo ni tokkūndāri, kyuukyūū-sya ni doozyoo site byoooin ni okuri-kondāri de, ītu ka tyōnai no sinrāi o atumēru sonzai to nāta ‘At the time I had just begun my practice, when asked to make a house call I would (do such things as) wrestle with the treatment all night and accompany patients to the hospital in the ambulance, so that before I knew it I became the being to gather the neighborhood confidence’ (SA 2664.26b); Netāri ōkitāri nagara, kīki wa dās-sitā kara, móo sinpai wa nāi ‘Though I am up and down (with my illness), I’m past the crisis, so there is nothing to worry about now’; [Sigoto wa kubī ni suru. Taisyōkū’ākin(“)] wa yaranai tē. Sore zya hundāri kēttāri zya arimasēn ka ‘[They fire me. They say they’ll give me no severance pay.] How do you like THAT for stepping all over a person [and kicking him]?!’. Some such sentences seem a bit ‘hypostatic’, as if the phrase were being quoted. Perhaps that is what accounts for the occurrence of the representativized sentences as subject even and, at least for some speakers, as object: Nōndāri tābētāri [suru kotō] ga ōoi kara kan ga kākāru ‘I do a lot of drinking and eating so it takes money’; Nōndāri tābētāri [suru kotō] o yameta hōo ga î zya nāi ka ‘Wouldn’t it be better to give up the drinking and eating?’ We might want to consider all cases of nominalized -tāri sentences as abbreviations of the full sentence -tāri surū + nó/kotō da, i.e. -tāri surū no da or -tāri suru kotō da. (We would then say the abbreviation is restricted to sentences containing more than one representativized sentence.) The suggestion has been made that we might do well to consider the representative as elliptical in all cases: ...-tāri [S1] ...-tāri [SURU NO] or the like.

Sometimes the appropriate translation is ‘What with (this, that, and the other) ...’: Zyanbo-ryokākki ga tobi-kakāttari, hikōo-ki no nottori-zīken ga okōttari, kuukoo-settī-
§9.4. The representative: -tāri

hantai-úndō ga áttari de, kuukoo to sono kinoo to iu monó ga, wadai ni náru kótó ga őói ga, ... ‘What with jumbo passenger planes bounding about, and anti-airport-construction movements taking place, the airport and its function become frequent topics of discussion, ...’ (SA 2678.114a). Compare a series of infinitives followed by de (p. 904, §14.6) as in Gensoku āri, reigai āri, kyoyoō āri de, ... ‘What with rules, with exceptions, with dispensations, ...’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.276).

The FORMS of the representative are made by attaching to verbs -tári/-dári (with shape adjustments like those for the gerund), to adjectivals -káttari, and to nominals dattari. Just as we might consider the conditional as the perfect -tā + a particle or extension -ra (occurring nowhere else), we might similarly consider the representative as the perfect -tā + a particle or extension -ri that occurs nowhere else; perhaps this is historically a contraction of the infinitive ári. One bit of evidence for an incorporated ári is that the dummy verb is always suru even when the -tāri form is based on an adjective (Sámukattari áttakattari suru ‘It is cold and hot, off and on’—cf. ári wa/mo suru); the representative makes a kind of verbal noun.

All three of the forms -tā, -tára, and -tári actually come from the gerund -tē + á(r)-. And the gerund itself, as explained in §§9.2, is the infinitive form of an old auxiliary t(ē): (§9.5) which expressed a perfect or past (usually voluntary); the literary attributive form of that auxiliary is (-i-)tūru and the predicative form is (-i-)tu. The literary language uses paired predicates with -tu (directly nominalized, as it were) in the same way that the colloquial language uses pairs with -tāri:124 Uki-tu(-) l.sizumī-tu(-) [site] ‘Floating and sinking ...’; Sási-tu l.sasāre-tu l nómu ‘Back and forth we pass the saké cup [as we drink]’.

For more examples see §9.5. There is another literary form which attaches the suffix -mi to the infinitive (V-i-mi) or to the literary negative infinitive (V-azu-mi) of verbs—only?—to serve as a representative form: kumóri-mi háre-mi = kumōttāri háretāri ‘clouding up and clearing’, húrī-mi hurazu-mi = huttāri huránakkattari ‘raining/snowing off and on’. The latter cliché, which pops up in húrī-mi hurazu-mi no ténki ‘unsettled weather’ (KKK 25.87a, MKZ 5) is often reduced to a single phonological word, with the accentuation either of a phrase reduction (húrī-mi-hurazumi) or of a lexical derivative (hurimihurazumi). Henderson gives an unpaired example of V-i-mi: Yamá no mie-mi miénu wa ... ‘the alternate appearance and disappearance of the hills’.

Yet another way of stating alternative or representative events is to juxtapose parallel predicates in the plain infinitive, picking the expression up with the dummy suru: Oōzē iita no ga l hitōri heri l hutarī heri (l) sita toki wa l sabisikatta ga, l ... ‘When the crowd dwindled down (‘by ones and twos’) I felt lonely, but ...’ (Tk 3.35a); Nó ni yuki, l yamá ni yuki (l) suru ‘We go to the fields, we go to the mountains’.

Some adverbialisations of V1-tári V2-tári could be regarded as an ellipsis either of the dummy verb suru or of the propredicative dá, but since the latter in a sense stands for the former, the immediate derivation is here unimportant: Káttari kaki-naósítāri [de/site] isogasí ‘I am busy writing and rewriting’. Similarly, with ... ni náru/suru and ... to náru/suru we can regard the immediately underlying sentence as coming from a dropped (or converted) ... dá or from a dropped suru or suru no: Háretāri l kumōttāri l to l narimasuyō ‘The weather will be sunny alternating with cloudy’ (R; narimasuyō = náru desyoo).

124. Use of the -tāri form for the representative conversion (rather than as predicative perfect) dates from the Kamakura period; cf. Terase 120b.
When the negative, the desiderative, the excessive, the causative, or other conversions are applied to the dummy verb suru, reference is usually to the entire paired-representative phrase rather than just to the second member, regardless of the juncture used: \( V_1 \)-tāiri \( V_2 \)-tāiri si-tai means 'I want to do both \( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \), one after the other' or the like. (Are there exceptions?)

Given that we have a sentence \( X_1 \) o sitāri \( X_2 \) o sitāri suru 'does (such things as) \( X_1 \) and \( X_2 \)' and a sentence \( Y_1 \) o sitāri \( Y_2 \) o sitāri suru 'does (such things as) \( Y_1 \) and \( Y_2 \)' we may well wonder whether it would be possible to use those two sentences as input for the creation of a conflated sentence of this sort:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( X_1 \) o sitāri \( X_2 \) o sitāri \text{SITĀRI} \ Y_1 \) o sitāri \( Y_2 \) o sitāri \text{SITĀRI} \ suru .}
\end{align*}
\]

The meaning would be 'does such things as doing such things as \( X_1 \) and \( X_2 \) (perhaps in alternation) and doing such things as \( Y_1 \) and \( Y_2 \) (perhaps in alternation)'. Although I have no authentic examples of such a sentence in Japanese—nor, for that matter, of the English equivalent!—the grammar will let us create one: Hanāsitāri \( \text{kiitāri} (\text{\text{i site})} \parallel \text{yōndari} \parallel \text{kaitāri (\text{\text{i sitāri II}}) simāsu 'We do such things as talk and listen and such things as read and write'} \); and this seems to be acceptable provided you suppress at least the first sitāri, letting the major juncture carry the cue to the ellipsis. Moreover, the only block to indefinite recursion, as with the nursery bit "This is the house ... that Jack built", is a feeling of surface clumsiness, which may be strong enough to prevent even the first go-round. A likelier output is the more loosely conjoined sentence with \( \text{si} \) (§17.3): Hanāsitāri \( \text{kiitāri} \parallel \text{suru si} \parallel \text{yōndari} \parallel \text{kaitāri} \parallel \text{simāsu 'We do such things as talk and listen and we do such things as read and write'} \); Or, with an optionally dropped gerund site: Hanāsitāri \( \text{kiitāri (\text{\text{i site})} \parallel \text{yōndari} \parallel \text{kaitāri} \parallel \text{simāsu .}
\]

Matters grow even more complicated when you realize that, in general, each element of the expression (i.e. each -tāri form and each dummy suru) may independently select NEGATIVE, PASSIVE, CAUSATIVE, DESIDERATIVE, EXCESSIVE, FACILITATIVE and any of the permitted combinations of these (up to a theoretically infinite number, see §9.1.8); they may also independently select INFINITIVE or GERUND + any of the AUXILIARIES or combinations of auxiliaries (again up to a theoretically infinite number, see §9.1.10 and §9.2.5); and the nuclear FOCUS conversions of §5 (wa/mó) can be independently applied to each of the outputs from the independent selections just mentioned as well as to the nuclear elements that underlie them and to each dummy suru.

It would take a very long list to cover even the simpler combinations possible. I have checked a few combinations that might be questionable and found them acceptable, as shown below, with examples given only for unusual situations.

1. \( \ldots \) sitāri sasērū
   \( \ldots \) sitāri sārerū
   \( \ldots \) sitāri sitē morau
   \( \ldots \) sasetāri suru
   \( \ldots \) saretāri suru
   \( \ldots \) site morattāri suru
   \( \ldots \) sasetāri sārerū: Kono kodomo ni, mūri ni undoo sasetāri sāreru to kōmaru ‘It won't do to have you let this child indulge in excessive activity’.
   \( \ldots \) sasetāri site morau
   \( \ldots \) sasetāri sasērū: (?)Undoo sasetāri kyuusoku sasetāri sasemāsu 'I will let you have him exercise and rest in alternation'.
§9.4. The representative: -tāri

... saretāri saseru: Rejected?
... saretāri sareru
... saretāri site morau: ?Benkyoo no zyama saretāri site morai-taku nāi ‘I’m not eager to be interrupted in my work’.

(2) ... si-takattari suru
... sitāri si-tai

(3) ... si-sugitari suru
... sitāri si-sugiru

(4) ... si-yašukattari suru
... sitāri si-yašūi

(5) ... sitāri site oku
... site ōtari suru
... site ōtari site oku

(6) ... si-hazimetari suru
... sitāri si-hazimēru
... si-hazimetari si-hazimēru: Āka-tyan ga hanasi-hazimetāri aruki-hazimetāri si-hazimemāsita ‘The baby has begun doing such things as starting to talk and starting to walk’.

(7) ... (X o sinakattari Y o) sinakattari suru
... (X o sinakattari Y o) sinakattari sinai: Rejected? (What about as denial of an assertion: ‘It is not true that they do such things as not do X and not do Y’?)

(8) X o sitāri Y o sinakattari suru ‘does such things as doing X and not doing Y’
X o sitāri Y o sinakattari sinai: Rejected? (Even as denial?)
X o sitāri (X o) sinakattari suru ‘does such things as doing X and not doing X, does X off and on’
X o sitāri (X o) sinakattari sinai: Rejected? (Even as denial?)

When the representative is made on a passive sentence the semantic reference of the -tāri form is to the immediate subject of the passive (i.e. he who suffers) rather than to the underlying agent (he who initiates the action): Heitai ga korosaretāri kegā o saseraretāri site iru ‘Soldiers are getting killed and wounded’ tells us that some soldiers are getting killed and others are getting wounded but says nothing about whether the agent that is doing the killing and wounding (presumably ‘the enemy’) is always the same or whether ‘some’ (of the enemy) do the killing and ‘others’ do the wounding. And Ningyoo ga naraberaretāri site iru ‘The children are lined up and the like’ is giving us a representative bit of information about the dolls, not about whatever unmentioned agent may have been responsible for lining them up, though the choice of the passive suggests that the dolls didn’t line themselves up; cf. Kodomo ga narandāri site iru ‘The children are lined up and the like’ (having done it themselves). Similar considerations lead to the proper interpretation of ... iroirō hinan saretāri gokai surū n desu nē ‘suffers all sorts of criticisms and misunderstandings’ (Tk 2.66b). The following sentence gerundizes (dā → dē) a pro-predication (suru → dā) of a representativization of a passive (... saretāri → ... saretāri) that is a passivization of an unpaired representative + suru (... sitāri suru → ... sitāri saretāri): Tāsya kara sukauto sitari saretāri de ... dōko de mo nenkan ni kenkyū-in no itī-wari garyūdō suru to i ‘What with suffering from [intermittent] scouting from other companies, they say about ten percent of the researchers in each place move in the course of a year’ (SA 2661.28c).
9.5. LITERARY PERFECTS: -I-TÚ/-TÚRU, -I-NÚ/-NÚRU, -I-KI/-SI

In modern Japanese the verb gerund -té can be followed by the auxiliaries áru and íru in order to make forms that have, among other interpretations, a perfect-resultative meaning. From a contraction of -té + ár- there developed also a perfect form which is -ta in modern Japanese but in older Japanese had two forms, -tári (predicative) and -tárú (attributive); and these forms, particularly the latter, turn up in set phrases even today (§ 13.8a).

The gerund itself is the infinitive of an old auxiliary with the forms -tú (predicative) and -túru (attributive), which attaches to the infinitive. This form is seldom seen today except in quotations from classical literature and a few clichés, such as nóbe-tu [máku-náši ni] 'uninterruptedly', or in a paired phrase that means the same thing as paired representatives (-tári ... -tári), as mentioned in §9.4. Additional examples of that usage: támé-tu | sugámé-tu | (suru/míru) '(looks) peering and squinting = scrutinizing'; nádáme-tu | sukási-tú(-), Il ... 'soothing and humoring = coaxing' (SA 2652.64d); Támé-tu | suki-tú(-) Il 'sísáí(-) ni l kentoo sita ýó '(I) checked in detail, scrutinizing and probing' (KKK 25.78b); yó-tu(-) | owaré-tú(-) Il no kyóógi 'a neck-and-neck match'; iki-tú(-) (= yuki-tú(-)) Il | mođó-tu Il site iru 'is making no progress'; sáisi-tu | sásáre-tú(-) Il nómú 'keep exchanging sake cups back and forth'; Móti-tu | móta-re-tu no | aidágará ná no de áru 'It is a give-and-take relationship' (SA 2660.27d); ... móti-tu | móta-re-tu no | kankei de ... 'from the mutual influences' (SA 2659.133b—the entire example will be found on p. 930, § 15.6). The idiom kúnzu hogúretu 'grappling and separating = repeatedly clashing (as in wrestling or boxing)' is a reduction of kümé-tu hogúre-tú, and tótó óítu 'hesitantly, reluctantly' is a reduction of tórí-tu okí-tú (= tóttari oítári). As we have observed (§9.1.4), the literary concurrent V-i- -tutu is derived from this usage, perhaps by way of reduced iteration V1-i-tú [V1-i-tú].

A very similar auxiliary, with the forms -nú (predicative) and -núru (attributive) attached to the infinitive, is now found only in quotations from classical literature or in bookish phrases such as this: ... kore wa máša ni 'eiga-hükkuu', kiséki(-) wa okóri-nu, de áru 'this is truly "a cinema revival!", the miracle hath occurred' (SA 2689.119b). This auxiliary too was used in pairs with the same meaning as paired representatives today: ukí-nu sizzumi-nu = uíári sízúndarí 'floating and sinking' (quoted in Meikai kogo jiten 795b from Heike-monogáta). The auxiliary -nú/-núru was also used with somewhat the meaning of modern -te simau 'finishes doing' or 'ends up doing'; in this usage it was not limited to a past action.125 Perhaps that is why, in its infinitive form -nì, it enters into sequence with another literary auxiliary to form the structure V-i-ni-ki (predicative) alternating with V-i-ni-sí (attributive). Moreover, the predicative form of THAT complex structure (the predicative being a special use of the infinitive as is true of ALL verb "predicative" forms that end in -i, see p. 831) enters into a sequence with the literary perfect-resultative to yield the structure V-i-ni-k- -éri (predicative) alternating with

125. There was a tendency to use the auxiliary -tú (ru) for voluntary and/or abrupt events, the auxiliary -nú (ru) for events that were involuntary, spontaneous, and/or slow-moving. Sató 1.368 describes V-i-nú as "subjective" and V-i-tú as "objective"; if I were to adopt this dichotomy I would be inclined to reverse the labels, perhaps because I use the terms in a somewhat different sense (as in treating N ní as the objective esse and N tó as the subjective esse). Sató 1.260-70 cites Kasuga's study which shows that -nú is more common with intransitives and passives, -tú with transitives and causatives.
§9.6. The literary perfect resultative: -ÉRI/-ÉRU; [-NI]-K-ÉRI/-ÉRU

V-i-ni-k-Éru (attributive), as described in §9.6. (The predicative-ininfinitive shape -ki drops its vowel, etymologically the infinitive marker, before the final auxiliary, which already consists of the infinitive -i + ár- with vowel crisis producing /er/.)

The auxiliary -ki/-si is typically found in combinations with one of the other perfect auxiliaries, and the following forms are reported (see also §13.9):

- -i-té-ki/-si
- -i-n(-)i-ki/-si
- -i-tár-i-ki/-si < -i-t[é] ár-i-ki/-si

Adjectival forms are made by contracting -ku ár-:
- -kári-ki/-si < -k[u] ár-i-ki/-si
- -karazári-ki/-si < -ká[á]z[u] ár-i-ki/-si

And verbal negatives are contracted from -zu ár- (cf. §8.6):
- -(a)zár-i-ki/-si < -(a)z[ú] ár-i-ki/-si

The complex forms may have been differentiated semantically one from another in subtle ways by various authors, but later literary usage leaves all the perfects with much the same meaning; you can translate any of them as 'did' or 'has done', 'was' or 'has been'.

The simple V-i-ki/-si is found in a few relics: (... tó) omó-i-ki ya, ... 'did one think (that ...)?' = (whereupon) unexpectedly enough' with the predicative form before the question particle ya ... "hazime ni kokó-o ári-ki "'In the beginning there was feeling'" (SA 2680.47b);
... árisi-hi 'bygone days' from ári-si hi 'days that existed'; ... idai nári-si hibi no tuiso 'reminiscences of the grand old days' (SA 2676.92b);
... káhwee hanáyaka nári-si kóro, ... 'at the time [in the late 20's] when cafés were flourishing' (SA 2689.115b);
"Kámi no musubi-tamai-si monó" te na kótó o itte ... "Saying something like "What God hath joined together ..."' (Tk 2.262a). An example with direct nominalization (§14.6) of V-i-si:
Sore wa l Okinawa no hitó-tati ni lá tôtíté kiki-si ni masáru | susamáizá-si datta 'It [= the arrival of the Japanese "economic animal" with the reversion from American control] proved to be even more dreadful for the Okinawans than they had heard (it would be)' (SA 2793.129). The same cliché appears in Kiki-si ni masáru uti(”) da 'The house surpasses its description' (Okitsu 1.264), said sarcastically.125a

There is also a provisional form V-i-séba 'if it had happened'; you will perhaps run across such forms for áru (áriseba 'if it had existed/happened') and nái < nákú ári (nakáriseba 'if it had not existed/happened'): Kono onna-kántyoo nakáriseba Níhón no rekisi wa óökiku kaki-kaerareta itá de aroo 'If it had not been for this woman spy, Japan's history would have been greatly rewritten' (KKK 25.86a).

It may strike you as odd that the attributive form is -si and the predicative form is -ki for this perfect ending. Though precisely the opposite pattern yields the literary forms of the adjective-attributive A-ki (wákaki monó 'a young person') and predicative A-si (monó wákasi 'the person is young'), the explanation in both cases may involve a contraction of the two suffixes -ku (now the adjective infinitive) and -sa (now the abstract derived noun) + [ár]-i. See Martin 1967.260-1 (fn. 24).

9.6. THE LITERARY PERFECT-RESULTATIVE: -ÉRI/-ÉRU; [-NI]-K-ÉRI/-ÉRU

The literary language has a morphological category that roughly corresponds to V-te iru 'has done (and continues in the resulting state)' or, sometimes, simply to V-tá 'did'. There

125a. For suru 'does' the forms are attributive si-ki and predicative *si-si → se-si. And consonant bases that end in ...s- are usually given the predicative ...sae-si rather than ...si-si: zínzín setō o tukusési tote zymeii seráen ni iwa 'in the event one seeks to be reprimed on the grounds that he has fulfilled his duty as a subject' (Ağawa 1.271b, quoting Ogyú Sórai).
are two forms, the predicative (typically sentence-final) and the attributive (adnominal), which are made by attaching --eri and --eru respectively to consonant bases and to s- of suru ‘does’: yobēri ‘has called’, yomēri ‘has read’, motēru monō (= mōte ru monō) ‘things one has’ or ‘those that have’—cf. motēru kuni to motazāru kuni ‘Have countries and Have-not countries’, ...; sāroku sēru būnsyōo ‘the sentence recorded (transcribed)’; būkko(‘) seru Tanakā-si ‘the deceased Mr Tanaka’; nemurēru sīsi ‘a sleeping tiger’ (Tk 4.185b, SA 2679.49a), ... .

Though the forms are not legitimately made on vowel bases (other than ‘do’), sometimes “illegitimate” forms will turn up for those vowel bases that end in /e/; Henderson 248 cites ukēri = uketē iru and hazimēri = hazimete iru.

In origin the endings appear to be the infinitive -i + the auxiliary ari/aru. Thus the difference in meaning between V-i-tāri/-tāru and V-eri/-eru might be attributed to the presence of the perfect auxiliary t(e)- in the former:

\[-i-tāri/-tāru < \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -i \text{ tāri/āri/aru} \\ -eρi/-eru < \end{array} \right.\]

The literary perfect-resultative forms survive in a number of set phrases such as itarēri tukusēri no l sābisu ‘complete service’ ← itarēri tukusēri da ‘is complete and leaves nothing to be desired’ ← sābisu ga itarēri (= itatte iru) ‘the service has reached all the way’ + sābisu o tukusēri (= tukusite iru) ‘they have exhausted every possible service’. The attributive form turns up in ... ni okēru(‘) N ‘N (located) at/in ... ‘(the grammatical equivalent of ... ni oite iru N ‘N which they have put at/in ...’); this is used as a synonym of ... ni oite no N, an adnominalization of the predicated gerund of oku ‘puts’.

An example of the predicative in modern prose: ... wagamāmā mo kiwamārēri to itte yōi ‘we can say that the extreme of self-indulgence has [hath?] been reached’ (Maeda 1962.162). Maeda 1962.35 cites an example with ... tō ieru tokorō = tō itta tokorō ‘a place [that has been] called ...’; cf. ieru ‘can say’ (potential). Additional examples: ... seihi husin mo kiwamārēri to iu tokorō da ‘it is such that political distrust has reached an extreme’ (SA 2672.38b); ... “nayamēru rezaya-kāikyuu” ‘the “distressed leisure class”’ (SA 2673.39e)—note that this is not the literary transitive verb nayām(e)= nayamās-, but rather is equivalent to the colloquial nayānde iru; “Ziyuu no tamē ni” (‘I’ll go hata-zirusi to suru) ‘Kaku tatakāerī’ ‘I siki no lēiga(‘) de wa l nai ‘It is no made-in-America “This is how we fought” type movie that waves the flag [has as its slogan] “for freedom”’ (SA 2678.247).

In the preceding section we observed combined sequences of perfect + perfect-resultative (and vice-versa); some of these will turn up in headings, slogans, and clichés borrowed from the literary language:

- i-κ-ēri: Sore wa zizyoo ni yori-kēri yō! ‘That depends on the circumstances!’ This is to be regarded as a direct nominalization, used idiomatically in the colloquial: Nedan/hito/ toki ni yori-kēri da ‘It depends on the price/person/time’ (= ... ni yotte iru no da); ... monō ni mo yori-kēri yō ‘It all depends on the thing’ (Fn 185a). For nakārikeri (accent irregular?), see §8.6.

- i-n-i-k-ēri: “Kamigata” wa tooku nari-nikēri ‘The old Kamigata (Kyōto-Ōsaka area) is now distant (in the past)’ (SA 2660.161—heading).
The idioms keri ga tuku '(an affair) comes to a conclusion' and keri o tukéru 'winds up (an affair)' are said (Kotoba no yurai 71) to be from a truncation of V-i-k-érí. We are following the generally accepted etymology for the "auxiliary" -kéri (usually stated as -ki + ári); Satô 1.255 mentions a less plausible theory that would derive it from kí 'come' + ári.

Although the normal usage of the perfect-resultative corresponds to only one of the meanings of -te iru, there may be a temptation to assume that -érí/-érú is simply a literary equivalent of -te iru in any of its meanings. That would account for the form of samayoérú Yudayá-zin 'the wandering Jew' and samayoérú yuurei 'wandering ghost'. But we might wish to consider samayoérú as a special idiomatic case, and list it among the adnouns. Are there similar examples for other verbs?

The literary form ikérú 'is alive' (as in ikérú ga gótosi 'is life-like') is probably from ik-[i]-érú, an attributive perfective used with the meaning of ikité iru or ikita 'living'. It should not be confused with ikérú 'keeps (fish etc.) alive; arranges (flowers)' which is, by etymology, a transitive counterpart of ikíru, as is also ikásu 'revives (etc.).'

### 9.7. PHRASAL POSTPOSITIONS

Beyond the logical or grammatical relationships expressed by the case markers, there are a great many specific relationships that are expressed with other devices. For example, various kinds of spatial and temporal relationship are represented by adnominalizing a predicate (often but not always a noun) to some RELATIONAL noun: tukue no úe 'on top of the desk; over the desk', sensoo no mae 'before the war', suwatta migi '(to) the right of where I was seated', etc. Sometimes the physical nature of the relationship is attenuated: N no hoka 'outside of N; other than N'.

For somewhat more abstract relationships, certain stereotyped verbal predicates are used. Typically, the noun—or nomialized sentence—is put in relationship with a predicate through the mediation of an adverbialized verb (in the colloquial usually the gerund) that calls for a particular case-marking on the noun; often, but not always, the result is a phrase of the type N ni V-te. Below you will find a list of over two hundred of these stereotyped phrases, which I am calling PHRASAL POSTPOSITIONS. The items in the list vary in the degree of internal cohesiveness that each displays, as well as in versatility and breadth of distribution. Some, such as N ni tuite 'with respect to N, about N' are rather closeknit and will not permit focus to be placed on the case-marked noun; instead of "N ni mo tuite you must use N ni tuite mo to translate 'about N also/even', with the focus landing on the gerund. Others, such as hán-site 'against, contrary to', will permit the focus on either the case-marked noun (N ni mo hán-site) or the gerund (N ni hán-site mo); on occasion both may be marked for focus: N ni wa hán-site mo.

In written Japanese, especially in formal or literary texts, you will see the infinitive used instead of the gerund; again, you may find the literary gerund, made by attaching -te to the infinitive with no change in the shape of the infinitive. According to Lehmann and Faust (81) the gerund is required when "another postposition" (i.e. a restrictive or a marker of focus) is added: N ni tukite wa (= colloquial N ni tuite wa). But when the phrasal postposition stands alone, adverbially, you can use either the infinitive or the gerund: N ni tuki, N ni t[u]ki [te]. And you will hear some of the phrasal postpositions

127. But in formal written Japanese after (directly nominalized) verbs "normally ni tuki and not ni tukite or ni tuite" is used (LF 81).
expressed with the polite gerund V-i-másite, especially in formal speeches: N ni tukimásite. Lehmann and Faust (below referred to as LF) give the fullest treatment of phrasal postpositions (which they call "compound postpositions") up to the present work, and I have taken their study as a starting point. Yamada 1968c.24 makes a reference to the phrasal postposition as a "gerund preceded by a particle (usually ni and to) used as a simple particle".

Occasionally some other adverbialization (such as V-réba or V-ru tó or V-rú ni) will also be in use, as well as the gerund and/or infinitive. There are also a few literary negative infinitives V-(a)zu that form phrasal postpositions, sometimes optionally followed by ni or sité.

Some of the phrasal postpositions will create phrases that can be used only adverbially, but most will also permit adnominalization. The adnominal form is made either by predicating the gerund, as in N ni hán-site no N 'the N that is against N', or by using the imperfect (N ni han-suru N 'the N that opposes N') or the perfect (N ni hán-sita N 'the N that is opposed to N'). The particular adnominalization patterns in use for each phrasal postposition are marked in the list.

Since there is a gradation with respect to internal cohesion and stereotyped usage, it is difficult to give clear criteria for what is, and what is not, a phrasal postposition. The list below may be overly extensive, yet perhaps I have overlooked a few items that should have been included.

In addition to the phrasal postpositions in the list, there are a number of other types of quasi particles that are somewhat similar:

1. N ó hazime {to si/site} 'starting with N at the top/head, from N on down':
   Tooóó-ken [ó] hazime [ ] hyákú ik-káyo ni kyóten(−) o ... 'placing 101 strategic points, starting with the Eastern European sphere' (SA 2648.47); Kaityoo [ó] hazime [ ] kaiin minná ... 'All members of the society from the president on down ...'; ... seihó o hazime to sí, ... 'from the government on down' (SA 2674.128d); Nomura o hazime to sito óote no syookengáiya wa ... 'The big securities companies, starting with Nomura at the top, ...' (SA 2679.30b). The adnominalized form is N o hazime to suru: Nomura-syóóken o hazime to suru yondai-syookengáiya wa ... 'The four big securities firms, beginning with Nomura Securities, ...' (SA 2679.29a); ... keiei-konsáratântó o hazime to suru káksyu no konsáratântó ... 'all kinds of consultants starting with economic consultants (on down) ...' (SA 2684.44b); Igirisu o hazime to suru rengo-gun ... 'The allied armies with England at the head ...' (SA 2678.149).

2. N o keiki to site 'taking the opportunity of N'; with N (as the momentum, as the turning point)'
   N o kisó to site 'on the basis of N, on grounds of N'
   N o kityoo to site 'based on N, on the basis of N, with N as the keynote'
   N o mohan to site 'modeling after N, with N for a model'
   N o mokuteki to site 'with N as one’s aim/goal'

128. I have found an example of the restrictive daké after N ni mukatte; since daké will not ordinarily follow a gerund (see p. 506), this provides a piece of evidence that ni mukatte is working as a unit: Sono kawari zibun ni kati-mé no shu monó ni mukatte daké booryoku(−) o huruu 'Instead they display violence only toward those whom they themselves have the odds on' (SA 2685.118d).

129. E.g.: N o mazite 'with the addition/inclusion of N, including/counting in N', N to muzyun sité 'in contradiction to N, inconsistently with N', N ni saki-dátte 'in advance of N', ...
Phrasal postpositions

N o mokuhyo o to site 'with N as one's aim/goal'
N o muné to site 'making a point of N'
N o syúügi to site 'making N a principle, with N as one's principle'
N o syutai to site 'with N as the subject (or main constituent)'

3) N wa betu to/ni site 'aside from N' (cf. N wa betu ni, p. 471)

4) N o gisei ni site 'at the sacrifice/cost of N'
   N o kéiki ni [site] 'with N (as the momentum, as the turning point)'
   N o kí ni [site] 'with N as the opportunity/occasion, taking advantage of N'
   N o motó("") ni [site] 'with N as basis, on the basis/ground of N, based on N'
   N o sitaziki ni [site] 'on the model of N'
   N o tane ni [site] 'with N as a source'
   N o tānpo ni [site] 'with N as a pledge'
   N o tehāzime ni [site] 'with N for a start(er)'

5) N no hoo huk u ni site 'in retaliation for N'

6) N o tāte ni totte 'on the strength/grounds/pretext of N'

7) N ni kēi o arawāsite 'out of respect for N, in deference to N'
   N ni syoozyun o awāsete 'setting one's sights on N'

8) N no kyōka o éte 'by permission of N, with the permission of N'
   N no sigeki o ūkete 'stimulated by N, under the impetus of N'
   N no eikyōo ūkete 'influenced by N, under the influence of N'
   N o kite (haite, kabūtte, hamete, ūkete, ...) 'wearing N, in an N, in Ns'

9) N to kyōotyo de 'in (literary) collaboration with N; coauthored with N'
   N to kyōotuu ni 'in common with N'
   N to nareai de 'in collusion/conspiracy with N'
   N to rentai de 'jointly with N'

10) N no motó de/ni 'under (the tutelage, the provisions, ... of) N'
    N no sigeki no motó ni 'under the stimulation/impetus of N'
    N no torinasi de 'through the good offices of N'
    N no moyoosi de 'under the auspices of N'
    N no syookai de 'by introduction from N; introduced by N'
    N no mukui de (= N no mukui to site) 'in compensation for N'
    N no umewase ni no tamē ni 'to make up for N, by way of compensation for N'

11) S to katei site 'on the supposition that S'

12) S/N to iē-do mo 'although (it be) S/N; in spite of (being) S/N; even S/N'

13) N o iwazu, ... 'to say nothing of N'
    N o kaerimizu ūni 'despite (regardless of) N'

14) N to sasyoo site 'under the assumed name of N'

15) N ni sigeki sarete 'under the stimulus of N, spurred by N'

16) mikka ni agezu 'every three days or less'

In the list of phrasal postpositions that follows you will find the following columns of information after the serial number of the item:

1) -mas- is marked + if the polite gerund (V-i-másite) is used.
2) w/m indicates whether wa and/or mó can be used after the case marker, with
   the usual reductions of は wa and と mó. And where wa and/or mó can be inserted,
   often other focus and restrictive particles are also possible: N ni dake yotte, etc. (But where
   wa/mó are excluded there are no insertions of other particles.)
(3) *ta-ru-te* no indicates whether the perfect, imperfect, and/or predicated gerund is used for adnominalization by + in the appropriate column(s).

(4) **CASE** lists the case marker(s) called for by the verb. The accusative marker *ó* is often (always?) optional; I have so indicated only when the form without *ó* seems particularly common.

(5) Under **LITERARY** is listed the infinitive and (by bracketing -te to the infinitive) the literary gerund when the form(s) may be used.

(6) **COLLOQUIAL** lists the colloquial gerund, even when the form coincides with the literary gerund. I am using "colloquial" in the narrow sense of non-Bungo (non-literary); many of the forms listed here are seen more often than heard and belong to the written style of the colloquial.

(7) **MEANING** suggests a few typical translations of the phrasal postposition. When the phrasal postposition is common in forms other than the infinitive and gerund, the information is carried in the footnotes. For atomic bases, the infinitives and gerunds are cited without the final accent that is morphophonemically basic to the forms; when followed by *wā* or *mō* or *nō*, the forms will be heard as *V-i* and *V(-i)-tē*. Exceptionally, the forms *tūkē*, *tūkī*, and *tūkete* are listed with two options, though elsewhere we are ignoring the Tōkyō rule that will convert our *tūkete* to *tukēte* (etc.) automatically with the unvoicing of the first vowel; when the Tōkyō version of *tūkē* and *tūkī* is pronounced without a following particle the final accent will automatically be suppressed: *tūkē*, *tukī*.

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130. At least, when the noun serving as epitheke is separated by juncture from the adnominalized phrasal postposition. On the conditions governing suppression of a final accent before *nō*, see Martin 1970.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE +</th>
<th>ADNOMINAL</th>
<th>LITERARY</th>
<th>COLLOQUIAL</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
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<tr>
<td>-mas-</td>
<td>wa/mo-</td>
<td>-ta-</td>
<td>-ru-té-no</td>
<td>CASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. (+)</td>
<td>-/-</td>
<td>?- +</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>age [te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (+)</td>
<td>w?/m</td>
<td>- - +</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>aí mâtî[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. +</td>
<td>-/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>aite-dôri[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. -</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>- +1 -</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>árazu [site]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (+)</td>
<td>-/-</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>atari[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. +</td>
<td>-/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>atatte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. +</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ate-hâme[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. +</td>
<td>-/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ate-kômi[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. +</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni/(to)</td>
<td>awâse[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. +</td>
<td>-/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>bëngô si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. +</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>binzyoo si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. +</td>
<td>-/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>daihyoo si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. +</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>doomei si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. +</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>gaitoo si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. +</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni/mâde</td>
<td>genkyuu si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. +</td>
<td>w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>to/ni</td>
<td>goodoo si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. +</td>
<td>-/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>hâi-si[te]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. -</td>
<td>-/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>hâi-si[te]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The form is arazâru.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>+ w/m + − + to/kara²</td>
<td>hanáre[te] hanárete ‘separated/distant from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>hankoo si[te] hankoo si[te] ‘in opposition to, in defiance of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>(+) w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>hán-si[te] hán-site ‘against, contrary to; in contrast with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>hantai si[te] hantai site ‘in opposition to, against’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>hasamám[te] hasamátte ‘(sandwiched/caught) between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23a.</td>
<td>+ −/− + − + o</td>
<td>hasámí[te] hasánde ‘separated/broken by; on either side of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>hazure[te] hazurete ‘deviating from, contrary to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a.</td>
<td>+ w/m + − + o</td>
<td>hedáte[te] hedátete ‘on the other side of, across; at an interval of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>+ −/m + − + o</td>
<td>hé[te] héte ‘through, by way of, via’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a.</td>
<td>+ −/− + − + o</td>
<td>hikā[te] hikāete ‘in anticipation of, with ... just ahead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + to/ni</td>
<td>hikaku si[te] hikaku site³ ‘by comparison with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>+ −/m + + + o</td>
<td>hiki[te] hikiite ‘at the head of, commanding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>+ −/− − − − ni³</td>
<td>hiki-kā[te] hiki-kāete ‘in contrast to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>+ −/m + − + o</td>
<td>hik-kurúme[te] hik-kurúmete ‘inclusive of, including’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>(+) −/− + − + ni</td>
<td>hin-si[te] hin-site ‘on the verge of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>hīre[si[te] hīreite ‘in proportion to, proportionately with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>− −/− − − − ni</td>
<td>hi-si[te] hi-site⁴ ‘in comparison to; proportionately to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>+ w/m + − + o</td>
<td>hiku-me[te] hikumete ‘inclusive of, including’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>− −/m − − − o</td>
<td>hiku-me[ni] hikuménai de ‘exclusive of, excluding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>hún-si[te] hún-site ‘cast as, in the role of; under the guise of, disguised as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>+ w/m + − + ni</td>
<td>hure[te] hurete ‘touching upon, concerning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>(+) −/m − − + o</td>
<td>húu-si[te] húu-site ‘alluding to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + ni</td>
<td>ihan si[te] ihan site ‘in violation of, against’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>+ w/m + + + o</td>
<td>irre[te] irete ‘including’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Or the literary synonym yóri. And ó can substitute for the kara: ... sigái-tó tyót-to hanáretá ... [N] ‘[N] which is slightly separated from the city streets’ (see full sentence under 169, sotto, in the list of examples).

3. Also hikaku sureba. 3a. KKK 43.677: ni/o.

4. Also hi-süreba.
| 40. | + | -/m | - | - | o | irezu ni | ‘excluding’ |
| 41. | +? | -/m | + | + | ni | itāri(te)(*) | itātte(-) | ‘(reaching) up to’ |
| 42. | +? | /- | - | - | ni | itātē wa | ‘as for, as to; when it comes to’ |
| 43. | +5 | w/m | - | - | ni | kagirazu | ‘not just ... but’ |
| 44. | + | /- | - | + | ni | kagirī[te] | kagītte | ‘in particular, only; of all ...’ |
| 45. | + | /- | + | - | o | kāi-si[te] | kāi-site | ‘through (the medium of)’ |
| 46. | + | -/m? | + | -? | + | o | kakā[te](*) | kakāete(*) | ‘with ... (in one’s arms, on one’s hands, under one’s care’ |
| 47. | + | -/m | + | + | ni | kakāri[te] | kakātte6 | ‘depending on’ |
| 48. | (+)7 | w/m | - | - | ni | kakawārazu(”) | kakawāri[te] | ‘irrespective of, in spite of’ |
| 49. | + | /- | - | - | + | ni | kāke[te] | kākete | ‘(extending) through’ (cf. watātte) |
| 50. | + | /- | - | - | + | ni | kākete wa/(mo) | ‘in the matter of, with respect to, as regards, as far as ... is concerned’ |
| 51. | + | w/m | + | + | ni | kakotuke[te] | kakotukete | ‘under pretext/pretext of’ |
| 52. | + | -/m | + | + | o | kakomi[te] | kakkonde | ‘around, surrounding’ |
| 53. | + | w/m | + | + | ni | kakomare[te] | kakkomarete | ‘surrounded by’ |
| 54. | + | -/m | + | + | o | kāne[te] | kānete | ‘combining (for a dual purpose)’ |
| 55. | (+) | -/m? | - | - | + | ni | kān-gāmi[te] | kān-gāmite | ‘in view of, in the light of, taking a lesson from’ |
| 56. | - | w/m | - | - | - | to/ni | kankei-nāku | ‘regardless/irrespective of’ |
| 57. | + | w/m | + | + | ni/to | kanren si[te] | kanren site | ‘in connection with, pertaining to’ |
| 58. | + | w/m | + | + | ni | kān-san si[te] | kān-san site | ‘calculated in terms of, converted to’ |
| 59. | + | -/m | + | + | ni | kān-si[te] | kān-site wa/mo | ‘with respect to, as regards; about, concerning, having to do with’—ni kān-site dake wa ‘only with respect to’ |

5. The form is kagirimasēzu.
6. But apparently only the infinitive is used with S ya ìna ya ni kakāri ‘depending on whether or not S’ (LF 82); cf. Seikō suru ya ìna ya wa KONO TEN ni kakātte ... ‘Whether one succeeds or fails depends upon this point and ...’.
7. The form is kakawarimasēzu.
8. According to LF 83, when mó is inserted the reference is past and/or certain while without mó it is future and/or uncertain, but the distinction is occasionally disregarded.
| 60. | - | w/m | - | - | ni | kan-sézu | 'unconcerned with' |
| 61. | + | w/m | + | + | ni | kata-dóri[te] | kata-dótte | '(modeling/patterning) after the manner of, in imitation of' |
| 62. | + | w/m | + | + | o | kara-múki[te] | kara-múite | 'inclining/leaning to' |
| 63. | + | -/m | + | + | o | katógi[te] | katóide | 'with ... on one's shoulder, shouldering; with ... at its head (as its president, etc.)' |
| 64. | + | w/m | + | + | ni | kawari[te] | kawatte | 'for = in place of, on behalf of; in succession to' |
| 65. | + | w/m | - | - | to | kawari[te] | kawatte | 'differing from' |
| 66. | (+) | -/m | + | + | o | kisói[te] | kisótte | 'in competition for' |
| 67. | + | w/m | - | + | to | kisói[te] | kisótte | 'in competition with' |
| 68. | + | -/m | + | + | o | kitai si[te] | kitai site | 'in expectation/hope of' |
| 69. | + | -/m | + | + | o | ki-zukái[te] | ki-zukáte | 'for/in fear of' |
| 70. | + | -/m | + | + | o | ko[te] | koete | 'across; exceeding' |
| 71. | + | w/m | + | + | [o] | kóme[te] | kómete | 'inclusive of, including' |
| 72. | + | w/m | + | + | ni/to | ko’oo si[te] | ko’oo site | 'in agreement with; in response to' |
| 73. | + | w/m | - | - | ni | koodei sèzu ni | koodei sináide | 'independently of; irrespective of' |
| 74. | (+) | -/m | + | - | o | kosi[te] | kosite | 'over, exceeding, surpassing' |
| 75. | + | w/m | + | + | ni | kótae[te] | kótaete | 'in response/answer to' |
| 76. | - | -/m | + | + | ni | koto-kaki[te] | koto-kaite | 'of all the possibilities of/to ...' (cf. § 14.6.5) |
| 77. | + | w/m | + | + | to | koto-nári[te] | koto-nátte | 'unlike' |
| 78. | + | -/m? | + | -? | ni | koto-yóse[te] | koto-yósete | 'under the pretense of' (cf. yósete) |
| 79. | + | w/m | + | + | to | kumi-ái[te](-) | kumi-átte(-) | 'in partnership/association with' |
| 80. | + | -/m | + | + | o | kumi-awáse(-) | kumi-awásete(-) | 'combining, joining, associating, pairing' |
| 81. | + | w/m | + | + | o | kúme | kúnde | 'in league/conspiracy with' |
| 82. | + | w/m | + | + | ni/to | kurabe[te] | kurabete | 'as compared with, in comparison with; for' |

9. Also kuraberéba and kuraberu tó.
83. + w/m + + +  [o]  クルメ[テ]  クルメテ  「inclusive of, including’
84. – w/m – – – ニ クズエ[テ] イ クズエ [デ]  ‘in defiance of’
85. + –/m + + + クワエ[テ] イ クワエ [テ]  ‘including, inclusive of, adding/counting in’
86. + –/– + + + ニ クワエ[テ] イ クワエ [テ]  ‘in addition to’
87. + –/m + + + クワエ[テ] イ クワエ  ‘with ... in one’s mouth’
88. + w/m + + + クーヨブ [エ] イ クーヨブサイト  ‘in conspiracy with’
89. + w/m + + + クーヨド [イ] イ クーヨドサイト  ‘(co) jointly with, in combination with’
90. + w/m + + + クーヨルク [エ] イ クーヨルクサイト  ‘in cooperation with’
91. + w/m + + + クーヨルク [エ] イ クーヨルクサイト  ‘in cooperation/unison/concert with’
92. + w/m + + + ニ マケ [エ] イ マケエテ ‘leaving matters to ...; disregarding’
93. + –/m + + + ニ マン [エ] イ マンエテ ‘in imitation of, after the fashion/model of; aping’
94. – –/m – – +？ マスマ [エ] イ マスエETE ‘more than’; cf. adverb másite(–)
95. – –/– – – + ニ メデ[エ] イ メデエテ ‘in consideration/appreciation of, in reward for’
96. + –/?m + + + メガケ[エ] イ メガケエTE ‘aiming at; toward’
97. – –/m – – – ニ メゲズ [エ] イ メゲズエイデ ‘undaunted by’
98. – –/– – + + ニ メガリ [エ] イ メガルテ ‘surrounding, around; centering on, concerning’
99. + w/m + + + メンシ [エ] イ メンサイト ‘facing, fronting on, abutting’
100. + w/m – – + メンジ [エ] イ メンジテ(–)  ‘out of consideration/respect for’
101. + w/m + + + メズァメ [エ] イ メズァメテ ‘(being) awake to, conscious of’
102. + w/m + + + メザシ [エ] イ メザシテ ‘(destined) for, aiming at’
103. + –/?m + + + メクオミ [エ] イ メクオメ ‘in expectation/anticipation of; counting/relying on’
104. + –/m + + + ミコシ [エ] イ ミコシテ(–) ‘in expectation/anticipation of’
105. + –/?– + –  カラミ  イ カラミテ ‘considered as’
106. + –/m + + + モクルミ [エ] イ モクルミド ‘with ... in mind; contemplating’
107. + –/m + + + モチ [エ] イ モチテ ‘making use of, with (the aid of), by (means of)’
108. + w/m + + + ni motozuki[te] motozuite 'on the basis of; in conformity with, according to'
109. - -/- - - - de mottie SEE pp. 488-9
110. +10 -/- - - - o mottie (1) 'with ... (in hand), holding, possessing; bringing'
      (2) 'by means of'
      (3) 'in view of, on account of, by reason of'
      (4) 'on (the occasion of), as of (the date of)'
111. + w/m + + + ni muki[te] muite 'facing; leaning toward'
112. + -/m + + + ni mukai[te] mukatte 'heading/sailing toward, bound for; (aiming words) toward, to, at; (= ni mên-site) facing toward'
113. + w/m + + + to mukai-ai[te] mukai-âte 'face-to-face with, vis-a-vis, opposite'
114. + w/m + + + ni muke[te] mukete 'boundheaded/destined for'
115. + -/-m? + + + to/ni narabi[te] narande 'lined up with; ranked with'
116. + w/m + + + to narabe[te] narabete12 'alongside (of), compared with'
117. + w/m + + + ni nari-kawari[te] nari-kawâte(12) 'instead of, on behalf of'
118. + -/-m + + + ni nari-sumasi[te] nari-sumâsite(12) 'in the guise of, posing as; full-fledged'
119. + w/m + + + ni narii[te] naratte 'in imitation of, after (the example/model/manner of)'
120. + -/-m + + + ni nazoraie[te] nazoraite 'patterning/modeling after, in imitation of'
121. + -/-m + + + o nenai[te] nerte 'aiming at; with ... in view'
122. + -/-m + + + o nirai[te] ninatte 'bearing, shoudering; with ... on one's shoulders'
123. + w/m + -? + to12a nirami-awâse[te] nirami-awâsette(12) 'in the light of, in view/consideration of'

10. The form is motimásite.
11. For examples, see LF 86, where the adnominal form is given as ... o mottie suru N.
12. Also narabereba. 12a. KKK 43.677: to/o.
| 124. | + | -/m | + | + | + | o | nirám[i] (te) | niránde | 'with an eye on ...; with ... in view' |
| 125. | + | w/m | + | + | − | to/ni | ni[te] | nite | 'like, similar to' |
| 126. | + | -/m? | + | + | − | ni/(máde) | nóbi[te] | nóbite | 'sweeping off to (a direction)' (~ hirogatte iru) |
| 127. | + | w/m | + | + | + | ni | nori[te] | notte | 'aboard, a-saddle; on, by (a vehicle or a mount)' |
| 128. | (+) | -/m | + | + | + | ni | nottóri[te] | nottótte | 'following (pattern/precedent), in accordance with' |
| 129. | + | w/m | + | + | + | o | nozoki[te] | nozoite | 'except for, save, but, barring, outside of' |
| 130. | + | -/m | + | + | + | o | nozómi[te] (−) | nozoîde(−) | 'in the hope of, in hopes that, in anticipation of' |
| 131. | + | -/− | + | + | + | ni | nozomi[te] | nozoîde | 'facing; confronting; on the verge of; (in attendance) at' |
| 132. | + | -/m | + | + | + | o | óbi[te] | óbite | 'wearing (a sword, an expression of, the influence of); entrusted/charged with' |
| 133. | + | w/m | + | + | + | o | oginá[te] | oginátte | 'supplementary to; offsetting, compensating for' |
| 134. | + | -/m | + | −? | + | o | okási[te] (−) | okásite(−) | 'in spite of, braving, in the teeth of' |
| 135. | +13 | −/− | +? | − | + | o | oki[te] | oîte | 'except, but for, putting aside' |
| 136. | +13 | −/− | − | −14 | + | ni | oki[te]15 | oîte(−) | 'at, in (= dé); in the matter of, with respect to (= ni kán-site); on the part of (= no hóó de, gá); by [ANIMATE AGENT IN PASSIVE]16 |
| 137. | + | -/m | + | + | + | o | omoi-dási[te] (−) | omoi-dásite(−) | 'at the thought of' |

13. The form is okimasite.
14. The form used is okérui(−), the literary attributive of the perfect-resultative (§9.6).
15. I follow my informants, despite LF 81 "ni oki or ni okite are never used". An example of ni oki will be found in Kgg 82.112a6: sorézore no náibu ni oki 'within them individually'.
16. See LF 84. Two other uses to observe: [mósi] ... ni oîte wa 'if ...'; ... ni oîte/okarete/okaserarete [wa] 'as'—"This usage is especially common with words meaning 'believe, think, able to, etc.'" (LF 84), the passives being reserved for reference to the emperor and other exalted dignitaries.
| 138. | + | w/m | + | + | + | ni | óo-zi[te](^) | óo-zite(^) |
| 139. | +17 | w/m | − | − | − | ni | oo-zézu(¯) ni | oo-zínai de |
| 140. | + | −/m | + | (+) | + | o | osi-tâte[te] | osi-tátete |
| 141. | + | −/m | + | + | + | o | osóre[te] | osórete |
| 142. | + | −/m | + | + | + | o | o[te] | otte |
| 143. | −? | −/m | + | + | −? | ni | o[te] | otte |
| 144. | + | −/m | + | + | + | ni | oyobi[te] | oyonde17a |
| 145. | + | w/m | + | + | + | to | rengoo s[te] | rengoo site |
| 146. | + | w/m | + | + | + | to | renkei s[te] | renkei site |
| 147. | + | w/m | + | + | + | to | renmei s[te] | renmei site |
| 148. | + | w/m | + | + | + | o | riyou s[te] | riyou site |
| 149. | (+) | −/m | + | + | + | o | rón-zi[te](¯) | rón-zite(¯) |
| 150. | − | −/m | − | − | − | o | ron-zézu(¯) |
| 151. | + | −/m | + | + | + | o | ságe[te] | ságete |
| 152. | + | w/m | + | + | + | ni | sái-si[te] | sái-site |
| 153. | + | w/m | + | + | + | ni | sakanobóri[te] | sakanobótte |
| 154. | + | w/m | + | + | + | ni | sakarai[te] | sakarátte |
| 155. | + | −/m? | + | + | + | o | sási[te] | sásite |
| 156. | + | −/m? | + | + | + | ni | sés-si[te](¯) | sés-site(¯) |

17. The form is oo-zimasu ni.
17a. Hamako Chaplin accentuates ... ni oyonde.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>157. + -/m + + + o sitagâ`ete(-)</td>
<td>sitagâ`ete(-)</td>
<td>'attended by, followed/accompanied by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158. + w/m - - + ni sitagâ`[e]t(-)</td>
<td>sitagâ`[e]t(-)</td>
<td>'in accordance with, conforming to, in compliance with; (= ni turete) accordingly as, in proportion to/as, as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159. - -/- - - - o -</td>
<td>site</td>
<td>SEE p. 293 [underlying agent in a causative, but note the omission of the causative in example in LF 87]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ -/- ? ? ? o -</td>
<td>mótte site</td>
<td>SEE p. 488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ -/- (-)(^{19}) + + to -(^{18a})</td>
<td>site</td>
<td>'as, in the capacity of; by way of, purporting to be; considered as; as token of'; ~ wa 'as far as ... is concerned; for, as'; SEE pp. 229, 1018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ -/- - ? ? ni -(^{18a})</td>
<td>site</td>
<td>'being; is and';(^{20}) ~ wa 'considering (that it is); for'; SEE pp. 229, 487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160. + -/m + + + o soe[te]</td>
<td>soete</td>
<td>'as an appendage to, along with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161. + -/- + - + ni sokú-si[te]</td>
<td>sokú-site</td>
<td>'in conformity with; conforming to; based/founded on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162. + -/m? + + + ni sokuoo si[te]</td>
<td>sokuoo site</td>
<td>'in conformity with, in response to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163. + w/m + + + ni sonk[i]te</td>
<td>sonkite</td>
<td>'running counter to; in violation of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164. + -/?m + + + ni sonae[te]</td>
<td>sonaete</td>
<td>'making provision for/against'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165. + -/m + + + o sonkei si[te]</td>
<td>sonkei site</td>
<td>'out of deference to; out of respect for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166. + -/m + + + o sonyoo si[te]</td>
<td>sonyoo site</td>
<td>'out of deference to; out of respect for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167. + w/m + + + ni sootoo si[te]</td>
<td>sootoo site</td>
<td>'corresponding to; proportionate to; meriting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168. + -/m? + + + o soröe[te]</td>
<td>soröete</td>
<td>'arranging, completing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) Also sitagâ`e`ba. \(^{18a}\) Written examples of N to/ni si are condemned; cf. Kazama 206-7.

\(^{19}\) Except under special idiomatic circumstances, e.g. Watasi to sita kotô ga dôô site konna matigai o sitê ka moosi-wake gozaimasên 'I just don't know how I could have done such a thing, but I hope you will forgive me' (to sita kotô here meaning something like to iu monô 'a humble person who is ...').

\(^{20}\) Cf. LF 113: ... ni site V-ru mono 'those which are ... and which V', ... to site V-ru mono 'those which V as ...'.

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<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>169.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ +?</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>soi[te]1</td>
<td>sotte1, soote</td>
<td>‘along(side), hugging, parallel to, by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>soi[te]2</td>
<td>sotte2</td>
<td>‘complying with, satisfying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ -?</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>sukasi[te]1</td>
<td>sukasite1</td>
<td>‘(peering) through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>sukasi[te]2</td>
<td>sukasite2</td>
<td>‘by coaxing/persuading’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni/to</td>
<td>syoogoo[te]1</td>
<td>syoogoo site1</td>
<td>‘compared/checked/tallied with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>seōi[te]</td>
<td>syotte</td>
<td>‘with ... on one’s back; under (a burden of)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175.</td>
<td>+ w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>taikoo[te]1</td>
<td>taikoo site1</td>
<td>‘in opposition to, against, in rivalry with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176.</td>
<td>+ -/-</td>
<td>_ + + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>tái-si[te]</td>
<td>tái-site</td>
<td>‘against, toward, for; (reporting) to; in regard/reference to; as compared with, in contrast to; per, as against (each)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>takurámi[te]</td>
<td>takuránde</td>
<td>‘in collusion with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>tazúne[te]</td>
<td>tazúnete</td>
<td>‘in search of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179.</td>
<td>+ w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>tatoê[te]</td>
<td>tatóete</td>
<td>‘likened to, compared with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>tazusáê[te]</td>
<td>tazusáete</td>
<td>‘with ... in one’s hand/possession’; accompanied by, with ...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181.</td>
<td>+ w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>teikei si[te]</td>
<td>teikei site1</td>
<td>‘in cooperation/concert with’</td>
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<tr>
<td>182.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ _ +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>terási[te]</td>
<td>terasite2</td>
<td>‘in (the) light of, in view of; upon comparison with; according to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183.</td>
<td>+ w/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>tigai[te]</td>
<td>tigatte</td>
<td>‘different from, unlike’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>tinámi[te]</td>
<td>tinânde</td>
<td>‘with reference to, by association with; associated with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>tomonáï[te]</td>
<td>tomonâtte</td>
<td>‘in keeping/step with, attendant upon, accompanying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186.</td>
<td>+ -/-</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>tóori[te]</td>
<td>tótette</td>
<td>‘by way of, via’</td>
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<tr>
<td>187.</td>
<td>+ -/m</td>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>tóosilight1</td>
<td>tóosity1</td>
<td>‘through (the medium of), through the good offices of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188.</td>
<td>+ -/-</td>
<td>+ _ +</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>tóosi[te]1</td>
<td>tóosity1</td>
<td>[after a number] ‘spanning; in succession’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189.</td>
<td>+ -/-</td>
<td>_ (+)</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>tóri[te]</td>
<td>tótette</td>
<td>‘with reference to, for’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. For Hamako Chaplin this verb is atonic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 190. | - - - - - [o] | tóri[te]₂ | tótte₂ | ('taking (up)'); (toonen ~ お*-) 'including (the current year)'
| 191. | + -/m + + + [o] | tori-máze[te](-) | tori-máze[te](-) | 'mixing together, including'
| 192. | - -/m - - o | tówazu(-) [site] | tori-máze[te](-) | 'regardless/irrespective of; without distinction of'
| 193. | - - - + + ni | tugi[te] | tuide | 'next after; second to'
| 194. | + -/m + + + o | tukai[te] | tukatte | 'using; by means of, with'
| 195. | - - - - (+) ni | tüké | tükéte | 'whether ... or' (used in pairs); SEE p. 900
| 196. | + - - - + ni | tüké[te] | tükéte | 'in connection with'
| 197. | + - - - + ni | tükı₁ | túite | (1) (= ni kán-site) 'dealing with, treating of, about'
|   |   |   |   | (2) (= ni sotte/soote) '(following) along, hugging'; (= no motó ni) 'under (the direction of)'; (= to tómo(-) ni) 'accompanying, (following) along with'
|   |   |   |   | (3) (= -goto ni) 'per (unit), each, at'
|   |   |   |   | (4) (= ni atatte) 'when (it comes to), in the event/case of'
| 198. | - - - - ni | tükı₂ | | 'owing to, because of, on account of, due to': byooki tükı = byooki no tame, S tükı = S no de
| 199. | + - - +? + o | turáne[te] | turánete | 'joining in a (long) row/string'
| 200. | + - - - + ni | ture[te]₁ | turete₁ | 'accompanyed by, with; accordingly with, in proportion to/as, as'
| 201. | + w/m + - + o | ture[te]₂ | turete₂ | 'bringing along (a person), with ... (as accompaniment)'
| 202. | + w/m - - + | to ture-đát[te] | ture-đatte | 'in company with'
| 203. | + w/m + + - ni | turi-á[te] | turi-átte | 'in keeping/symmetry/equilibrium with'
| 204. | + -/m - - + o | tuu-zi[te]₁ | tuu-zite₁ | 'through (the medium of), via; through-out, all over'
205. + -/m + + + to tuu-zi[te]₂ tuu-žite₂ 'together with, making a total with; in collusion with'
206. + w/m + + + ni tyokumen si[te] tyokumen siti 'in the face of'
207. + -/m - - + ni tyóo-si[te] tyóo-siti²² 'judging from/by, in the light of'
208. + w/m + + + ni tuzuki[te] tuzuite 'continuing on from; next to/after; adjacent to'
209. + -/m + + + ni watari[te] watatte 'extending over/through; throughout'
210. + -/m + -? + o yóki si[te] yóki siti 'in expectation/anticipation of'
211. + -/m + + + ni yose[te] yosete 'close to, up against' (cf. koto-yósete)
212. + -/m + + + ni yori[te] yotte (1) 'by' (inanimate agent/instrumentality of passive);
  (2) 'by reason of, on the basis of'
213. - -/- - - - [ni] yotte 'according to; in accordance/line with, in response to, in compliance with; as a consequence/result of; by virtue of; by reason of, due to'
214. + -/m - - - ni - - yoru to, yoreba [...] sóo da, ... omomúki(-) nári 'according to ... [they say]'
215. + -/m + + + ni zyóo-zi[te](-) zyóo-zite(-) 'taking advantage of, under cover of'
216. + -/m + - + ni zyûnkyo si[te] zyûnkyo siti 'in conformity to, in pursuance of'
217. + -/m + + + ni zyunnoo si[te] zyunnoo siti 'in adjustment/accommodation with, in sympathy with'
218. + -/- + + + ni zyûn-zi[te](-) zyûn-zite(-) 'in proportion to/as, according to/as'

22. MKZ² 722a. Also tyoo-sûreba, tyoo-sûru ni.
§9.7. Phrasal postpositions

MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES OF PHRASAL POSTPOSITIONS
(arranged by list number)

1. Zėngakū [o] _agetu_ no kyōōzyū-tātī to no kyōotoo ... 'The all-university joint struggle [against the Cambodian incursion of 1970] alongside their professors ...' (SA 2680.23e).

3. ... byooin no sekīn-sya ya kuni _o aite-dōtte_, ... minzi-sōsyoo o okōsita 'instituted a civil action ... against the hospital officials and the government' (SA 2647.22).

5. ... ittē-nēnkan, tokutei no hooritu-kāmoku ni kan-sūru kyōōzyū("*) mātā-wa zyo-kyōōzyū tōo no syokū("*) _ni aitte_ kore o koōg[(i)](l) kenkyuu sita monō nōmī o kitei si ... 'will designate only those who have lectured and/or researched on this for a fixed number of years in the capacity of professor or assistant professor concerned with special law courses' (KKK 3.81); Hāhā _ni aitte_ wa, ā to zōo'o wa hitōtō no monō o hyō-ō-ri kara nagāmeta tokī no sooi de āru 'For [? my] mother, love and hate differ only in the way a single thing differs when looked at from front and back' (lg 43).

6. Seiζi-ka to sitē no syuppatsu _ni atatte_, seiζi-ka to sitē no hyōōka("*) dē wa naī hyōoo o tumī-kanasete dētē kita no wa, Ishiara SINTERO no tamē ni osīmī "bēkī da to iu kimotī wa, anāta no tamē ni taisetū 'The feeling is important to you that it is unfortunate for Shinataro Ishihara to have heaped up criticisms as lacking any rating as a political figure on the occasion of embarking as a politician' (SA?).

33. ... sensō no tamē no hyōoo o _hukūmete_ no taigai-ēnzyō ... 'foreign aid including expenses for ... wars' (SA 2664.45c); Tyuukūyō _o hukūmeta_ Āzio to no booeiki ni yoranākereba, ... 'Unless we rely on trade with an Asia that includes Communist China ...' (Tk 4.231a).

41. nenmatu _ni itari_ 'up to the end of the year' (LF).

43. Māta hātō _ni kagirazu_, kotori no karada wa kākusu no bakutēria no zeekkō no sūmī-ka de ... 'And not just pigeons but [all] birds provide with their bodies an excellent home for all sorts of bacteria; ...' (SA 2649.126c).

50. Gōgo karā yōru _ni kākete_ wa, tāda bēddō de nete iru dakē de aru 'From afternoon through the night I do nothing but just lie in bed' (SA 2645.47b).

51. ... tāku(") _o kakōnde_ hanasi-atta 'talked around a table'.

59. Sore wa kimī _ni kan-sita_ koto de wa nāi 'It is none of your business' (Kenkyusha). For an example of _ni kan-sūru_ N, see 5 above.

70. ... zuuuman-nin _o koeru_ gakusei to simin ... 'over a hundred thousand students and citizens ...' (SA 2680.21a); ... nihyakū-nin _o koeru_ kisyā-dan 'a group of over two hundred journalists' (SA?).

71. ... tānsei [o] kōme te ... 'with devotion' (SA 2793.44b); Zeikin mo kōme te niman-en désu 'It is twenty thousand yen, with the tax'.

74. Yokosuka no Bēi kaigun-kīti zentai dē wa, hassen-nin _o kosu_ Nihon-śin ga hatarait e iru 'In the entire US Navy base at Yokosuka over 8000 Japanese are working' (SA 2665.7).

82. Ōobei("*) _ni kurabe_ ... 'compared with America and Europe ...' (SA 2689.48c).

94. Īzen _ni mo masite_, māniti(") ga isogāsiku nātē kita 'Even more than before we get busier by the day'.

intensifies over the “Secretary General'’ (SA 2661.127—heading); ... kanzí-tyoo no pósuto o megutte, ... ‘centering on the post of Secretary General’ (SA 2661.127a); ... Kíoróhu ansatu o meguru nazo ... ‘the riddle surrounding the Kíoró assassination’ (SA 2677.110c); ... o meguru densetu ‘a legend telling of ...’; ... tenká-butu o meguru anzensei to taísaku ... ‘safety and precautionary measures with respect to [food] additives’ (SA).

99. Doobaa-káikyoo ni men-síru Buuróonyu kara Ruáaburu ni mukau totyuu de tyuusyoku-dóki ni nátta ‘Along the way toward Le Havre from Boulogne facing the Straits of Dover, it got to be lunch time’ (SA 2689.126); ... Nínó-kai ni mén-síta tokóro ... ‘a place facing the Sea of Japan’ (Miyara 1954.144).

102. ... zuuken [o] mezasíte ‘aiming at taking examinations’.

105. daitai kara mite ‘considered as a whole’.

112. ... keikan-tai ni mukatté no happoo ... ‘firing toward the police forces’ (SA 2681.128e); ... ni mukau N (see 99 for an example).

114. ... sóra e zuuukoo o muketé da ga, ikaku-syágeki o suru kotó ni siete iku ‘...—but with the muzzle pointed at the sky—fire warning shots’ (SA 2685.99b).

115. Kono kuni wa saikín hyakunén-kan ni Oobéi-syókoku ni syókumintí-ka(—) sarenákatta, Ázia de wa Nínóhó to naranede tatta hutátu no kuni de áru ‘This nation is the only country in Asia besides Japan to have escaped colonialization by western powers in the past hundred years’ (SA 2685.101b).

124. Ní mo kakawárazu, taityyu-kánkei kaizen ni kóó made tikará(—) o ierú no wa, mázú Sóren o níranede no kotó daroo ‘It must be mostly with an eye on the Soviet Union that all this stress is nevertheless laid upon improving relations with China’ (SA 2668.118c).

129. ... góruhu o nozoíta supootu-yóohin ... ‘sports goods except for golf’ (SA 2672.62d); Tyuu kyoo o nozoíta Ázia-keizai-káiígí to iu móó na násensu desu ‘An Asian Economic Conference without Communist China is nonsense’ (Tk 4.231b).

130. ... soo-sénkyo ni nozondé no kaisín/too ... ‘the Kaishín party on the eve of the general election’ (Tk 4.206a).

135. Máiban(—) kimatta ma o oite, katei no suidoó to dénkí no syóohí-ryoo ga huérú no da ‘Every evening at fixed intervals the consumption of household water and electricity surges’ (SA 2659.110c).

138. Kyúúuyó mo nóoryoku(—) ni óo-zíte(—) kimerareru ‘Pay is determined in accordance with ability’ (SA 2650.91c); ... nóoryoku(—) ni óo-zí(—) ‘in accordance with ability’ (id. 91d); ... toki to baaí ni óo-zítal(—) kágu ‘furniture adapted to time (= occasion) and place’ (SA 2671.146).

144. Íma ni oyónde nání o awatete iú n desu ka ‘What’s the rush now that you’ve waited this long?’; Íma ni oyónde awatete ninen-sei no tankí-dáigaku o tukúru ‘gúraí nara, saisyo kara yonensei-dáigaku to heikoo site ninensei-dáigaku o mookéru hoohoo o kóo-zú(—) ‘békí de atta ‘Instead of waiting till now and rushing to build a two-year college, if it were to be done at all they should have devised means to provide a two-year college alongside the four-year college from the beginning’ (KKK 3.42); Káre no kono saisyo no insyoo wa, ... o kuwásíku kíki-dáusu ni oyónde, iyóóyó ugo-kakigataí monó no nátta ‘This first impression of his became harder and harder to maintain now that he was hearing ... in detail’ (Ig 43).

152. ... yonzýuu-nen hukyoo ni sáí-site ‘at the time of the recession of 1965’ (SA); kíken ni sáí-site ‘at a moment of national crisis’; syóomotu no sentaku ni sáí-site wa ‘in selecting books to read’.

§9. Adverbializations
159. ... terebi-tárento to síte no sainoo wa ... ‘ability as a television talent’ (SA).

161. ... gutai-tekí na seikatu-kánkaku ni sokú-site no kokuzín-sábetu hantái to Betonamu hansen ga ... ‘The opposition to discrimination against Negroes and to the Vietnam War, based upon a concrete feeling for life, ...’ (SA 2664.91d).

169. Mekón-gawa ni sotta sigá-ti o tyót-to hanáreta has-syásen hodó mo áru Ransan-ooodoori ‘Lan-san(?)’ Avenue is parallel to the Mekong River, slightly separated from the city streets, and boasts eight lanes of traffic’ (SA 2688.39)—epithematic identification.

183. Beugin to tígat, ... ‘Unlike the American forces’ (SA 2686.42a); Héríumyu ya súiso no gáso o tukaú no to wa tígat te kúuki o soohúde de okuri-komu ... ‘Different from using helium or hydrogen, air is inserted with a blower, and ...’ (SA 2647.4); Mátá, Támíya no bái da to, Síomi to tígat Kita-Tyosóen kara Kyúúba ni ikasete morau to iu kakusyoo ga nái no de, Habana-rúuto ni norerú ka dóó ka, wakaráñái ‘And, in Támíya’s case, unlike Shíomi there is no clear evidence of his being allowed to go from North Korea to Cuba, so we don’t know whether he will be able to get on the Havana route or not’ (SA 2677.151a).

187. ... na hitó to iú no ga, tyosaku o tózise no insyú no áta ga ... ‘it was my impression from his works that he is a person who ...’ (SA 2653.138d).

189. ... watakusi ní tóri ... ‘for me’ (Kgg 43.66b); Kore wa o-hutari dáké de nákú, mótto zími na sénkyo o tatakatta hitó-táti ni tótte, kiwámate human daróó to omóú n desu ‘This will be extremely disturbing, I think, not only for you two but also for the people who have fought out quieter elections’ (SA?).

190. Tóonen tótte zyuurokú-sai no káno-zyo ga ... ‘She, sixteen years of age including the current year, ...’ (SA 2664.134).

192. Koten sinsaku o tówazú(”) sákái ~zyuu no suiri-syóosetu o senmon ni [site] hon’yaku site iru siriizu de, ... ‘It is a series that specializes in translating mystery stories from all over the world both classics and new works’ (SA 2679.143a)—equivalent to Koten { [de áru] ka] sinsaku { [de áru] ka} o ...; ... mokuteki no yóisi-asi o tówazú(”) ... ‘regardless of the worthiness of the goal’ (Tanigawa 28); Zé-hi(”) o tówazú(”) ... ‘Right or wrong ...’; Zín-tiku(”) o tówazú(”) ... ‘(Regardless) whether man or beast ...’; Dánzyo o tówazú(”) ... ‘Irrespective of sex ...’; Whether male or female ...’.

193. ... Béi ni tugi dainí-i booringu-óokoku ‘the number-two bowling kingdom (next after the US’ (SA 2640.114c—heading); ... tuki-rókétto no seikoo ni tuidé wa, ... ‘next after the success of the moon rocket’ (SA).

195. Samúú ni tüké(1) atúú ni tüké(1), iroiró to mondai ga áru ‘Whether it’s cold or hot, there are various problems’; Génki ni tüké, byooki ni tüké ... ‘In sickness and in health ...’; Kore ni tüké, are ni tüké ... ‘Whether this or that ...’; Kikú ni tüké, katarú ni tüké ... ‘Whether asking or telling ...’. See also p. 900.

196. Sore ni tükéte mo oomí-dású no wa ... ‘In connection with that one recalls ...’ (Maeda 1962.17).

197. (1) ... to iu mondai ni tuki(1), tasyyo kankeyyu ñitasímsítsa ‘I did some research with respect to the question of ...’ (Ôno 1967.155).

(3) ippún-kan ni tuki(1) hanahyakú-en ‘700 yen a minute’.

(4) kankeyyu-zyó(’”) o házímete tukúru ni tüte ... ‘when you first build a research laboratory ...’.

200. ... monó no ketułboo no sensei kara das-súró ni ture, ... ‘along with escaping from the tyranny of lack of things ...’ (SA 2673.39e).
204. ... térebi o tuu-zité no komyunikéesyon ‘communication through television’; 
... sono kanoo-sei o sénkyo o tuu-zite sira senákutya ikenái desyoo ‘the possibility will have 
to be explored through the election’ (R)—major juncture after the first ó suggests that the 
direct object is thematized.

208. Ití-zi no nyúusu ni tuzuite ... ‘Following the one o’clock news ...’ (R).

209. ... ni-dó ni wataru koon o okonatta ‘(gave lectures that embraced two times =) 
gave lectures at two different times = gave two (separate) lectures’ (SA 2674.105b); San­ 
zíkan ni wataru towáretet(‘) iru ‘She is subjected to questioning over a three-hour period’ 
(SA 2649.127b); ... zenpan ni watatte no kenkyuu wa ... ‘a general study’ (Satô 1.1).

212. Eziputo-séihu ni yoru únga no sessyuu ... ‘Seizure of the canal by the Egyptian 
government ...’; Dóno kuni ga sukí ka to iu kótó wa kózin no konomi ni mo yotte tigaú 
 ga ... ‘Which country one prefers varies with the individual’s tastes, too, but ...’ (Nakane 61).
10 FA V ORS

To speak of giving or receiving a favor, you use the verbal gerund V-te (§9.2) or its negative V-(a)nai de (§8) followed by a verb of giving (yaru/ageru ‘gives others’, kureru/kudasāru ‘gives us’) or of receiving (morau/itadaku). V-te ageru can abbreviate to V-t’ ageru (= V-t[e] ageru) as in Tōtt’ ageru ‘I’ll take it’; Yōnd’ ageru ‘I’ll read it’; Gakushi mo dāsī’ ageru ‘I’ll even pay your school expenses’ (SA 2674.122e); Kikasit’ agemasu = Kikasete agemasu ‘I’ll let you hear it’. You may also run across the contraction -t[e]aru = -taru, not to be confused with the literary perfect attributive ending V-i-tāri/-taru derived from a historical contraction of V-i-t[e] ār-i/ār-u (§13.8a, §11) nor with the synchronic contraction in dialect speech of modern V-t[e] āru, as described in §9.2.4.(4).

An example: Ore n[ō] tōkō ni asobi ni kōi ya; omosirōi asobi mo osietaru (= osiet[e]aru) ‘Come visit my place; I’ll show you some good fun’ (SA 2648.117—speaking is a young man on the Noto Peninsula). A somewhat literary synonym of V-te yaru/ageru is V-te tukawasu as in Kanben site tukawasu ‘I will forgive you’ (Hayashi 126). Yoshida says this and the related V-te tukawasaru are dialect relics of an older usage “now old-fashioned”; as a command form V-te tukaasai (= V-te kudasāi) is used in Köchi, Kagawa, Hiroshima, and Yamaguchi (Y 565–6). On V-te yokōsu, see §6.5.

The marking of the adjuncts of the favor given are the same as when a gift is given:

A ga B ni X o yaru/ageru (or: kureru/kudasāru) ‘A gives X to B’.
A ga B ni X o site yaru/ageru (or: kureru/kudasāru) ‘A does X for B’.

But there is a slight difference in the marking of adjuncts that appear in the receiving of gifts and the receiving of favors:

B ga A [ni/][kara] X o morau/itadaku ‘B gets X from A’.
B ga A ni/[kara] X o site morau/itadaku ‘B gets A to do X—B receives the favor of A doing X for him’.

When you receive THINGS, the preference is to mark the source with karā (though ni is sometimes used); when you receive FAVORS, the preference is to mark the source (which is identical with the subject of the verb) with ni, though occasionally karā may turn up, as in Niigata (Shibata 1965.174–5) and Tsushima (Zhs 9.29). A favor received: Bōku[‘] wa, anata ni koohī o ogotte moratta koto ga āru n desu yō, ima kara zat-tō1 sanzyū-nen no mu kasi no hanasi ‘You know, I once got treated to coffee by you, going back a good thirty years ago’ (Tk 4.41).

If the subject or object is to be exalted, the exaltation will carry over intact from the underlying sentence, regardless of switches in the surface subject of the converted sentence. From an underlying sentence Sensei ga/wa matigai o o-naisi ni nāru ‘The teacher corrects the mistakes’ we can obtain Sensei ga/wa [watasī ni] matigai o o-naisi ni nātte kureru/kudasāru ‘The teacher corrects the mistakes for me’. But with causatives and pseudo causatives, the exaltation in a favor will sometimes spill over both subject and object, making certain otherwise grammatical sentences sound odd, as explained in §30; informants balk even at (? ) Watasī ga/wa sensei ni matigai o o-naisi ni nātte morau/itadaku ‘I am favored to have the teacher correct the mistakes for me’. It is difficult to find good examples of a favor conversion made on a conversion of object exaltation, since the point in choosing the latter in the first place is usually to express a favor to a superior.
The report of the favor given or received (the new sentence) enters fairly freely into further conversions, such as negative, desiderative, various adverbializations, etc. Either the gerund or the auxiliary of giving/receiving (or both) can be subject to the subsequent conversions (cf. §9.2.4); for example, with the negative: site kurenai 'doesn’t do it for me'; sinai de kureru ‘as a favor to me avoids/stops doing it’; sinai de kurenai ‘doesn’t do me the favor of not doing it’; site morawanai ‘doesn’t get the favor/kindness of [their] doing it’; sinai de morau ‘gets the favor of [their] not doing it’; sinai de morawanai ‘doesn’t get the favor of [their] not doing it’.

As with other gerund-auxiliary conversions, the giving and receiving of favors is theoretically recursive: you can favor your friend by doing something for his brother, and the friend can receive the benefit of your favoring his brother. Examples: Oya ni sono musuko ni uti
1) no musumé o moratte yatte itadakemai to ka tanōnda ‘I asked the father whether we might not receive the favor of his [indulging his son by] letting the boy receive our daughter [in marriage]’; Tō-ni-kaku, byoositu kara dē te itte moratte kudasai ‘Anyway, get her to leave my hospital room’ (Endō 143); Kono syasin-ya ga umāi n desu ga, iti-dō kāre no tokorō e itte syasin o utūsīte moratte yatte kudasaimasēna kah ‘This photographer is good; won’t you sometime (do me a favor and) go to his place to give him the favor of letting him take your picture?’ (K in Ōno 1967.36); Senpoo no matigāi da kara watasi ga hanāsīte senpoo ni ayamāte moratte yarō ‘Since it was the other fellow’s mistake I will speak up and see to it that you get apologized to’; Ueki-ya ni o-tya o nomāsēte yatte morai-tai ‘I want to have you kindly let them serve the gardener tea’.

For the desiderativized favor receipt, instead of V-te morai-tai ‘(I) would like to have it done’ you will sometimes hear V-te hosii.2 This usage seems to be coming in from Kansai dialects (cf. Hōgen-gaku gaisetsu 403); the expression was unknown in the Edo of 150 years ago (according to SA 2642.31b). An example with a negative: Kore kara hanāsū kotō wa koosikī da tō wa omowānai de hosī ‘What I am about to speak now I want you not to take as official’ (SA 2677.149b). An impersonal ‘we would like to have it done, it would be desirable to have it done’ is often expressed by the simple passive desiderative: sare-tai. Notice the interesting example given by Ishigaki (23): Zyokyū-tāti kara omosōriō māsuta da to omonware-tai ‘(I) want to be thought a pleasant master by the women helpers’.

With weather phenomena a specific “giver” is not needed: Hārete kuretāra... ‘If only it would (be kind enough to) clear up for us = I wish it would clear up’. A rather special case is the desiderativized causative in Ame o hura-saku naĩ mon desu nē ‘We surely don’t want to let/have it rain, do we = 1 sure hope it won’t rain’.

1. V-te kurenai sometimes turns up as V-te kunnai (Y 573). Other unusual variants for which Yoshida cites examples include V-te kun ro ryo for V-te kure ro ryo, V-te kunsai/kusse/kussai/kusse for V-te kure-nasai, and V-te kere ryo for V-te kure ryo; there is also an example of the spelling “kureu” (presumably pronounced /kuryoo/) for (V-te) kureyoo = kureru darō (Y 573-4). Command forms reported include V-te o-kure (“old-fashioned, popular in Edo days”), V-te o-kure yo, V-te-ocure, and Ōsaka V-tookure and V-te o-ku[n]ahare (Y 576-7).

2. Dōo site hosii desu ka is ambiguously (1) ‘What do you want me/him to do?’ (= dōo + site morai-tai desu ka) or (2) ‘Why do you want it?’ (= dōo site + [sore ga] hosii desu ka); with a casual ellipsis it can also mean (3) ‘Why do you want to have it done?’ (= Dōo site + [site] hosii desu ka?). An example of the first meaning is found in this sentence: Anata no otto ya koibito ga sentyōo dattara, dōo site hosii desu ka ‘If your husband or lover were captain of a ship [about to sink], what would you want him to do?’ (SA 2664.32d).
Favor-receiving expressions are often used to express wishes, hopes, or advice: ‘So site itadakunâkute wa (itadakenai to, itadakunâkereba) komarimâsu ‘It will be too bad (a shame) if we can’t have it done for us’; ‘So site itadakenakattara komâru desyôô ‘It would be too bad (a shame) if we couldn’t have it done for us’. A favor conversion is sometimes made on a causative to bring out the nuance of permission rather than coercion; saseru means ‘makes/lets one do’ but sasete kur eru (or sasete a geru) means only ‘lets one do, permits one to do’: ‘Ikasete kudasai ‘Let me go’, ‘Âto de yomâsete agemâsu kara ‘I’ll let you read it later’, ‘Mata kosasete kurenâi ka ‘Won’t you let me come again?’. A polite way to request or assume permission, especially common in western Japan, is to use V-(s)asete itadaku ‘I will receive the exalted favor of your letting me (do V) …’.

Yomâsete itadakimâsu ‘Let me read it’; Ototo o turete kosâsete itadakemasen ka (= … turete kite ãi ka) ‘May I bring my little brother along?’: Syusseki sasete itadakimâsu ‘I will (take the liberty to) be in attendance’: Watakomi so siturei sasete itadakimâsu ‘I will take my leave, too, if you will excuse me’ (KKK 3.249). Such forms are spreading, though sometimes criticized for being obsequious (Y 87). Among friends morau may replace itadaku: ‘Tikâku mesi de mo kuwânai ka. Ogorasite (= ogorase) morau yô. Izure renráku suru ‘How about eating [with me] sometime soon? Let me treat you. I’ll get in touch with you before long’ (SA 2674.108c). Notice that the agent of the causative favor-receipt turns out to be the same as that of the underlying simplex: N1 ga sasete morau = N1 ga suru. (The ping-pong ball has bounced across and back again.) An example: Koo iu gakusei-tâti wa hotôndo ga ôkusun ni tabesasete moratte imâsu ‘Almost all such students are being supported by their wives’. Perhaps that is the reason the expression Itadakasete itadakimâsu (considered servile by Tsujimura 45) seems to be an unnecessarily fancy way of saying simple Itadakimâsu.

In such expressions as o-home itadaku ‘I receive praise from you’ and o-ide itadaku ‘I receive the favor of your going/coming/staying’ there would seem to be ellipsis of ... ni nätte ... (or of ... nasätte ...); cf. the common ellipsis of ... site[½] ... (§ 9.1.12 and elsewhere). Expressions of this sort—with ellipsis not of sité but of ni nätte—encounter disapproval from some of the grammarians, but they seem to be spreading rapidly and are frequent on radio and television commercials: ... go-riyoo itadakimâsu ‘Please use ... (our product)’; ... to o-kikase itadakenâi desyoo ka ‘Won’t you be kind enough to tell me ...?’; ‘Tyôt-to o-mati itadakemasen ka ‘Will you wait a moment, please?’ The usage is attributed by KKK 23.28(d) to a syntactic blend of the honorific infinitive + kudasai with the form V-te itadakimâsu. But cases of the honorific infinitive + kudasai are themselves to be regarded as containing an ellipsis of ni nätte or of nasätte: go-riyoo kudasai means go-riyoo nasätte kudasai ‘please use it’ and o-ide kudasai is to be regarded as o-ide [ni nätte] kudasai because there is no "o-ide suru so it could not be an ellipsis of "o-ide [site] kudasai.

A favor is generally an act of volition, so that involuntary verbs will not ordinarily occur except by semantic extension—as when no “giver” is implied, e.g. the weather phenomenon mentioned earlier (“IT favors us with a clear sky”) and perhaps acts of God. The giving

3. O’Neill calls our attention to the optional ellipsis possible in such expressions as Tyôt-to haiken [sasete itadakimâsu] ‘I’ll take the liberty of looking at it’ and suggests that V-te tyoodâi ‘please V’ (= V-te kudasai) is elliptical for V-te tyoodai [sasete itadakimâsu]. The accent on tyoodâi ‘please’ is irregular (perhaps borrowed from kudasai?); as a verbal noun the word is atomic, tyoodai suru.

4. But N de âtteshosii ‘I would like to have it be N’ (= N de ari-tai) is found: Atasi mo ne, Nihon wa tyan-tô sita dokuritü-koku de âtteshosii desu yô ‘I too, you see, would like to have Japan be a fully
of favors (BENEFACTION) and the receiving of favors (BENEFIT) are opposite views of the same situation. An opposite situation would be that of DISFAVOR: ‘He did me the disfavor of ...’, He disfavored me by ...’—not, of course, the same thing as ‘He did not do me the favor of ...’ or ‘He failed to favor me by ...’. Disfavor RECEIPT can be expressed by the adversative passive (§4.2) but it is not clear whether there is any simple way to express the INFLECTING of a disfavor. Some uses of the causative are perhaps close, e.g. kodomo o sinaseru in the sense ‘lets another’s child die’ vs. kodomo ni sinareru in the sense ‘has one’s own child die’. But the use of -te sima to indicate displeasure, as described in §9.2.4.(4), is not what we are looking for, since the displeasure there is that of the SPEAKER and the gerund is not limited to voluntary verbs. Occasionally what looks like a favor expression (usually V-te yaru) will be used where no favor is really intended; cf. Hayashi 160: Nân to ka site tori-agete yaroo ‘I’ll get that from you by hook or by crook!’; Yattaro ka [= Yat te yaroo ka] ‘I’ll sock it to you! I’ll let you have it (with my fists)!’ (Ōsaka). Cf. p. 453.

This may explain the Kyūshū forms V-tyar- = V-te yar- in these examples: ... nâka e hâittyaro ka to, iiroiro kangaëta 1 kept wondering whether I should enter’ (Tk 4.322b); ... mõtto zyootoo nô o kootyare (= katte yare) to omôote (= omōtte), ‘... thinking one should buy better ones’ (Tk 4.323b). The speaker in both examples is from Ōita prefecture.

In modern written Japanese (KKK 25.78b) the in-giving favors said with V-te kureru/kudasårú are five times more frequent than the out-going favors said with V-te yaru/ageru; and favor receipt expressed with V-te morau/itadaku occurs only about a fourth as often as all forms of favor giving combined.

As with other auxiliary conversions, it is possible to apply focus, restriction, etc., either to the gerund or to the auxiliary (i.e., to the conversion itself).

APPLIED TO GERUND: Hituyoo na kane o | okuttë DAKE | yaréba, Í mondai wa | arimasen ‘If I just send him the necessary money, there will be no problem’: Tízú o || kâte DAKE | | moraëba || hitôri de | ikemâsu ‘If I can just have a map drawn, I’ll be able to go alone’; Tetudâtte BÂKARI | Í | yaru to || kodomo no || ziritu-sin ga | naku-naru ‘If one keeps helping him in all the time, a child will lose his independence’; Hito ni Í | tetudâtte BÂKARI | | moratte || zibun de wa | nahi mo simasen ‘If he keeps getting helped all the time, he will do nothing himself’; Tetudâtte KOSO yare Ê tetudâtte | moratta kotô wa | nai ‘If I always precisely give the help and never receive any’ (yare, Í §9.3). Senséi wa || kotaé o || osieté NÄDO/NÄNKA/NÄNTE | kurenai ‘The teacher never gives us the answers or anything’; Kâre no tame ni | | hataraité NÄDO/NÄNKA/NÄNTE | yaru môn ka ‘Why should I work for his sake?!’; Kâre wa Í bôku(∗) ni || hón o || kasité DAKE WA | kuremásita ‘He was nice enough to actually lend me a book’; Kono hón wa || is-satú síka || nai kara || kasité WA | || yaru ga || yuzuuru kotô wa Í dekinaï ‘I only have this one book, so while I WILL lend it to you, I can’t let you keep it’; Komâru tóki || wa || o-tagai dá kara || kane o || (Í) kasité MO || yaru si || monó o || megúnde MO || yaru ga || itu made mo || ate ni sâreru no wa ||

independent country’ (Tk); ... Tookëo-ben ni zyuuën té o ireta monó de atte hosii ‘would like to have those with adequately corrected Tökyô dialect’ (Shibata 1965.56). Can you say N de âtte kureru ‘favors us by being N’?
měi wak u da 'Being hard up is something that can happen to me as well as to you, so I am willing both to lend you money and to provide you with things, but it is a nuisance to be the one counted on all the time'; Ano otokó ni wa し hayá o で (1) atae で бел mesa で kuwašete SAE で ヤレバ で gekkyuu o yaru hituyoo wa nai 'If you just provide him with a room and feed him his meals, there's no need to give him a salary'; Ano otokó wa で tatta hyaku-en no kane o kashite SURA で kurenaï で hidói で yátu da 'He is a mean sonofabitch who won't even lend me a measly hundred yen'.

APPLIED TO AUXILIARY:

Tablesasete イ で yari で WA で surú ga で sore イ 'igai wa で go-men da 'I will see that they get fed, but beyond that, no thank you (= count me out)'; Tama ni wa イ tablesasete イ agé で MO で surú ga で sonna kotó wa で métta ni イ náši で desu 'Occasionally (as a favor) I see that they get fed but such occasions are infrequent'; Tegami o kái te イ agé で SAE で suréba イ go-ansin nasáru desyoo 'If I just write you a letter you will surely put your mind at ease'; Kono akanboo wa イ utá o イ utatte yari イ SAE で suréba イ súgu で nemurimášu 'If you just sing this baby a song, he goes right to sleep'; Utá o イ utatte morái SAE で suréba イ súgu で nemuru イ イ akanboo desu 'He's a good baby who will fall right asleep if he just has a song sung to him'; Asobi ni kái te イ morái WA イ sité mo イ tetudái ni イ kité イ morattári wa イ kesseite simásén イ yó 'I have people come and visit, but I never had them come to help out' (Or: イ kité イ morái wa イ ... kité イ morattári wa イ ...); Tama ni wa イ kité イ morái MO で surú ga, イ betu ni イ náká ga イ イ tomodati to iu wake zya イ náši で desu 'Occasionally I do indeed have him come around, but that doesn't mean he's a particularly good friend' (Or: イ kité イ morái mo イ ...).

It is possible to apply the causative, the passive, and so on, either to the gerund or to the auxiliary, depending on the reference: Z'yotyuu o イ mise イ (1) yatte イ uketori o kái te イ morawasemášyóó ka イ 'Shall I send the maid to the store and have her get a receipt written?'; Káño-zyo ni イ watasi no waýuguti o イ kodomo no tokoro o イ kaite イ yararete イ komáta イ 'I was distressed at having her write such bad things about me to my son,'s place'); Má[a] イ Konkórudo ga イ demonsutoréesyon-hikoo de イ koo-site イ Nippón e イ kité イ 'ru toki イ ni イ kono ziko ga イ とき イ to iu kotó wa イ yahári イ wareware ni イ soo itta monó o イ kangašáséte kureru イ týánsu de イ atá イ n de wa イ náši イ to iu イ yó イ na イ ki ga itasimášu イ ... 'Well, for this accident to have happened at a time when the Concorde is here in Japan for a demonstration flight, after all, it makes me feel as though perhaps it has provided us with the chance to (let us) think about such things... ' (R).

In the following examples a temporal ablative is applied to a gerund made on a favor conversion: Tegami o kái te イ morattári kara イ dáši ni イ ikimášita 'After having the letter written for me I went to mail it'; Go-byooonin ni イ góhan o イ tablesasete イ ageté kara イ uti(1) e イ (1) kaerimášu 'After seeing to it that the patient gets fed, I will go home'; Kodomo ni イ góhan o イ tablesasete イ yatté kara, イ térebi o イ mimášita 'After feeding the children, I watched television'.

A rather unusual type of nominalization conversion can be made on the infinitive of a sentence with V-te kureru by attaching the suffix -te 'hand = one, person'; apparently this is always followed by a denial of existence: ... aité ni イ site kure-te ga nákatta 'there was no one who would be my partner' (Y 577); Moratte kure-te ga arimaséen wa, イ ... 'There's none who will marry me' (Y 577). Compare the various conversions described in §9.1.7 and N ni nari-te (§3.8a). There is no *V-te morai-te 'one who will receive the favor', though morai-te 'receiver' itself is common enough.

The noun míttekure 'appearance' is derived from a favor sentence, either the imperative Mítte kure 'Look at it!' or—more likely—the infinitive mítte kure 'to look at it for us'.

§10. Favors
Almost any sentence can be made perfect ("perfectivized") by replacing the imperfect endings with the appropriate perfect endings: verbs attach the ending -ta/-da (with the same changes in shape as the gerund -te/-de), adjectives attach the ending -katta (a contraction of -ku atta < -ku ari-ta), and nouns add the copula in its perfectivized form datta (a contraction of de atta < ni-te ari-ta):

Yobu ‘He calls (or will call)’.
Ookii ‘It is big’.
Hón da ‘It is a book’.

Yonda ‘He called (or has called)’.
Okikikatta ‘It was big’.
Hónutta ‘It was a book’.

Since all negativized sentences are adjectival, they attach the endings appropriate to adjectives:

Yobanai ‘He does/will not call’.
Ookiku nai ‘It is not big’.
Hón zya nai ‘It is not a book’.

Yobanákatta ‘He did not call’.
Okikiku nákatta ‘It was not big’.
Hón zya nákatta ‘It was not a book’.

Like its imperfect counterpart, the perfectivized sentence can be converted to Tentative (§12.1) and it can be Adnominalized (§13), Nominalized (§14), Sentence-Extended (§15), Conjunctionalized (§17), Hearsay-Reported (§18), Semblativized (§19), Quoted (§21), and Stylized (§22). Although the perfectivized sentence cannot be adverbialized (nor built on an adverbialized sentence), there is some correlation of use between the conditional -tara and the perfect -ta as contrasted with the provisional -réba and the imperfect -rú. (And we have considered—but rejected—the suggestion that the gerund -té might be regarded as sometimes derived from a perfect -tá.)

The option to choose perfect or imperfect is limited in various ways. Although you can say suru áto kara (or, in downtown Tōkyō, suru sóba kara) ‘from after the time it will happen = right after it happens’ you cannot say suru áto [de] ‘after it happens’, for that must be expressed as sita áto [de] ‘after it has happened’. And you cannot say sita mae [ni] ‘before it happened’, for that is said as suru mae [ni] ‘before it happens’. When the main sentence that follows is perfectivized, you can say either site iru aida or site ita aida with much the same meaning ‘(happened) while doing’, but if what follows is not perfectivized then site iru aida alone is appropriate; suru aida is also used, but *sita aida does not occur. Thus Gōhan o tábete iru/ita aida [ni] damátte ita ‘I was silent while eating my meal’ but only Gōhan o tábete iru aida [ni] damátte iru ‘I am (or will be) silent while eating’ and Gōhan o tábete iru aida [ni] damátte i-násai ‘Be silent while you are eating’. With toki [ni] there is often a difference of meaning: Nihón e itta toki ni aimásu means ‘I will see him when I get to Japan’ but Nihón e iku toki ni aimásu means ‘I will see him when I go (= on

1. But Mikami 1963a:35 points out that a sentence like Áyu wa sio-yák(i) ni kagíru ‘The only way to have brook trout is salt-broiled’ will not convert to ... kagíta. According to Kuno 1973.137 the unmarked, imperfect form is interpreted as present time with STATIC predicates; with others it is generic (Ningen ga sinu ‘Man is mortal’), future (Ore mo sinu ‘I too will die’), or habitual (Máisáte) okiru ‘I get up every morning’.

2. Or ‘has not yet called’. See below.

3. For the tonic consonant verbs at least) there is a variant -ánkatta = áňañákatta, listed by MKZ 919b as dialect; I have run across náránkatta = naranakatta in print. The ending -(a)nda, as in naránda = naranakatta, is widely used for the perfect negative in western Japan. See §8.4.
my way) to Japan'. In some situations the difference is slight; in other cases only one or
the other form is appropriate to the context: Itiba ni itta toki ni kaimasyōo ‘Let's buy it
when we go to the market’. Compare Āru hazu da ‘I’m sure there is one’, Ātta hazu da
‘I’m sure there was one’; Āru hazu dātta ‘I was sure there was one’, Ātta hazu dātta ‘I was
sure there WAS (= had been) one’.

When a question is in the perfect (Mōo ittā ka ‘Has he already gone?’) an affirmative
reply will also be perfect (Mōo ittā ‘He has’) but a negative reply will often be imperfect
(Ikanai ‘He has not’ or Māda ‘Not yet’). This point is well illustrated by the following ex­
change: Amerika de mati no naka o o-aruki ni narimāsita ka?—Arūkimasēn ‘Did you walk
round the city streets (while) in America?—(No,) I didn’t’ (Tk 2.142a). The following exam­
ples use the simple imperfect negative where English would lead us to expect a perfect:
Sono rekōndo ga uretā ka urenĒi ka wa yōku siranai ga, ... ‘I don’t rightly know whether
that record sold or not, but ...’ (SA 2650.59a); Yōru, osokū made, mātē ‘takedo, kōnai
n da ‘I stayed up late at night waiting, but he [= Santa Claus] never came’ (SA 2658.117a);
... bōku(“) no kitaku sinai no o sitte ... ‘finding out that I have not returned home’ (SA);
Tatami wa sinai ‘The traditional Japanese floor mat is not dead’ (SA 2669.72). The last
sentence could, of course, be taken as ‘will not die’ but in the text the following sentence
(Sinasitē wa narānai ‘We must not let it die’) suggests that what is being denied is Tatami
wa sinde iru (or sinda) ‘The mat has died’ = ‘The mat is dead’. On V-te iru vs.V-ta, see
pp. 520-1.

Sometimes the perfect is used more for politeness than for time reference: Anāta wa
dōnata desita = O-name wa nān to ossyaimāsita ka ‘What did you say your name was?’
(when the person has actually not yet said); Hankō o o-moti désita nē ‘You have your
chop (= signature-seal) with you, I presume’. In addition to this usage, Mikami 1963a.17
describes a use of the perfect with future meaning, citing these examples: Sōo sō, tugī
ni no tiyoo wa yakusoku ga arimāsita ‘Yes, yes, I have made an appointment for next
Sunday’; Kōndo no pāt’tii ni wa A san ga kīte kureta nē ‘At the next party Mr A [has
said that he] will be present’—in isolation this sounds strange. In these sentences, the per­
fect has perhaps been transferred from some unexpressed thought as shown in brackets in the
English translation. But this is probably to be included with the usage that Alfonso
892 describes as marking a sudden realization, recognition, or acknowledgment of a pres­
ent situation: Kore desita ka ‘Oh, so THIS is the one!’

Mikami 1963a.21 gives an example where the perfect -tā is equivalent to a tentative per­
dictative (typically sentence-final) form -tā, source of the colloquial representative, from an attributive (typically adnominal)
form -tāru, preserved in certain clichés in the colloquial (cf. § 13.9). The literary language
also has a perfect provisional (i.e. provisionalized perfect) -tāreba and a perfect hypothetical
(i.e. hypotheticized perfect) -tāra, which is the source of the colloquial condition­
al; in addition there is a perfect concessive (or concessivized perfect) -tāre[do]. For these
forms, see § 9.3. The earliest uses of -tā in place of the literary -tāri/-tāru are said to be at­
tested around the eleventh century (Satō 1.275).

On the use of the perfect -tā for certain verbs as semantically equivalent to V-te iru
under adnominalization (onna ga hutotte iru ‘the woman is fat’ yielding hutóta onná or hutotte iru onná ‘the fat woman’), see pp. 277–8.

In eastern Japan a doubled suffix -tatta is often used to mark the perfect (Zhs 2.18); in Chiba you may hear áttatta for Tōkyō átta ‘I had it’ or ‘I’ve got it’ (Zhs 2.198). Cf. the Tōkyō use of -tyatta for a vivid past, p. 534.

The adverb suttámonda ‘wrangling’, as in suttámonda no ageku ‘as the upshot of all the quarreling’ and suttámonda suru ‘wrangles away’, comes from the perfectivized forms of two transitive verbs, sutta ‘rubbed’ < suru and monda ‘pounded’ < momu. Nouns derived from direct nominalization of the perfect are discussed in § 14.6. See also the discussion of the perfect used for commands in § 16.2.
Among the inflected forms of Japanese morphology there is one that is often labeled the "tentative" or "presumptive"; this turns out to represent two different categories of colloquial Japanese: (1) the TENTATIVE 'probably, I think', made by adding darō after the plain imperfect (with ... dá obligatorily dropping in the nominal sentences) or after the plain perfect (with optional ellipsis of ó-darō = 'róo'); and (2) the HORTATIVE 'let's; let me, I think I will' made by attaching, to verbals only, the ending -[y]oo. The hortative ending is -oo after consonant verbs, -yoo after vowel verbs; the long oo is often shortened, especially in dialects: ikoo → iko 'let's go', kore darō → kore darō 'it must be this'. The ending derives from the literary -a[m]u, by way of contraction and vowel crisis, with the -y- intercalated automatically after a front vowel (i or e): si-amu > si-i′ > siya′ > siyoo 'let's do it' (cf. p. 613 n.15). But koyōo 'let's come' is irregular. The formal differentiation of the tentative (surú darōo) from the hortative is attested from the early part of the nineteenth century (Gekkan-Bumpō 1/8.66).

12.1. THE TENTATIVE; DARŌO

Forms of the tentative are easily made by adding darōo—or I darōo—'probably, I think' to the imperfect (but N dá obligatorily drops the dá):

Yobu. Yobu darōo (or: Yobu darō) 'I think [someone] calls, will call'.
Ookī. Ookī darōo (or: Ookī darō) 'It must/would be big (I think)'.
Hón da. Hón darōo (or: Hón darō) 'It must be a book; I think/bet it is a book'.

1. But darōo and its polite form desyō often shorten the final vowel (darō, desyō), as do the dialect versions zyarō [o] and yarō [o]. An example of the latter: Lltae, dánoi sitārā eè yarō ka (= dánoi ni sitārā i darōo kā) 'Just what should we do?' (SA 2663.22e—seeking advice is Kōmei-tō Secretary Yano). The shortening is also common in the abbreviated tentative perfect -tá 'róo [o] as in this example: Iya-rasii ko to omōtta 'ro? 'You must've thought me a dreadful boy?' (SA 2639.44a). Instead of darōo a number of dialects use simple ro after V-ru and A-i; Hōgen-gaku gaisetsu 405 mentions central Echigo (Niigata).

2. Since base-final w disappears except before the vowel a, sequences of three vowels are found in the forms for certain verbs: kaoō 'let's buy', ioo 'let's say', ku6ō 'let's eat'; kayoo6ō 'let's commute', hirōo6ō 'let's pick it up' (hirō6o ka 'shall we pick it up?'). In the Hepburn romanization, the last two are to be spelled kayoo and hiroo. The distinction between iyyo 'let's stay' and ioo 'let's say' is neutralized in rapid speech by many speakers.

3. See remarks on p. 608 for the difference that the juncture can signal for many speakers. Certain dialects will replace darōo with zyarō or yarō [o] (Y 367). In written Japanese you will sometimes find ... de arō used for ... darō (cf. Y 359-66): Inokiti ozi wa máda nán-nen mo ikiru de arō o 'Uncle Inokichi will surely stay alive for some years yet' (Ig 1965.82): Dē wa, Eigo náío de wa, koo iu baai ni dónna hyoogén(') o tōru de arōo ka 'Well, in such situations what kind of expressions would they take in English, say?'; ... akiraka nî, Igirisu-eiga no tugi no zidai o seū o ituza de ároo 'clearly he [= Ken Russell] is a man of talent on whose shoulders will ride the next era of English cinema' (SA 2681.108b).

For the polite desyō you will also come across de arimasyō: Konna katte na musuko ga kono-yō(') ni áru de arimasyōo ka 'Could there exist in this world such a selfish son as I?' (SA 2684.138c). According to Nagano (1970.224-38) the form [kit-tō...]'i V-ru de arōo can express CERTAINTY or ASSURANCE ('will'), particularly in prophecy or assertions by gods, feudal lords, and the like; perhaps this is because the 'I think' of gods and lords carries a certain weight of authority absent from lesser beings.

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The tentative perfect (i.e., the tentativized perfect) is made by adding darō—or I darō—to the perfect (V-tā, A-kātta, N dātta); the first syllable of darō optionally drops:4

Ooki.  Ōokikatta.  Ōokikatta [da]roo (or: Ōokikatta [da]rōo) ‘It probably was big’.

The usual polite stylization will simply replace darō by desyō; the nominal sentences can be made more polite by replacing N desyō with N de gozaimasyō (or N de gozaimāsu desyō). If the noun is to be exalted, the polite form is N de irassya’rū desyō and the hyperpolite form is N de irassya’rūmasyō (or N de irassya’rūmasu desyō). See §22.

Tentatives can be made on negativized sentences as you would expect:

Ooki.  Ōokiku nai.  Ōokiku nai darō (or: Ōokiku nai darō).

But, especially in written Japanese, you will often find the forms Yobanakarō, Ōokiku nakarō, and Hōn de/zya nakarō used instead of the expected forms. In speech these are generally considered “dialect”, but I have heard them used in Tōkyō, apparently by people from surrounding areas, where the forms are indigenous—see §12.3. The verbal tentative permits still another variant for its negative:

Yobu.  (→ Yobanai.)  → Yobu -mai ‘He probably doesn’t/won’t call’. When this variant is chosen for vowel verbs, -ru will optionally drop:

Tabēru.  (→ Tabenai.)  → Tabē [ru] -mai = /tabērumai/ or /tabēmāi/ ‘He probably doesn’t/won’t eat’.
Miru.  (→ Minai.)  → Mī [ru] -mai = /mirumaï/ or /mimāi/ ‘He probably doesn’t/won’t look’.

The form for suru is su [ru] -mai = /surumai/ or /sumai/ and for kuru it is kū [ru] -mai = /kurumai/ or /kumai/, as expected, but the variants si-mai and ki-mai are more common in written texts and there are dialect forms ko-mai and se-mai.5 This variant is more often written than spoken, so that we can include it with arō, A-karō, etc., as the LITERARY TENTATIVE (§12.3).6 These forms with -mai are also used as the negative hortative

4. These forms are often treated as a separate conjugational category (“-taarō” etc.), but that fails to account for the minor juncture which can set -rō off from -ta. It should be noted, however, that -ta ‘rōo includes N désita ’rō for which I doubt there will be an unabbreviated N désita darō: Ítū o-hanasi kudasaimāṣita?—Sāa, gogatu désita ’rōo ka ‘When did you say it’?—Well, it must have been May, I guess’ (Y 232).
5. Perhaps because they are fairly new, forms such as kūru -mai and suru -mai are sometimes regarded with suspicion; thus SA 2658.39ab condemns not only kūru -mai for ki-mai, but also miru -mai for mi-mai and iru -mai for i-mai. (See §15.12a for further discussion.) But Hayashi 149 says that ko-mai and si-mai are not very popular and that kūru/suru ‘mai should not be regarded as mistakes. He observes that none of the forms is much in use “except for limited phrases such as āru ‘mai’” (and even for that, nai darō is much more in evidence), but that the potential is apt to turn up: ie-mai, korare-mai. (What about iru -mai = ienai darō and kor[a]rējū -mai = kor[a]rēnai darō?) I suspect that disapproval of the longer -ru -mai forms for vowel verbs is stronger when the form is used as TENTATIVE rather than as HORTATIVE. The word mai, also heard as me[e] in eastern dialects, is an abbreviation of the literary postverbal auxiliary adjective mazī[-ki] ‘probably not’ (§8.6).
6. The relative frequency of the three versions of the negative tentative in modern written Japanese can be computed from the study in KKK 25.163:
The tentative; darōo

(’let’s not’)—often in quotations; see below (§ 12.2). They can be stylized: V-i-’māsi
V-i-’masen desyō. V-(a)nāi desyō. V-i masu

The tentative perfect negatives are made as expected:
call’.
Ookī. → Ōokiku nāi. → Ōokiku nākatta. → Ōokiku nākatta [da]roo ‘It probably
wasn’t big’.
ably wasn’t a book’.

When the tentative conversion is applied to a nominative sentence with a focused nucleus
(N de wa/mo āru), younger speakers will use the form (N de wa/mo) āru darōo but older
speakers sometimes use arōo: Muzukasi(―) mondai de wa arōo ga = Muzukasi(―) mondai de
wa āru darōo ga ‘It must be a difficult problem, but ...’. The corresponding literary form from
N ni wa/mo āri, focused version of N nāri, is N ni wa/mo arā(m)u (with the contracted
form arā’u pronounced arōo) or N ni wa/mo arān (by reduction from arā(m)u). The
negative for the colloquial will be (N de wa/mo) nāi darōo—or nakarōo—but older speak-
ers sometimes use (N de wa/mo) āru ‘māi; the polite versions are (N de wa/mo) nāi
arimāsēn desyōo and (N de wa/mo) arimāsu ‘māi. The literary negative forms will be
(N ni wa/mo) arazardamu/arazardan or (N ni wa/mo) arāzī.

Focused adjectives make the tentative on the auxiliary āru: A-kū wa/mo āru will form
the tentative A-kū wa/mo āru darōo and older speakers sometimes use A-kū wa/mo arōo.
The negative forms are A-kū wa/mo nāi darōo—or nakarōo—and older speakers will some-
times use A-kū wa/mo āru ‘māi. Focused verbs make the tentative on the auxiliary suru:
V-i wa/mo suru darōo; the negative is sināi darōo—or sinakarōo—and older speakers
sometimes use suru ‘māi.

The colloquial tentative does not adnominalize, but you will find adnominalization of
literary tentatives, especially in writing, and particularly before postadnominals; see § 13.3.

Mio (161–3) observes that among the various kinds of sentence interpolations—or self-
interruptions—the tentative ...[nō] darōo is especially common, citing a number of good
examples. Perhaps his remarks tie in with the observation made by Mikami (1963a.78)
that I darōo/desyōo is often equivalent to i nē[e] ’don’t you know/agree?, you see, n’est-ce
pas?’: Watasi wa Meizī ‘ūmare desyōo, dā kara ... ‘I was born in the Meiji period, you see,
so ...’; Kimi wa iku darōo ‘You’re going, aren’t you’. (These sentences
would commonly be said with the final rise of intonation that signals a question. And an

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<th>FORM</th>
<th>OCCURRENCES</th>
<th>RATIO</th>
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<td>...nai darōo</td>
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<td>.4891</td>
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<tr>
<td>...māi</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.4348</td>
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But polite forms such as simāsu ‘māi occur only twice, versus 20 instances of forms such as sināi
desyōo. One fourth of the instances of ...māi are for the verb āru: nine of āru ‘māi and one of arimāsu
‘māi. (It is unclear how many of the occurrences of ...māi in this study may represent the negative
hortative rather than the negative tentative.)

7. And this accounts for the fact that you do not hear *... darōo no de or *... darōo mon [da kara],
despite the acceptability of ... darōo kara ‘because probably’. Cf. Nagano 1970.305.
underlying juncture sets off the tentative marker at the end, as explained below.) On sentence-final darō/desyō ni, see § 17.8. On exclamatory uses such as Dōnna ni (Nān to) ... darōo! 'How [much] ... it must be!', see Y 356.

It is possible to use juncture to differentiate two meanings of the tentative: 'I think that ...' (a subjective rather than an objective way of stating what is presumed to be true) and 'perhaps, maybe' (allowing for some doubt of one's own, rather like ... kā mo sirenai). The former meaning is usually expressed with no juncture between the verb and darōo/desyōo, so that the latter automatically loses its accent. The 'maybe' meaning is expressed by inserting an underlying minor juncture which preserves the accent of darōo or desyōo, removing the final accent that is basic to the imperfect and perfect forms of "atonic" imperfects; the accent of darōo or desyōo is automatically reduced to "secondary" (somewhat lower) after the imperfect and perfect forms of the tonic verbs:

- Usi o kau desyoo '(I think) he'll raise cattle'.
- Toti o kau desyoo '(I think) he'll buy land'.
- Usi o katta desyoo '(I think) he raised cattle'.
- Toti o katta desyoo '(I think) he bought land'.

The distinction can be explained in terms of constituency: the 'I think' version applies the tentative to the predicate, the 'maybe' version applies the tentative to the larger sentence—which in the examples cited above is cut back by ellipsis so that it is superficially identical with the predicate; cf. the remarks in §9.3.3 on conjoining a conditionalyzed sentence. Not all speakers make the distinction here described; for some the juncture is optional, with no difference in meaning. If the noun is atonic, an imperfect nominal sentence neutralizes the distinction: Kodomo darōo can represent the imperfect of either Kodomo datta darōo or Kodomo datta I darōo. You will find Darōo 'I guess (so)' (Fn 338b) used all alone as a sentence, perhaps to be regarded as an ellipsis of [Sore] darōo or the like.

Certain adverbs and adverbial phrases typically anticipate a tentative: kit-tō, tābun, osōraku, ookata, sā-zo(-kasi); mōsī ka sitara (or mōsī ka suru to); hyō-to suru to; arūi-wa; ... And certain adverbs—notably māsaka and yōmo ya 'surely (not)'—anticipate a tentative AND a negative, but not necessarily applied to the same word. See Hayashi 149-50 for examples.

Many of the dialects of eastern Japan form the tentative by using a reduction of the literary adjective "bē-ki (attributive) or "bē-si (predicative), which functions as a kind of postadnominal, though the literary language prefers to attach it to the predicative forms of all verbs so that the literary language has su "bē-ki/-si where the colloquial language will use suru "bēki da, with bēki functioning as an ordinary postadnominal.

8. Martin 1962.432n was wrong in assuming that this subtle distinction is limited to atonic verbs.
9. With the apparent exception of ōr-, ār-, and derivatives, which here use their true predicative
§ 12.1. The tentative; daróo

In the literary language "bé-ki/-si has a wide range of meanings: future, probable, potential, obliged, requested, promised, . . . But in the standard colloquial it now means ‘ought to’ or ‘must’ (the obligatory meaning only). In the dialect versions you find the regular dropping of -k- that is familiar from the standard imperfect A-[-k]i and the Kansai infinitive A-[-k]u: “bé[k]i becomes “béi and that is pronounced bée (by assimilation) and sometimes bê (by shortening). But some dialects use “ppé instead of bê[e], and others introduce a nasal10 “nbé[e], especially after dâ or -tá. Though some dialects are said to use these forms as hortatives, the common usage is as a tentative ‘probably’: Sore [w]a áta “ppé ná = Sore wa áta [da]roo ná ‘That must have happened’ (Ibaragi, Zhs 2.36).

Here is a chart of forms, showing several dialect versions:

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<th>VERSION 1</th>
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<th>STANDARD</th>
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In place of áru “[n]bê[e] or áru “ppé you will usually hear anbê[e] or appé, and that is the origin of the adjective forms in -kanbê[e] and -kappé (by way of abbreviation from -ku a-...):

A-kanbê[e] = A-i daróó
V-(a)nakanbê[e] = V-(a)nakappé
V-(a)nakanbê[e] = V-(a)nakappé

An example: Sensei to kakeai dé mo yarasitára, omosirokanbê ná ‘It would be fun to have him maybe exchange wit with you, Master’ (Tk 3.141b). But in many of the dialects that use the -kappé form, the old Japanese -k- is automatically voiced between vowels, so that the forms will sound like -gappe (with nonnasal g), as in yogappé = iī daroo ‘will be all right, I guess’ (Ibaragi, Zhs 2.51).

For N daróó you will hear N danbê[e] or N dappé. Where the standard language would have S n[ó] daroo you will find S danbê[e] or S dappé. The Tochigi form án danbe is equivalent to áru n[o] daroo, and the Chiba form ikú danbe is equivalent to ikú n[ó] daroo—and that of course is close to the meaning of ikú “nbé[e] = ikú daroo ‘probably will go’.

Just as the standard language will sometimes use V-rú “mái instead of V-(a)nái daroo, these dialects will sometimes use V-rú “mê[e] instead of V-(a)nakanbê[e] or V-(a)nakappé; where the standard language will use áru “mái for nái daroo (or nakaróo) you will hear án “mê[e] used for nakanbê[e] or nakappé.

There is a dialect form S zura used as a tentative equivalent of S daroo: ikú zura = ikú daroo (MKZ 448a). This is from a literary word zuran, added for emphasis to the literary tentative -an (< -amu); arán zuran = áru daroo ‘probably is’ may derive from something

forms áru, áru, etc. (identical with the attributive) rather than the infinitive form which so often elsewhere substitutes for the predicative.

10. Or, more accurately, preserve the nasality that was originally present before the ancestors of the voiced consonants of modern standard Japanese.
like aramu to suramu ‘I will suppose that it will be’, though the normal literary tentative for suru is sen < semu, so that the likelier historical origin would be aramu [t̪o] su[ru a]rámu, in form roughly analogous to *aróo t̪o surú [no de] aróó.

But there are dialects in Shizuoka (and in Nagano, Yamanashi, Mikawa—Zhs 3.18) which permit an option of S zura or Sr for the affirmative tentative; the difference between the two forms is apparently rather like that signaled by the underlying juncture before daroo/desyoo for some Tôkyô speakers: iku zura = ikú daroo ‘will probably go’, iku ra = iku daróo ‘will go, maybe’. What is more (Zhs 3.19), these dialects use -(a)zu and -(a)mai as affirmative hortatives: ikazu or (more forcefully) ikamai = ikoo ‘let’s go’. These must be relics of old forms something like -(a)mu to su and -(a)mu wâ i (= yó). There are dialect speakers who pronounce -azura as -(a)ture, and the hortative -(a)zu turns up as -(a)su in some areas; thus in eastern Yamanashi (Zhs 2.22-3) we find ikasu ka = ikóo ka ‘shall we go’ and ikat to omóu (with assimilation of -s t- to -t t-) = ikoo to omóu ‘I think I’ll go’.

In Ōsaka speech (Maeda 1961.108-9) the tentative forms are made with yaro, the local version of darô [o], for the negative as well as the affirmative, but this is said to be a modern innovation; the older forms for the negative tentative were made by attaching mai after -(y)oo = -(y)oo < -a[m]u. These -(y)oo mai forms are now largely limited to use as the negative hortative: iko mai ‘let’s not go’, okiyó mai ‘let’s not get up’. But aro mai can only be an older way to say arahen yaro (or nai yaro) = nái daroo ‘probably does not exist’; and iro mai means ira [he]n yaro = iranai daroo ‘probably does not need’. There are also polite forms -massyaro (= -masu desyoo), dessyaro and dassyaro ( = desyóo), made by adding yaro to -mas[u] and des[u]/das[u] with gemination of the sibilant; cf. §22.1. The Kyûshû forms nân dair o and dóo-site dair o (Y 358) are perhaps to be explained as da + i and ro used as particles.

12.2. THE HORTATIVE; THE LITERARY HORTATIVE

Most verbal sentences can be turned into a hortative form to express an invitation or a proposal meaning ‘let’s do it’ or, sometimes, ‘let me do it’ or ‘I think I’ll do it’—not to be confused with ‘I think HE’ll do it’, which is expressed by the tentative surú daróó. The ending for the hortative is -(y)oo; it attaches as -oo or --oo to consonant bases, as -yoo or --yoo to vowel bases. For kúru ‘comes’ the form is koyoo, for suru ‘does’ siyoo; in traditional Ōsaka speech these shorten to kô [o] and syô [o] respectively (Maeda 1961.217, cf. Y 154), and the variant kiyóo (said to be an Edo relic, Y 154) turns up in such Meiji writers as Natsume Sôseki. The traditional accentuation is determined by that of the base: yoboo ‘let’s call’ is unaccented because yob- is atonic, tabeyoo ‘let’s eat’ is accented because táb- is tonic. But some speakers put an accent on the suffix, regardless of the base; for them the ending is -(y)oo. Even speakers who—with us—distinguish Usi o kaoo ‘Let’s buy cattle’ from Usi o kaoo ‘Let’s raise cattle’ may lose the distinction before the

11. It may be questioned whether any speaker will keep these apart in isolation, since we would expect a final accent (even on a long vowel) to be suppressed before a juncture; but some speakers, at least, treat certain accented long vowels as not oxytonic—and that would correspond to the earlier form -(a)m[u] for tonic verbs.
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particle ō to, since there are two traditions of accentuating S ō: we follow the version that implies an underlying juncture which will suppress the final accent of an atonic form (kau 1 ō to → kau ō to) but some speakers attach the particle with no underlying juncture (kau ō to → kau ō to), and for such speakers Usi o kāo to omō to could mean either ‘I think I’ll raise cattle’ or (equivalent to our Usi o kāo to omō to) ‘I think I’ll buy cattle’.

Certain verbs are not used in the hortative. Although iyōo ‘let’s stay’ is made from iru, there is no hortative made from āru (arō always functions as the literary tentative); nor are there hortatives for potentials (V-e-yōo and dekiyōo are literary tentatives) or, except under special circumstances, for verbs expressing actions outside human control. Normally wakāru ‘understands’ would be precluded from conversion to a hortative (especially if the underlying object is expressed), but embedded in larger structures you will find Yōko wakarōo to site go-ran nası ‘Try to understand a little better’; ... wakarōo to dōryoku(‘) site kuremāsu nē ‘they kindly try to understand’ (SA 2671.120c). Sugurēru ‘excels’ is similar: Hito ni sugureyōo to sitāra ...

Passives are not ordinarily made hortative, but occasional examples may turn up: Homerareyōo (= Homere-tai) to site sore o sita ‘He did that with the idea of getting praised for it’; 1 1 ō to o site sensē ni homerareyōo ‘I want to do something nice to get praised by the teacher’; Urayamasi-garaseyōo to site ... ‘... with the idea of exciting envy’; Ame ni hurareyōo ‘Let’s get rained on (get ourselves wet with the rain)’. Aside from such restrictions, semantic incongruity is the only block to making hortatives freely out of other conversions. Yobareyōo ‘Let’s get invited’ 12 sounds all right but Tabe-sugiyōo ‘Let’s overeat’ may seem odd.

Since hortatives can be made only from verba ls, all negatives are excluded. To say ‘let’s not do it’ you have to say something like ‘let’s decide not to do it’ (Ikanai kōtō/yōo ni siyōo ‘Let’s not go’) or ‘let’s give up (the idea of) doing’ (Ikū no o yameyōo ‘Let’s not go’), your choice depending on whether the proposition is a rejection of an earlier idea or not. When rejection is expressed, the object (the nominalized verb that represents the action) is often left out, since it is understood from earlier discussion: Yameyōo ‘Let’s not [do it]’. To mean ‘let’s not’ or ‘I think I won’t’ you can also use the V-rū –māi variant of the tentative (§12.1): Sikāsi, ima ya yo-nō-naka ga sukkāri kawatā no da kara, kūdoku iu –māi ‘But now that the world HAS changed completely, let’s not grumble about it’ (SA 2660.41b). You will run across this more often in quotational structures: Ikū –māi to omōtta ‘I thought I wouldn’t go’ (= Ikanai yōo ni siyoo to omōtta; Ikū no o yameyoo to omōtta); Ano kōtō o iu –māi to omōtta kedo ... ‘I didn’t mean to say that but ...’. We can treat this V-rū –māi form as the NEGATIVE HORTATIVE. A literary equivalent of the negative hortative (but occasionally used also for the negative tentative) is made with the suffix V-(a)zi; see §8.6 for examples. In colloquial speech the simple imperfect negative will be used where one might expect a negative hortative; cf. Gekkan-Bumpō 1/8.71 which suggests that sinai yō is adequate to express suru –māi.

The hortative can be extended (§15) with nē[ ] , kā, kā nē, kā sira, yō, 13 ze; but there

12. Yobaramasyōo is used as an old-fashioned equivalent of Itadakimasu ‘I accept (food/drink)’ as in Sore de wa sekka kū desu kara hitōto yobaramasyōo ka ‘Well since you are so persuasive perhaps I’ll just have one’.

13. And its synonym yā: Kōn’yā ya bihuteki o tabeyōo yā ‘Tonight let’s have steak!’ (SA
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is no *V-[y]oo wâ/zo or *V-[y]oo kâ mo sirenai; nor, except in dialects, *V-[y]oo sâ. You can add zya naì [ka/no] (§15.16): Yameyôó zya naì ka ‘Let’s stop, OK?’

The difference between the two meanings of the hortative—invitation versus statement of intention—can be brought out by context, as in these examples of Kazama: Sâå häyaku ikimasýoo ‘Come let’s go quickly’; Sore wa bôku(−) ga yarimasýoo ‘I’ll take care of that matter’. The statement of intention is often quoted with tô omôú ‘I think/feel that’, as is the desiderative: Kaerôó to omôú ‘I think I’ll leave (for home)’, Kaeri-tâi to omôú ‘I feel like leaving (for home)’—either sentence will sometimes correspond to English ‘I want to leave (for home)’; Rentá-kaa de simâ o dorâbû siyoo to omôtte ‘masu ‘I’m thinking of driving (or: that I’d like to drive) around the island [of Guam] in a rental car’ (SA 2664.97b).

The intention can be diffused or deprecated with nádo or nósânté: ... zënbû o yomôó nádo to kangaénai de ... ‘wasn’t thinking of reading all of it, exactly, but ...’ (SA 2657.104b); Ryyukô-go o tukurôó nânê itô wa, zenzen náì n desu ‘We [cartoonists] haven’t the least intention of deliberately creating fashionable slang’ (SA 2661.43a).

Although the subject referred to by a hortative is normally first person (singular or plural), there are various nouns that can be pressed into temporary duty as substitutes, as in the sentence Ningen ga kikâi o doogû to site tukau to iu kôtô wa, kikâi ni wa dekin[u] kôtô o ningen ga yaroo to iu wâke desu ‘Man’s use of machines as tools means that man is to do the thing that machines cannot do’, in which ‘man’ is the equivalent of ‘we men’.

The idiom nání o kakuçôó ‘what would I hide?’ = ‘To be quite frank with you ...’, ‘To tell you the truth ...’—always followed by major juncture—is used as a sentence-opener somewhat like Zitú wa ... ‘In fact ...’, and both expressions may be used together: Zitú wa, || nání o || kakuçôó || sumôô-tôri no (|) na da ‘Actually, to be quite frank, it’s the name of a wrestler’ (Okitsu 1.151). For expressions with V-(y)ôô ní mo, see §17.7.

The hortative can be followed by tó + suru (§21.4) to mean ‘is about to do’ or ‘is planning/intending to do’ or ‘starts/attempt to do’; Watasi wa hitogomi o wâkete zimû-syo no náka e hairôó to sitâ ‘I started to enter the office, making my way through the crowd’ (Ig 38); Dâre mo kuti o hirâkôó to sinâkatta ‘Nobody tried to open his mouth’ (Ig 38); Minato no urayama karâ tuki ga agaroo to site iru ‘The moon is about to come up from the hill behind’ (Ig 38); Kâre wa utá o utatte miyôó to sita ‘He attempted a song’ (Ig 38); Zimû-syo no denki-dôkei wa sân-zi o sugiyôó to site iru ‘The electric clock in the office is about to go past three o’clock’ (Ig 38); Kimi ga kawâ o tobi-koeyôó to sita toki, hoori-dâsîte ittâ no wa bôku(−) no inû da yô ‘When you were about to leap over the river it was my dog that drove you away’ (KKK 3.274). With the negative (sinai) this expression shows reluctance or apparent unwillingness: Básu wa tomaroo to sinâkatta ‘The bus was not about to stop = The bus showed no signs of stopping’ (Ig 1962.84); Kodomo-tâti wa Yoâisharu no kao o miyôó to mo sinâ ‘The children are reluctant to look Yoshiharu in the face’ (Ig 38).

2662.51c). An example of yô: Dôko ka tookû no toto e itte, hutâri ‘daké no seikatu o simasyôô yô ‘Let’s go to some distant land and make a life together just the two of us!’ (SA 2642.37c).

14. The claim by Inoue (93) that V-[y]ôô is singular and V-[y]ôô kâ/nê is plural is unsubstantiated in the speech of a number of speakers I have checked. Hirayama (1968.59) observes that V-masyôô is used as a mild command in Nagano prefecture.
§12.2. The hortative: the literary hortative

Sometimes V-(y)oo โท is followed by other verbs, perhaps with ellipsis of sitε or omôte: Munagurusiši naka de, Saekei(¨) wa tuma no geta no kikoo to (? ฑsite€) asētta ga, muda na dōryoku datta ‘From the depths of his heavy-heartedness Saeki strained to hear the sound of his wife’s clogs, but the effort was in vain’ (Ig 1962.105); ... utukusiši huzin ni siyoo to (? ฑomôtteŒ) oikakēru ‘... chases after a beautiful woman wanting to make her his wife’ (Ōno 1966.46); ... ūmi no soko no sinzyu o torō to (? ฑomôtteŒ), ? ฑsite€) mizu ni möguru ‘they dive in the water to get pearls from the bottom of the sea’ (Ōno 1966.48). And hortative + tö iu tokī ni or + tö iu ni can mean just ‘when about/ready/fixed to do’, §21.1.(23).

The literary equivalent of -[y)o o is -(a)mu, and that is where the shape -oo comes from, by way of the contraction -a’u = -a[m]u, as indicated by historical spellings such as ‘kakau’ = kakā’u = kākō ‘let’s write’. In modern writings -(a)mu sometimes appears in the reduced form -(a)n, homonymous with the common abbreviation of the literary (and Kansai) negative ending -(a)nu: ikan may be a short form for either ikamu = ikoo ‘let’s go’ or for ikanu = ikani ‘does/will not go’. And in place of siyoo ‘let’s do it’ in written Japanese you sometimes find the form sen, an abbreviation of semu that is homonymous with the abbreviation of senu = sain ‘does/will not do it’: VN sen ga tamē ni = VN [siyoo to] suru tame ni ‘in order to do (VN)’, §14.6. The adverb ikån-sen ‘to one’s regret’ derives from ikå-ni semu and thus is parallel in structure to the modern dō siyoo ‘what to do’?

There is also said to be a dialect form seu (= se’u < se[m]u) that can be pronounced syoo; compare the polite hortative -masyōo and its historical spelling -maseu (= masëu < -masému), which parallels the polite negative -masén < -masën[u]. The adverb arån-kågiri (= åru-kågiri) ‘to the utmost’ is derived from aråmu kågiri, which is formally equivalent to modern arō + kågiri. In the phrase iwan-kåti nåki kési ‘indescribable scenery’ we find a reduction of iwamu kåti = ioo kåti ‘way to say’ + the literary attributive of nai; the colloquial parallel would be ii-yoo go nai ‘lacks a way to tell’. The predicative and infinitive forms also occur: iwan-kåti nåsi ‘is unutterable, indescribable’, iwan-kåti nåki ‘indescribably’.

The literary hortative is sometimes used with a tentative meaning; the “literary tentative” described in the following section is a development from that usage. A more

15. But the shape that attaches to the vowel verbs (-yoo) came about in the following way: the shape -a[m]u was attached and a palatal glide [y] was inserted between the front vowel (e or i) at the end of the base and the back vowel of the ending: ...i[e{-y}a[m]u] > ... i[e]-yoo. From the historical spelling of iyan e-uu for this ending on certain of the vowel verbs (and the polite auxiliary ‘-maseu’ = -masyōo), for we can assume an interim stage at which the low vowel partially assimilated to the palatal: ...i[e]-ye’u. NOTE: This description rounds out the explanation in Martin 1967.269 (n.33) but may still not be the whole story. Perhaps the forms are all made on the incorporated auxiliary si- ‘do’: si-åmu > semu (crasis) > se’u. (The spelling ‘seu’, traditionally pronounced /syoo/, is an archaism, Y 154). Siyoo itself would then be explained as si[-i]se’u > si[y]e’u > siyoo (mutual assimilation of vowels), and kōyōo as kō[i]se’u > kō[y]e’u > kōyōo with only the accent amiss.

16. The following forms may be puzzling at first sight: kōn = kōmu = kōyōo ‘come’; [i]dēn = [i]dēmu = deyōo ‘emerge’; én = ému = eyō ‘get’; hēn = hēmu = heyōo ‘pass’; hin = himu = hiyōo ‘dry’; in = imu = iyōo ‘shoot’ or ‘cast (metal)’; min = mimu = miyōo ‘see’; in = imu = iyōo ‘be, stay’; kin = kimu = kiyōo ‘wear’; nin = nimu = niyoo ‘boil’ or ‘resemble’; sen = semu = siyoo ‘do’. These could also represent shortenings of -nu, but in written texts -nu is usually spelled out and -n will represent the literary hortative unless the text is unusually colloquial.
consistent name would perhaps be "SEMI-literary tentative", since the literary hortative V-(a)mu also has the tentative meaning, but I have omitted the "semi-" for convenience.

Examples of -(a)n < -(a)mu turn up in modern prose: Wareware wa sono senkú-sya TARAN to suru iki-gómi("") de yaru tumori nā n desu 'We intend to work with the ambition to become the pioneers in that [the export from Japan of computer software]' (SA 2635.38) — tarán = tarám = t[ó] áru daróó; ... kásyu TARAN to kokorozásíta no wa ... 'your setting your aim on becoming a singer ...' (Tk 4.139a). Another use will be found in §15.6a: iwán ya < iwamú ya. See also -(a)zarán < -(a)zu áramu, §8.6. You may also run across a perfect tentative V-i-kén < V-i-kému < V-i-ki-ámu, equivalent to the colloquial V-tá daróó, as in the expression náni o omóí-ken 'what was [one] thinking of, what could one be thinking of = of all things' (Endô 149) interpolated judgmentally in a narrative. For another use of the perfect tentative, see V-i-kémáku on p. 839.

There is a construction ...-(a)n bákári 'all but (doing); on the verge of (happening)', which some people assume to come from -(a)mu bákári, presumably analogous to a modern V-[-y]oo Tö /taito/omotte/omóte få bákári,17 while others take it to represent -(a)nu bákári = -(a)nai bákári. Yuzawa thought the form originated as -(a)mu bákári and got reinterpreted as -(a)nu bákári in Edo times, but Yoshida cites examples showing that -(a)nu bákári goes back to Heian days (Y 172) and says modern uncertainties about the form seem to be the result of the convergence of older -(a)mu and -(a)nu by contraction into modern -(a)n. KKK 3.202 cautiously notes that "the form -(a)n seems to be sometimes used"; Henderson 54 comes down squarely in favor of the interpretation as a negative and actually gives an example with -(a)nai bákári. We find examples of -(a)nai bákári in the prose of Kubota Mantárō: ... nakanaí bákári ni 'all but weeping'; Atarimae na kotó da to iwanai bákári ni Sensi wa itta 'Senshi spoke as if almost to say "Only proper"'. And a vaudeville example: Hônóó o hukáane [= hukánai] bákári de, ... '[The cat's eyes] nearly came ablaze ...' (Okitsu 1.164). Four examples from Meiji fiction are cited in Y 191; see also Gekkan-Bumpô 1/8.64 (1969).

Examples of Stô iwan bákári ni/no 'as if almost to say' (etc.) will be found in Alfonso 719. Here are some examples of that verb and of others: Aite wa kubi o katamükete, makoto ni usigih na o-tazune da to iwan bákári no kao o suru 'The other fellow cobbled his head and the look on his face all but said "It's truly a strange request"' (KKK 3.202); Anáta no kénri na n da kara to iwanai bákári desu 'You might almost say it was your right' (Tsukagoshi 246)—presumably the subject-exalting use of the passive form rather than the potential (= ien); Tatami ni hitai o surí-tuke surí-tuke, gookyuu sen bákári no wabi-kata dátta 'It was an apology in which he kept groveling on the floor (mat) and all but wailed' (KKK 3.202); ... Ziburarutaru-káikyoo o hasândé neppu no Ahurika-táiríiku to hotondo hure-awán bákári no í ni áru 'it is in a position of all but virtually touching the hot-winded African continent across the Straits of Gibraltar' (SA 2677.154b); ... áru kákudo de hurí-aogu to, ussoo to sita Árupusu no kuróí mori ga nosi-kakaran bákári ni site sobiête íru no ga mieta 'when we looked up at a certain angle we could see how the dense black forests of the Alps towered, almost bending right over us' (SA 2672.96a); Odoróíta no wa, éjiga("") no marason no tokóró ni náró to, gekízyoo ga waren bákári no nekkyoo désita yó 'What surprised me was when the film got to the marathon part, the theater

17. Ellipsis of the quotative tô is common in many dialects, as we have mentioned in § 2.2a.
12.3. THE LITERARY TENTATIVE

The following verbs are frequently used in modern writings with the hortative ending but tentative meaning: aróo = árú daroó ‘probably is/has’. dekiyóo = dekiru daroo ‘probably can’, ieyóo = ierú daroo ‘probably can say’ (potential §4.4). Perhaps we can say that -yóo is freely written for -rú daroo in the case of any verb for which the hortative meaning is normally precluded, such as árú, potentials,\(^{18}\) and actions outside human control. That would account for broadcast weather reports that say Áme ga hurimasyóo ‘It will probably rain’, Kumorimasyóo ‘It will probably be cloudy’, etc.—a style largely abandoned in the 1960s by NHK announcers in favor of the colloquial tentative (kumórú desyoo etc.).\(^{19}\) The honorific stylization of árú (→ gozaimásu §22.2) is regularly used with the hortative ending for the tentative so that the honorific form corresponding to árú daróo/ desyóo is either gozaimasyóo or gozaimásu desyóo. And some speakers will find arimasyóo more elegant than árú desyóo for the polite tentative of árú: To iú no wa, kyoo gên ni wa arayúru omosóríi monó ga arimasyóo? ‘What I mean is, there are surely all sorts of amusing things among the kyógen farces, don’t you think?’ (SA 2659.49c—speaking is Nomura Manzo, born in Tókyó 1898); Irói roo go-human mo arimasyóo ga, sokó o hitótú ... ‘I am sure you must have various dissatisfactions; ... one of them ...’.

For the adjective, in place of A-i daróo many dialects—including some that infiltrate the Tókyó area—use A-karóo, a contraction of A-k [ú] aróo. So we find oookikaróo = ooki daroo, sukunakaróo = sukuńai daroo, omokaróo = omóí daroo—as well as the negatives mentioned earlier (nakaróo = nái daroo, yobanakaróo = yobanái daroo—cf. Y 203-4) and other conversions that yield adjectives such as the desiderative (yobi-takaróo = yobi-táí daroo) and the facilitative (tabe-yasukaróo = Tabe-yasúi daroo).

In §21.5 we describe a usage of the literary tentative + the particle tó. For the literary tentative + particles gá and ni, see §17.6. Such sentences as Nihon-séihin wa yasukaróo warukaróo [to iú kotó/wáke] de hyooban no yóku nákatta monó de aru ‘Japanese goods used to have a bad reputation as (likely to be) cheap and poor in quality’ might be regarded as including an ellipsis of something like yasukaróo ɡa = yasúi daroo ga. We are including the variant negative tentative V-rú- mài = V-(a)náí daroo as a literary tentative (§12.1); it can be followed by the particle yö, §15.3.

There is an older literary tentative—apparently only for verbs—that is made by adding ɡa = hámú or its contraction ɡa = hán to the predicative forms, including the genuine predicative forms for árú and related verbs (i.e. árú, not árí). Although rámu and rán are reductions of a form arámu that is the origin of the modern (semi-literary) aróo, in this usage they function like modern daróo when it follows a verb. Cf. Henderson 237-8.

\(^{18}\) So that sareyóo might be either the colloquial ‘I’d like to have it done (to me)’ (passive) or the literary ‘I think it can be done’ (potential). But the ‘potential’ sareru is normally replaced by dekíru.

\(^{19}\) Yet I can report hearing the following on the NHK TV weather report of 9 pm 25 August 1968: ... niwaka-áme ga arimasuyóo ‘there will likely be showers’; Nityuu tokidoki haremasyóo ‘During the day there will probably be sunny periods’.

almost burst with frenzy’ (Tk 3.76a): Sosite káré wa, damátte kangae-tuzukete irú bóku(‘) o tyót-to nagámete, tóii ni huí-dasàn bákari ni site itta ‘Then he looked at me for a while, as I kept on silently thinking, and finally he spoke, barely suppressing a burst of laughter’ (CK 985.390)—ni site = dé.
13 ADNOMINALIZATIONS; TYPICALLY ADNOMINAL AND ADVERBIAL WORDS

It is possible to adnominalize almost any perfect or imperfect Japanese sentence, simplex or complex or converted,1 merely by putting it in front of the noun of a nominal sentence, which—whatever its source—serves as the EPITHEME2 (the target) of the adnominalization. The nominal sentence can then be subjected to any of the processes open to a simple nominal sentence (serving either as propredication or as identification, §3.10), including use as a noun phrase for one of the adjuncts of some further sentence. By "noun" we refer to a PURE noun, one that can be marked by が as subject or by に as object; generally excluded are prepocular nouns (§13.8), adjectival nouns (§13.5a), and adverbs (§13.7)—but those restrictives that yield adverbial phrases (such as dake, gurai, kagiri, [k]kiri, etc., §2.4) and the postadnominals yōo and mitai, which have the grammar of adjectival nouns, will serve as epithemes. Pronouns, proper nouns, and deictics can appear as targets of adnominalization: Sono kōro no bōku(〜) wa ... ‘The me of that period = In those days I ...’; Nagā aida koko ni sunde iru Tanaka sensēi wa ... ‘Professor Tanaka, who has lived here for a long time, ...’; Tookyōo no dōko ga itiban nigyakusa desu ka ‘Where in Tōkyō is the liveliest?’; Anāta ga ryokōo sita dōko ga itiban osomirōkatta desyoy ka ‘Which of the places you travelled did you find most interesting?’; Iti-nen 〜zyuu no ût ga itiban suki desu ka ‘What time in the year do you like best?’; Kimi ga Amerika ni sünde ita ût ga itiban tanosīkatta ‘What time while you were living in America was the most pleasant?’; Dōko-soko no dāre ga ... ‘Who from such-and-such place ...’; Kore wa māta(〜) Hōnkkōn de tābeta nāni yori mo oisikatta ‘This was, moreover, (better than anything [else] I ate =) the best thing I ate in Honkong’ (SA 2666.110c).

Both verbal and adjectival sentences—and all negative and perfect sentences—adnominalize with no change in form:3 Kodomo ga warau (waratta, warawanai, warawanakkata) ‘The child laughs (laughed, doesn’t laugh, didn’t laugh)’ → Warau (Waratta, Warawanai, Warawanakkata) kodomo dā ‘[That] is the child who laughs (laughed, doesn’t laugh, didn’t laugh)’; Kodomo ga tisaii (tisakkata, tisaku nai, tisaku nakkata) → Tisaii (Tisakkata, Tisaku nai, Tisaku nakkata) kodomo dā ‘[That] is the child who is little (was little, isn’t little)’.

1. Even が for は: Tisaii ga syaaret ka zyuu (‘[It was] a small but stylish residence’ (SA 2642.37d); ... sono sasayaka da ga kityoo na hina ... ‘those humble yet precious dolls’ (SA 2670.140d); Takai ga, umai komē o kai-tai syoo-sya wo iru no da ‘There are also, you see, consumers who wish to buy rice that is expensive but tastes good’ (SA 2684.20c). Mikami 1963.106 says conjunctions (or sentence-adverbs) and conjunctionalizations are avoided in adnominalized sentences. But here is an example of adnominalization of parallel sentences conjoined with the provisional (§9.3.2): Syokūryōo(〜) mo tainakereba koogyōo-gēnryōo mo tarainai kono kuni de, ... ‘In this country which lacks both foodstuffs and industrial raw materials ...’ (Tk 2.143b).

2. On the term, see p. 621.

3. This is true of the colloquial language. In the literary language the adjectives have an attributive form A-ki that is different from the predicative form A-si; vowel verbs of more than one syllable (dropping the i or e found in the infinitive, the negative, etc.) add -uru for the attributive but -u for the predicative; the consonant verbs āru, nāru = ni āru (copula—but not nāru ‘becomes’), tāru = tō āru (subjective copula), őru, and habēr-u (polite or humble auxiliary) are all irregular in that they use the infinitive (őri, nāri, tāri, ōri, habēri) in place of the predicative form in most of the predicative functions; the consonant verb sin: ‘die’ has the irregular attributive sinuru. The auxiliaries used to form perfects also have distinctive endings for the attributive and the predicative. See §9.5, §9.6, §13.9.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

little, wasn’t little); Kodomo ga byooki datta (byooki zya nakkatta) ‘The child was ill (was not ill)’ → Byooki datta (Byooki zya nakkatta) kodomo dā ‘[That] is the child who was ill (who was not ill)’.

But nominal sentences that are imperfect replace dā by either nó or ná depending on (1) the kind of noun being adnominalized, and (2) the kind of noun to which it is adnominalized. If the noun to be adnominalized is what we are calling an ADJECTIVAL NOUN (replacing Bloch’s term "copular noun"), dā will always adnominalize as ná, regardless of the following noun; but a number of words are ambivalently treated as either adjectival nouns or as precopular nouns (iroiro na/no monó ‘various things’). Other nouns, including precopular nouns, convert dā to nó before most nouns, but before certain postadnominals they too use ná: bākari, dake, dōkoro, gūrai, hodō, iga, izyoo, kāgiri, māde, ?monó, monóz, wāke, and the adnominalizations with nó (in its several meanings, see § 14.2) and with kōtō (§ 14.1).

Instead of nó or ná you will sometimes find de aru, the formal equivalent of dā that is often used in speeches and the like; it adnominalizes without change: Watasi ga kanzō de

4. Both adjectival and precopular nouns typically translate as English adjectives; the semantic emphasis of the former is on QUALITIES, while the precopular noun points to QUANTITIES or STATES, though the distinction is not always clearcut. We even find antonyms that differ in their grammar such as the well-known pair genki and byooki: Anō-hito ga byooki da ‘He is ill’ → Byooki no hitō da ‘It is an ill person’ but Anō-hito ga genki da ‘He is well’ → Genki na hitō da ‘It is a well person’. There is some flux in usage of nó or ná after certain adjectival nouns. Thus, though normally muda ‘futile’ would be followed by nó in all adnominalizations, before the postadnominal yō speakers optionally use nó; Mio 146 says this is true also of mendō ‘troublesome’, o-kinodoku ‘pitiful’, and perhaps many others. (Examples of suki no yō will be found on p. 766.) Is this because yō is itself adnominalized with nó? Alfonso 1047 presents the pattern AN no/nó yō da and N no yō da; it is unclear whether this is intended to hold for yō na/ní as well as for yō da. (Alfonso 1055 has hituyoo NA yōo NI.) Hamako Chaplin suggests that AN na yōo is more colloquial, AN no yō more formal. More examples:

Kāre no kentiku wa kiwāmete dokusuoo-teki no yōo de ite, dōozi(”) ni watatsi-tāti, tooyoo-zin no kōron-teki na muzōo-kan o humāete iru ‘His architecture continues to look extremely original, yet at the same time it is based on the fundamental feeling of impermanence that we orientals have’ (SA 2645.46c); Nozima san wa éraku kantan no yōo ni ittā keredo ... ‘Mr Nojima spoke with admirable simplicity but ...’ (SA). (An example of ... ii-ta-ge no yōo de aru will be found on p. 994, § 20.) Although hu-hituyoo ‘unnecessary’ is normally an adjectival noun, it is listed also as ‘noun’ (presumably our ‘precopular noun’ rather than ‘pure noun’) in MKZ, and that would seem to be justified by the following example: Sirei-syoo(”) no yōo na gyyoogyoosii monó ga hu-hituyoo NO baa i wa, syoooi bun syoo de sore- to-na ku renraku suru ‘When such a fancy thing as a formal directive is not required, they communicate indirectly, with the sentences of personal introduction on a calling card’ (SA 2659.44a). But one speaker (Kurokawa) will use only hu-hituyoo NA monó ‘an unnecessary thing’ while accepting either ... NA/NO baa i ‘a situation in which it is unnecessary’; I presume that ‘an unnecessary situation’ (with baa i extruded from the subject rather than intruded as a summational or transitional epithet) would be only ... NA baa.

5. Although ná is called for in S1 kotō wa S1 ga (p. 843), after a pure noun or a precopular noun you may run across an inappropriately formal nó instead: Yuumei na gakkusa no (= na) kotō wa yumei na gakkusa dēsu ga ‘He is a famous scholar, to be sure, but’. Byooki no (= na) kotō wa byooki dā ‘He is sick, of course, but’. In the following example the precopular noun dooyoo is followed by nó before kōtō2: motiron dooyoo NA kōtō ga ieru ‘of course the same sort of thing can be said’ (Tsujimura 70)–cf. ... mae no zyo-tēn’in to dooyoo NO ayamā ‘the same kind of mistake as that the lady clerk mentioned earlier’ (id. 69). Both N no kotō o sitte iru ‘knows that it is N’ and N no hazu da ‘is likely to be N’ are standard usage, but N na kotō o sitte iru and N na hazu da appear to be gaining in popularity (cf. Kazama 231). Aomori replaces ná with da: rippa da é = rippa na é ‘a splendid picture’, byoooi da nó = byooki ná no ‘a sick one’ (but byoooi no go = byooki no ko ‘a sick child’), cited from Kobayashi (UM 75-24, 207) 95n88.
Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

áru kotó (= kánzi na/no kotó) o ukkári wasureru tokoró datta 'I was forgetting that I am the supervisor' (Mikami 1960.14); Watasi, Kurisutyan da kedo, gendai ni oite, Kurisutyan de aru kotó ga hazukasii gurai 'I am a Christian, but in these modern days I am almost ashamed of being a Christian' (SA 2676.36c). In semi-literary writings you will find nárú, the attributive (= adnominal) form of the literary copula nári < ní ari, used as the equivalent of ná in Zetudai nárú go-kitai o ... 'Please await with great anticipation ...' and as the equivalent of nó in tugi nárú syooten/toosoo 'the next focus/struggle' (SA 2686.30b/e); sometimes this form is used where the colloquial would have the quotational quasi-copula made up of tó + iu, as in Hokkaido nárú tihóo = Hokkaidoo to iu tihóo 'the district of Hokkaidó'—cf. the literary use of nári to report a sentence as hearsay—equivalent to colloquial sóo da (§ 18). You will also find táru, the attributive form of the literary subjunctive copula tári < tó ari, where you might expect tó site iru, as in dooodó(−) táru méiga 'a splendid masterpiece of a film'. (Only a very few of these ... táru forms have survived as clichés in the colloquial and they may well be regarded as lexical adnouns. See § 13.5.)

The literary language uses tári more widely, and you will run across it in modern written passages from time to time; see § 13.9 and KKK 3.260 for examples. In N1 táru N2, a particular usage that survives in the colloquial, the second noun is often a generalized class term such as hitó or monó 'person': isya táru monó 'a person who is [to be thought of as] a doctor; a real doctor; a doctor worthy of the name; all doctors'. The negative for this usage (and for dooodó(−) táru) is tarazaru, the literary negative attributive form; apparently (*)taránu is never used. Kenkyusha's examples of titi táru no miti 'the duty of a father' and gakusei táru no hónbun(−) 'one's duty as a student' can be explained as adnominalization of a direct nominalization (§ 14.6) or as ellipsis ... táru [monó] no ... .

The literary perfect-resultative -éri (< -rió, § 9.6) adnominalizes as -érú, so that VN séri (= VN site iru as resultative) will turn up as VN séru N (= VN site iru N or VN sita N). The literary negative of verbs, V-(a)nu but senu for suru, is often used adnominally, as in kore ni hoka-narānú monó 'a thing that is none other than this', siran[u] kao 'an indifferent air' (often treated as a compound noun sirán-kao), ... . In written Japanese there is also an attributive negative V-(a)zårú (< -zu áru) with the same meanings: VN sezårú N = VN senu N = VN sain N. Cf. the remarks on tarazaru, just above.

The imperfect NEGATIVE of a nominal sentence remains unchanged by adnominalization: Kodomo ga Nihon-zín zya nái 'The child is not a Japanese' → Nihon-zín zya nái kodomo da '[That] is the child who is not a Japanese'. (The formal equivalent of zya nái is de nái, and that is more often seen in print, where zya nái may represent zýaa nái = dé wa nái.)

The new nominal sentence, with its embedded adnominalization, can be converted to perfect, tentative, negative, etc., quite independently of the conversions that may be incorporated into the adnominalized sentence. And that can lead to the multiple negatives mentioned in § 8: Yobanakatta hitó zya nákatta 'It wasn't the man we had neglected to call'.

The tentative is not ordinarily adnominalized, but the literary tentative (§ 12.3) is common before postadnominals, especially in written Japanese: Aróo ko zó ka áru 'maybe kotó ... 'The matter of whether there probably is or not ...'; Sonna ko to ko aróo hazo gá nái 'There is no reason for such things to happen'; Wasüré de mo siyoo monó nara syooti sinai 'I won't forgive you if you should forget'. In the last example, siyoo cannot be replaced by the imperfect suru, so that V-[y]oo monó nara is best treated as a special
There are certain kinds of words which occur adnominalized in attributive position perhaps more typically than they are found in predicative position: adjectival nouns (§13.5a) and predicopular or quasi-adjectival nouns (§13.8). Certain words appear typically or exclusively as adnominal modification (adnominal, §13.5); others as adverbial modification (adverbs, §13.7) or as sentential connectors (conjunctions, §13.7a). Quantity nominals ("numbers") are used to count or measure particular nouns through a relationship that is essentially attributive, but the basically adnominal grammar is often obscured by various common conversions, such as adverbialization and thematization, as explained in §13.6. The reason for grouping these rather disparate parts of speech in adjacent sections of this study is the overlapping problems the classes share with respect to adnominalization, at the one extreme; and to sentential adverbializations, at the other.

13.1. ADNOMINALIZATION GRAMMAR

To understand the grammar of adnominalization we must consider several things: the source of the noun to which the sentence is adnominalized, i.e. the target of the adnominalization, here called the EPITHEME (§13.1.1-5); the possibility of focus within the adnominalized sentence (§13.1.6); the particular constraints on the various non-extruded epithemes (the postadnominals of §13.2); and special classes of adnominal elements taken up in following sections.

The noun to which the sentence is adnominalized, the epitheme, will often prove to be EXTRUDED from the sentence itself; a noun phrase referring to the time (when), the place (where), the agent (who or by whom), the object (that or which is affected), the beneficiary (for whom), the reciprocal (with/against whom), the instrumental (with which), the ablative (from what/whom), etc., is pulled out to be embedded as an adjunct to a new predicate. The source of the extruded epitheme may be a simple sentence or it may be one which has undergone one or more—any number?—of the other conversions prior to the adnominalization.

But not all epithemes are extruded. Some come from outside the adnominalized sentence. These "intruded" epithemes seem to fall into three types: SUMMATONAL (or "synoptic"), RESULTATIVE (or "creational"—perhaps "propredicative"?) and TRANSITIONAL (or "relational" or "conjunctive"). The summational epithemes refer to a situation, a fact, a report, an experience, an instance, a portrayal, a performance, an appearance, a similarity, a likelihood, a necessity, an attitude, a value (unless this is resultative), a plan, a hope, a thought, a dream, a sense, a feeling, etc.; the situation or fact (etc.) is elaborated in the adnominalized sentence. The resultative epithemes refer to a RESULTANT thing6 or state, a product, an emanation, a percept (as in the examples gāsu ga morēru NIOI 'the smell of gas escaping'—Mikami 1960.94; āme ga hûtte iru OTŌ 'the sound of the rain falling' and tukī ga umi ni hikātte iru KESIKI 'the view of the moon shining on the sea'—Alfonso 375), a reaction or impression (Watakusi ga kono ron bun o yōnda INSYOO dē wa ... 'As the impression I got from reading this treatise ...'—SA 2651.22d; yuusyoo siti YOROKÔBÎ(−) 'the joy of having won'—Mikami 1960.94), etc.; the adnominalized sentence is the creative (or perceptive) process from which the result stems. Some other

6. As in kippu o katta O-TURI 'the change from buying one's ticket' (Nagano 1968.189).
resultative epithemes (from examples in V 133-4): takigi no moeru kemuri ‘the smoke from the firewood’s burning’, gásu no moeru hì ‘the fire from the burning gas’, S mánzoku ‘the satisfaction that S’, S hukái ‘the displeasure that S’, S mezuráši-sa ‘the curiosity/wonder that S’ (this can also be taken as summational). Here is a resultative epitheme (‘flavor cooked’) used as a subduced theme extruded from the dative (‘for flavor’): Sikáshí, ryóóri sita AZI wa, sore-gurai no ooki-sa nó ga itiban ií to sarete iru ‘But for flavor [that results when] cooked, the ones [= pike] of about that size are considered best’. Vardul suggests the possibility that we regard all resultative epithemes as ellipsis of S [tame no] N, citing such examples as yuuðh nenakatta [tame no] tukará ge dête ‘there appeared a weariness from not having slept the night before’ (V 133) and hito no tóoru [tame no] monoótó ‘the sound of people going by’ (V 134).

The transitional epithemes refer to relative time or place; to cause or reason; to purpose; to manner; to extent or range or degree or frequency; etc. They serve to embed the adnominalized sentence into the target sentence (= the matrix) with an adverbal specification.

Examples of transitional epithemes of place (from V 142): Káre-ra no ie wa, matinami ga negi-bâtake ni uturu TÍKAkU ni átta ‘Their house was in the vicinity of where the rows of houses shift to onion fields’; ... séito no káo ga muragátte i-soo na ATÁRE seruróido no ningyoo o hoori-nágeta ‘[He] threw the celluloid doll to (the area) where the (faces of the) students were about to gather’. Vardul suggests we account for these structures as an ellipsis of S [tokoró no] PLACENOUN. He observes another type which he feels is better derived as a kind of stylistic inversion of a paraphrase: Suzúkake(“) no ha no sigétta SITÁ o káre wa isogazu ni yokogiitte itta ‘He unhurriedly crossed below where the plane-tree leaves were dense’ — Suzúkake(“) no sigétta ha no SITÁ o káre wa isogazu ni yokogiitte itta ‘He crossed under the dense leaves of the plane trees’. But it is quite possible to account for the epitheme in such a sentence in the same way we would account for other transitional epithemes, including those which would not—for one reason or another—permit such paraphrases.

Transitional epithemes of time might be derived from S [tokí no] TIMENOUN, following the lead suggested by those of place. In the following examples (from V 140-1) observe how, unlike the English translations, the choice of perfect or imperfect for the adnominalized predicate is determined by its relationship with the epitheme, not by the following predicate (which is perfect for all ‘...’ sentences, here omitted): ... nyuuin sita tábún HUTUKA “ME ka ni ... ‘on perhaps the second day she was in the hospital ...’; Watasi ga gakkoo o dêta YOKUNEN (= YOKUTOSI) ni, ... ‘In the year after I left school ...’; Narita ni okutte moratta AKURU-ÁSA, ... ‘On the next morning after being seen home by Narita, ...’; ... sono náka e háitta NOTÍI, ... ‘after getting inside ...’; Bókú-ra ga Tumagome o tátú [ZENSEKÍ =] ZÉN’YA(”, ..., ‘The night before we left (were to leave) Tsumagome ...’; Sisatu ga áru ZENZITU, ... ‘On the day before the inspection took (was to take) place ...’; Watasi no umaruru hantosí hodo MÁE ni mittú de sinda án ga áru ‘I have an older brother who died at the age of three, about a half year before I was born’.

7. It is possible to insert either [tame no] or [to iu] before the epitheme in the example Káre wa kókyoo no tóuti o humu [ | ] MEZURÁŠI-SÁ no utii(”) ni issyu no sabissí-mí sae kan-żíta ‘In the midst of the wonder at stepping on his native soil he actually felt a kind of melancholy’ (V 133). A similar example: ... gohuzyoo e háitte, syangade iru tokoró o akerareta HAZUKÁŠI-SÁ ... ‘the (shame =) embarrassment at having someone open the door on one squatting at the toilet’ (R).
There are also sentences using place nouns as transitional epithemes of time (V 143): ...
... mitsi o migi ni òrete si-goken AHI-GAWA ni ... ‘on the left when you have walked along the road for three or four ken after turning right ...’; Syootiku-za ‘mâe no suzi-mukoo no rózi o hâttA KÁDO ni âru Sina-mesía no kotó desu ‘It’s a matter of [= It happened in] a Chinese restaurant that is located on the corner after you’ve entered the alley that is diagonally across from the Shôchiku Theater’ (the modern word for a Chinese restaurant is tyuu-karyoorû-ten).

At least some instances of transitional epithemes of cause or reason and of purpose could be explained as ellipsis of S [tame no] NOUN. Transitional epithemes of extent or range or degree or frequency can, at least in some instances, be explained as ellipsis of S [hodó no] NOUN: ... zyuugô-hun de oohuku no dekiru [ ] TIKÅ-SA de nái kara ... ‘because it is not so near you can get there and back in fifteen minutes’ (V 136); Iñúkai san wa kutiburu kara awá o tobasu [ ] IKIÔI de benzi-tâteta ‘Mr Iñukai pleaded with fervor enough to bring foam to his lips’ (V 136); Hiroshima ... ni kâette miru to, zibun no ip-pon no migiude wa mondai ni narânu [ ] HÎGEKI ga okôtê ita ‘When he got back to [his home in] Hiroshima he discovered that a tragedy had occurred that made what had happened to his right arm seem insignificant’ (V 136); Sigoto ni derú [ ] GÉNÎKÎ ga naku-natte ... ‘Losing the energy to go to work ...’ (Takahashi 176); San-nin no kázoku de gëzoyô hutaâ[r]tukau [ ] MÎBUN ... ‘a status such as to employ two maids in a family of three persons’ (Takahashi 172). In these examples, it appears to be possible to quotationize optionally with or without hodó no: S {to iu} epitheme, S {to iu hodó no} epitheme, S {hodó no} epitheme.

Summational epithemes will usually permit quotationization of the adnominalized sentence, and some require it. Yet in other instances quotationization seems awkward, if not ungrammatical; you would be unlikely to insert [to iu] before the summational epitheme in this sentence: ...
... mukóol(”) de o-hairi to iu mâde, damâtte kadôgutî ni tâtte ita KOKKEI mo âatta ‘There were also comic incidents of standing without a word at the entrance until they would say to come in’ (V 130).

The epitheme, which always comes after its partner, bears a striking similarity to the THEME (§3.9), which always precedes its partner; and that is the reason for choosing similar names for the two phenomena. Themes are typically extruded, to be sure, but there are also instances of intruded themes, such as the “loose” themes which would seem to be reductions from largely unexpressed sentences—and perhaps S hōo ga (pp. 231-2). When used as sentence introducers, some of the adverbs and conjunctions of §13.7a—in particular, the coordinative, sequential, and adversative conjunctions—and certain thematized time nouns (âto wa ‘afterward’, yokuzeito mo ‘the next day too’) can be regarded as parallel to the transitional epithemes (S áto, S yokuzitû, etc.). The resultative epithemes are, to some extent, paralleled by the consequential conjunctions and some of the adverbs of logical relation. Corresponding to the summational epithemes we find the explanatory conjunctions (sunáwa ‘id est’, tûmari ‘in short’) and some of the adverbs of logical or sentential relation (motîron ‘undoubtedly’, naru-hodo ‘truly enough’). To summarize:

**THEMES**
1. extruded
2. explanatory conjunctions, adverbs of logical or sentential relation

**EPITHEMES**
extruded
summational
3. consequential conjunctions, adverbs of logical relation
4. coordinative, sequential, and adversative conjunctions;
   thematized time nouns

resultative
transitional

The theme, thus, is something like a prolog; the epitHEME is rather like an epilog which at the same time serves as a catapult into a new or larger situation. The extruded epitHEME is a way of starting a new scene with an old character or an old piece of setting; the extruded theme puts the character or setting on the billboard to whet your interest in watching the scene. This view takes a discourse-sized look at the epitHEME and reveals something rather interesting. What looks like a "theme" at the beginning of a sentence may actually be a reprise of something in the preceding sentence(s)—something that we would call an "epitheme" if the earlier sentence(s) had been adnominalized to the later sentence, with obligatory omission of the element that was catapulted out to serve as epitheme. The same situation might be covered in two scenes (= sentences) with a repeat of a character or setting from the first as the theme of the second; or, alternatively, it might be wrapped up into an integrated double scene by an adnominalization which epithematizes (catapults) the character or setting: Ore ga sinbun o katta. [Sono] sinbun (wa)—dare ga [sore o] sutetá ka ‘I bought a newspaper. That newspaper—who threw it away?’ Ore ga katta [sono] sinbun (wa)—dare ga [sore o] sutetá ka ‘That newspaper I bought—who threw it away?’ → Ore ga katta sinbun o dare ga sutetá ka (with subduing of the theme: Ore ga katta sinbun wa dare ga sutetá ka) ‘Who threw away the newspaper I bought?’

Independently, and for quite different reasons, Kuno has also observed the similarity of themes to epitHEMES; he explains epithematization (of an extruded adjunct) by assuming that the extruded adjunct is first thematized and then made target of the adnominalization. One argument in favor of his theory is that certain epithemes are assignable to more than one adjunct in the underlying sentence, just as a theme might be. In the following example, the epitheme could have been extruded from the object of (kakuryoo o) hoori-dášite mo ‘even if you throw (the ministers out)’ or from the subject of (kakuryoo ga) mónku o iwanai ‘they won’t complain’—or from both: Mättakú, kónda no náíkaku wa, itu hoori-dášite mo mónku o iwanai KAKURYOÓ bákari, yoku mo atúmeta né ‘I must say, this present cabinet has collected an incredible bunch of ministers who won’t complain whenever we throw them out’ (Tk 3.279b)—kónda = kóndo.

There are a number of questions with respect to theme and epitHEME that call for further consideration. Is it possible to have both a theme and an epitHEME with the same sentence (rather than the theme being for the larger sentence)? In general, the answer is no. Some of the postadnominals may seem to permit a theme, but in such cases (e.g. with ... yóó da, ... hazu da, etc.) we are probably misconstruing what is actually a theme for the larger sentence. Can you have more than one theme? Probably not, at least not more than one theme of the same type; two or more conjunctions or sentence adverbs, to be sure, will appear at the beginning of a sentence, but it is not clear that such cases are to be treated as multiple themes. It is certainly doubtful that more than one extruded theme will be heard in a simplex sentence.\footnote{This does not mean that it is in any way unusual to have more than one wá-marked phrase; focus and thematization are independent processes, as we have observed, even though it is true that the theme will often be given the subdued focus of wá. And we are here disregarding the break-up of a normally structured sentence into juncture-marked chunks in certain special styles that often insert né[š] or...}
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wa ne [e] or sá after every adjunct, as when telephoning or shouting a message or when seeking reassurance or striving for vividness.

The theme allows for anaphoric reprise within the simplex: Sinbun {wa/mo}, sore o ...

... The epitheme does not normally permit cataphoric anticipation: (*sore o katta [sono] sinbun ‘the newspaper that I bought’) sounds almost as strange in Japanese as in English.

(For an acceptable example, however, see p. 231, §3.9.) But a synoptic anaphora is possible with epithematization: katta sono sinbun ‘that newspaper that I bought’. This provides a technique for making your reference explicitly definite; katta sinbun is unspecified with respect to definiteness and it can be interpreted either as ‘the newspaper I bought’ or ‘a newspaper I bought’—as well as ‘(the) newspaper(s) I bought’, since plurality is also unspecified. It may be that all deictic elements imply a theme, since otherwise there should be no such reference as sore ‘that’ within the simplex. This would be true of situational as well as anaphoric deictics; the situation pointed to would constitute the theme.

In English we have a difference between what are called “restrictive” and “nonrestrictive” (or “explicative”) relative clauses; that is, some adnominalized sentences serve to define a noun and are interpreted (and sometimes marked) differently from those that merely describe or comment on a noun. The distinction can sometimes be drawn in Japanese by marking the epitheme with sono ‘that’ in the “restrictive” situation and by giving up adnominalization altogether in the other situation, loosely conjoining the sentences instead. ‘My friend, who is (= happens to be) Japanese, is very fond of sushi’ can be translated as Tomodati wa Nihon-zin de suşi ga daï-suki desu ‘My friend is Japanese and he is very fond of sushi’ (or ‘My friend, being Japanese, is very fond ...’ with or without a consequential meaning) and ‘My friend who is Japanese (= My Japanese friend) is very fond of sushi [unlike my Chinese friend]’ can be translated as Nihon-zin no sono tomodati wa suşi ga daï-suki desu. But Nihon-zin no tomodati wa suşi ga daï-suki desu can be taken either way—to say nothing of a third possibility ‘the friend of the Japanese’, stemming from the ambiguity that arises from multiple derivations of nó, one of which is genitive.

Japanese authors often make skillful use of adnominalizations to carry along their narrative, where the English translator would prefer conjunctions. Observe the free translation of the following passage: Tabata kara densyan ni notte Ueno de òrita san-nin wa soko de mata Asakusa máde tika-tétudo ni notta ‘The three men took the train from Tabata to Ueno and then rode the subway to Asakusa’ (Kb 191b). A sentence starting off Utí(') e káetta Tároo ga ... (or the like) is often to be translated ‘When he got home, Taro ...’ or ‘Once home, Taro ...’ instead of ‘Taro, who had got home ...’.

Vardul 143 calls our attention to certain kinds of pseudo adnominalizations in which the formally adnominalized sentence is intended to be interpreted as if it were adverbalized: ... anáta ni ̀u made no watasi wa, ... = anáta ni ̀u made, watasi wa ... ‘until I met you, I ...’; Sensoo ga owatté kara no, kodomó-táti no asobi-buri ga sukkári kawatta ... = Sensoo ga owatté kara, kodomó-táti no asobi-buri ga sukkári kawatta ‘After the war ended, there came a complete change in the way children play’; ... ni-syuukan bákari tátta do-yóobi no goó kara, ... = ni-syuukan bákari tátu to do-yóobi no goó kara ‘starting on a

8. Do not confuse the adjective ‘restrictive’ used here (to mean a defining adnominalization) with the noun ‘restrictive’ used to label a class of Japanese postnouns in §2.4, also called ‘delimiters’.

What is here called adnominalization covers much of what is sometimes called ‘relativization’ (i.e. the formation of ‘relative clauses’) in the writing of linguists treating the grammar of English.
Saturday afternoon when two weeks have passed ...'. These are each susceptible to a more literal explanation; in the last example, with a slightly tighter interpretation, 'Saturday afternoon' could be taken as a resultative epitheme (the Saturday resulting from the passage of the two weeks) or even as an extruded time-locative (on that Saturday two weeks had passed).

13.1.1. Extruded Adjuncts as Epithemes

Under epithematization an extruded adjunct loses its case marker, and the relationship between the adnominalized sentence and the epitheme is often obscured, so that grammatical ambiguities abound. One way to dispel the ambiguities is the explicit mention of all parties to the situation; by not omitting any of the adjuncts, you let the listener know which character is missing, which role is left to be filled. Kháha ga kodomo o yobu 'The mother calls the child' can be converted into Kodomo o yobu háha 'The mother who calls the child' and into Kháha ga yobu kodomo 'The child whom the mother calls'; but if you choose the ever-available option of omitting adjuncts and say Yobu háha (or Yobu kodomo) it is quite unclear, without situational context, who is calling whom. Since a verb of movement includes both motion TO and motion FROM, an ambiguity seems inevitable when the PLACE is extruded: itta tokoró can mean either 'the place that I went to' (sono tokoró e itta) or 'the place that I went from' (sono tokoró kara itta)—and, if tokoró is taken as the postadnominal 'situation' or 'time when', it can also mean 'the moment that I went' (with "place to/from" as well as "I" omitted). The number of ambiguities is increased by the fact that a traversal object can be extruded: itta miti can mean 'the path I went along' (sono miti o itta) as well as 'the path I went to' (sono miti e itta) or 'the path I went from' (sono miti kara itta)—or, conceivably, 'the way [= method by which] I went'. Similar problems of ambiguity with place references in the simplex will arise when you apply the facilitative (§9.1.8) and choose the option of subjectifying the adjuncts of place: Dóko ga iki-yasu i 'Where is it easy to go (to/from/along)?'.

But it is not safe to assume that ANY adjunct of what seems to be a simplex sentence can be extruded to serve as an epitheme to which the remainder can be adnominalized. Time adjuncts with máde would appear to be excluded, since Sono zikan máde tuzuku 'It continues till that time' (or, mutatis mutandis, Sono zikan máde tuzukeru 'We continue it till that time') will not lead to Tuzuku zikan da; that sentence, to be sure, is quite acceptable but its meaning is not our intended 'It is the time that it continues till', rather it means 'It is the time which continues' and derives from [Sono] zikan ga tuzuku 'The time continues' ([Sono] zikan o tuzukeru 'We continue the time') with the noun referring to time in the role of subject (or object). Similar restrictions obtain for TIME + kará 'from'.

It is easy to extrude and epithematize the subject, the object, or the indirect object. Kháha ga kodomo ni o-kási o wasata 'The mother handed the child sweets' will yield these three forms: (1) Kodomo ni o-kási o wasata háha ... 'The mother who handed the child sweets ...'; (2) Kháha ga kodomo ni o-kási o wasata háha ... 'The sweets that the mother handed the child ...'; (3) Kháha ga o-kási o wasata kodomo ... 'The child whom the mother handed the sweets to ...'. But some subjects and objects are idiomatically tied to the predicate in such a way that extrusion is awkward or impossible: ki ga hayái 'is short of temper' does not convert to *hayái ki 'a short temper'—though hayái ki = hayái kimoti 'a feeling of being fast' with a summational epitheme is quite acceptable; and ki o tukérú 'gives heed (to)' does
not convert to "tukêru ki 'the heed given', nor does ki ni kakâru 'weighs on one's mind' convert to "kakâru ki 'the weighed-on mind'. (The noun ki is singularly rich in idiomatic phrases, but there are many other such examples, e.g. with té 'hand' and mé 'eye', as well as more highly restricted nouns.)

On the other hand, certain sentences will not make sense without the adnominalization (KKK 23.70): Kono kikái wa botan(*) o osu dáke de ugóku sikumi désu 'This machine is so contrived that it moves at the push of a button', (*)Kono kikái wa sikumi désu; Kâre wa ookii té désu 'He has large hands', (*)Kâre wa té désu—not acceptable as propredication for ookii té da but acceptable in other situations such as 'Him—it's his HAND [that he injured in the accident where she hurt her foot]' .

Examples of epithematized SUBJECTS: ... soo óoku nái PEEZI-SUU no naka ni ... 'in pages not so very numerous' (SA 2650.91e) ← peezi-suuj ga soo óoku nái 'the number of pages is not so many'; ... hiyâyaka na, kérédo mo, hagesãi KÔÈ de ... 'in a voice that was cool, yet severe' (KKK 25.76a) ← kôe ga hiyâyaka da, kérédo mo [kôe ga] hagesãi 'the voice is cool yet [it] is severe'; Kâta AMÉRIKA dé sae mo, zibûn-táti ga itiban mízime da tte itte imásu. Maketa KUNI o minmã tabesãenakya ikenai tte it n désu né 'Even America which won claims that they themselves are the most miserable. They complain they have to feed the countries that lost' (Tk 2.319b) ← Americâ ga katta 'America won'; [sono] kuni ga maketa 'the countries lost'.

Examples of epithematized OBJECTS: Sono tokí mite kita gaitoku no YÔTTO ... A foreign yacht that we had gone to see at that time' (SA 2650.59a) ← [watåsi-táti ga] sono tokí gaitoku no yóttó o mite kita 'we went to see a foreign yacht at that time'; Dâre mo siranai ZÍNBU TRU da ga, ... 'He is a person no one knows, but ...' (SA 2676.110a) ← dare mo [ga] [sono] zinbutu o siranai 'no one knows the person'; ... boku(*) no ima-mâde keiken sita kotó no nài òoki na ZÍKEN datta 'It was a big event that I had not experienced before' (SA 2647.63c) ← boku(*) ga ima-mâde [sono] òoki na ziken o keiken sita kotó ga nài 'there lacks any instance that I have up till now experienced [that] big event'; ... onsên ga waita to sitte, ... katta TÔTI ... 'the land that they bought upon learning that a hot spring had emerged' (SA) ← [kâre-raga soko ni] onsên ga waita to sitte 'from the things that are demanded by everyone in the last analysis' (KKK 3.166). And the device sometimes occurs with an intransitive verb, marking an extruded subject (N ga VI → VI tokorô no N): Iwâyûru pîruretaria- dokusai to; musubi-táta | tokorô no kyóosan-syûgí wa | minsyu-syûgí to wa | hitobito ga kyûkyûoku ni óite(*) | motómëte iru | tokorô no monó kara, ... 'children affected by its influence ...'

Written Japanese has a special device to mark an extruded epiphenome—most often the object of a transitive verb: N o VT → VT tokorô no N. This makes a sort of passive, but it does not affect the subject in the adnominalized sentence: "Tegâmi" | wa | Húzîta | Tasiö [ga] tukûru | tokorô no ... baráado de aru " 'The Letter' is a ballad ... composed by Fujita Tashio' (SA 2650.61b); Íma ya | Ikeda | ookura-daizín no | iu tokorô no ... 'd'isûnure-yôsan' to wa, ... 'What Treasury Minister Ikeda is now calling a "disinflationary budget" ...' (KAKK 3.166); ... 'from the things that are demanded by everyone in the last analysis' (KKK 3.166). And the device sometimes occurs with an intransitive verb, marking an extruded subject (N ga VI → VI tokorô no N): Iwâyûru pîruretaria-dokusai to; musubi-táta | tokorô no kyóosan-syûgí wa | ... 'children affected by its influence ...'.
In addition to subjects and objects, other case-marked adjuncts can be extruded and epithematized; the examples below are arranged according to various subtypes found in §3 ff.

(1) ablative—

(1a) kará: Watasi ga garasu o hazusita MÁDO ‘the window that I removed the glass from’ ← Watasi ga [sono] mádo kara garasu o hazusita ‘I removed the glass from the window’; Dorobo ga kane o nusúnda GINKOO ‘the bank that the thief stole the money from’ ← Dorobo ga [sono] ginkoo kara kane o nusúnda ‘The thief stole the money from the bank’; Húzi-san no miér MATÚBARA de hitóri no kookó-sei ga zisatu o hakatta ‘In a pine grove from which Mt Fuji could be seen a high school student contemplated suicide’ (SA 2648.116) ← Matúbara kara Húzi-san ga miér ‘From the pine grove Mt Fuji can be seen’.

(1b) kará/ní: Kodomo ga kane o moratta OZÍSAN ‘the grandfather from whom the boy got money’ ← Kodomo ga ozísan kara/ní kane o moratta ‘The child got money from the grandfather’; Eikyoo o ukeráreta NO wa, Tézuka(‘) san to ‘Those whose influence you were affected by are Mr Tezuka and ...’ ← [Anáta ga] HITO kara/ní eikyoo o ukeráreta ‘[You] received influence from PEOPLE’—note that the passive is subject-exalting. On the cleft-sentence type, see §14.2.4.

(1c) kará/de: Kimono ga dekíru KINÚ ‘silk that clothes are made from’ ← [Sono] kinú kara/de kimono ga dekíru ‘Clothes are made from the silk’; Kodomo ga hako o tukúru KI ‘wood for children to make boxes from’ ← Kodomo ga [sono] kí kara/de hako o tukúru ‘Children will make boxes from the wood’.

(1d) kará/o: Okyakusan ga dëta HEYÁ ‘the room that the guest has left’ ← Okyakusan ga [sono] heyá kara/o dëta ‘The guest left the room’; Dénysa(‘) ga syuppáti sita ÉK1 ‘the station the train departed from’ ← Dénysa(‘) ga [sono] ékí kara syuppáti sita ‘The train departed from the station’.

(1e) kará/ní/to: Kodomo ga hagúreta TOMODÁTI ‘the friend that the child has strayed from’ ← Kodomo ga [sono] tomóda kara/ní/to hagúreta ‘The child has strayed from his friend’; Kano-zyo ga sibéta sita OTTO ‘the husband that she has been separated from by death’ ← Kano-zyo ga [sono] otto (kara/ní/to) sibéta sita ‘She has been separated from her husband by death’.

(1f) kará/to: Oyá ga kodomó o (hiki)-hanásita ASOBI-TOMODÁTI ‘the playmate that the father separated his child from’ ← Oyá ga [sono] asobi-tomóda kara/to kodomó o (hiki)-hanásita ‘The father separated his child from that playmate’.

(2) instrumental dé: Ore ga pán o kíta NÁIHU ‘the knife I cut the bread with’ ← Ore ga [sono] náihi de pán o kíta 1 cut the bread with the knife’; Tyóysa ga genkoo o káita PÉN ‘the pen with which the author wrote the manuscript’ ← Tyóysa ga [sono] pén de genkoo o káita ‘The author wrote the manuscript with the pen’; ... okámi kara kane ga korogari-kónde kúru SIKAKE ... ‘a device by which money comes rolling in from the government’ (SA 2670.31a) ← [sono] sikáke de ... kane ga korogari-kónde kúru ‘by that device money comes rolling in’; Suu-nen mae ni wa-ga kuni no áru seirígakusya wa amatá no yoku nárú KUSURI to site suisyo sares sa monó de atta ‘A few years ago a certain Japanese biologist was recommending it [= MSG] as a drug with which the brain would improve’ (SA 2651.20a) ← ... [sono] kusuri de amatá ga yóku nárú ‘with the drug the head will improve’—sareta is a passive used for subject-exaltation, here perhaps with sarcastic intent (for V-ta monó da ‘used to do’, see §13.2.1).
(3) communicational instrumental de: Ore ga sore o yōnda SINBUN ‘the newspaper I read that in’ ← Ore ga [sono] sinbun de sore o yōnda ‘I read that in the newspaper’; Ore ga sono kotobā o kāita KANA ‘the kana with which I wrote that word’ ← Ore ga kana de sono kotobā o kāita ‘I wrote that word in kana’.

(4) causal instrumental de: Kodomo ga gakkoo o yasūnda BYOOKI ‘the illness with which the child stayed home from school’ ← Kodomo ga [sono] byooki de gakkoo o yasūnda ‘The child stayed home from school with (the) illness’.

(5) vehicular instrumental de: Watasi-tāti ga itta KURUMA ‘the car we went in’ ← Watasi-tāti ga [sono] kuruma de itta ‘We went in that car’.

(5a) causal instrumental/dative de/ni: Watasi ga komatā MONŌ ‘the one that I was embarrassed for/over’ ← Watasi ga [sono monō] sore ni/de komatā ‘I was embarrassed for/over that one’.

(6) allative é/ni: Toosāreta HEYÂ wa wasitū de ‘... The room I was ushered to was Japanese style and ...’ (SA 2659.131d) ← [Watasi ga] heyâ e tosāreta ‘[I] was ushered to the room’; Yooroppa de mo, sono āto itta NYUU-YŌOKU de mo, mākisi ‘sugata no hitō wa takusah mimāsita ‘Both in Europe and in New York, where I went afterward, I saw lots of women in maxi-skirts’ (SA 2665.104e) ← sono āto [watasi ga] Nyuu-Yōoku e itta ‘afterward I went to New York’; Hazimete yatte kita TOTI de ziyoo o siranā ni de ‘... As they know nothing of the conditions in a place they have come to for the first time ...’ (SA 2679.36b) ← [sono] toti e hazimete yatte kita ‘they have come to that place for the first time’.

(7) mutative-locative ni (for other locatives, see p. 629 and § 13.1.3): Ore ga kane o ireta HAKO ‘the box I put money in’ ← Ore ga [sono] hako ni kane o ireta ‘I put money in the box’; Ore ga notta KURUMA ‘the car I got into’ ← Ore ga [sono] kuruma ni notta ‘I got into/onto the car’; Abunai bussitu o tenkā(-) sita SYOKUHIN ga de-mawaru no wa ... ‘The marketing of foodstuffs to which dangerous substances have been added’ (SA 2664.93a) ← [sono] syokuhin ni abunai bussitu o tenkā(-) sita ‘they added dangerous substances to the foodstuffs’.

(8) dative of reference ni [tōtte]: Kore ga ūisa-sugiru ANĀTA da kara ‘Since it is you, for whom this is too small, ...’ ← Kore ga anāta ni ūisa-sugiru ‘This is too small for you’.

(9) miscellaneous datives and pseudo-datives ni:9 Motirōn suki de sānka(-) sita SIGOTO dâ si ... ‘Of course it was a job I participated in because I liked it ...’ (SA 2651.67a) ← [watasi ga] ... [sono] sigoto ni sānka(-) sita ‘[I] participated in the job’; ... watasi no zoku-sūru GURŪPU de wa ‘... in the group that I belong to’ (SA 2653.38d) ← watasi ga [sono] gurūpu ni zoku-sūru ‘I belong to the group’; ... murāsaki no husā no tūta takāi MĀKURA ‘... a high pillow with purple tassels attached (to it)’ ← husā ga [sono] ... mākura ni tūta (or: tūte iru) ‘... tassels are attached to the ... pillow’.

(10) dative of confrontation ni [tai-site]: Ore ga kāta AITĒ ‘the partner I won from’ ← Ore ga [sono] aite ni kāta ‘I won from that partner’; Kāre ga horeta ONNĀ ‘the woman he fell in love with’ ← Kāre ga [sono] onnā ni horeta ‘He fell in love with the

9. An epithetized dative that has been pronominalized to serve as a (specificative-)genitive theme: Genkin ga irū NO wa, tippu ‘gurai no monō ka to omotte itara, rēsutoran ya kūrabu de no tippu wa, kaadō de oo-kee ‘What you might think you’d need cash for is tips at least but tips at restaurants and night clubs are OK [to be put] on your credit card’ (SA 2660.25). The immediate source is SORE (= tippu) ni genkin ga iru ‘cash is needed for IT (= tips)’.
woman'); Tóku ni sono syuyoo na kuni wa, Nihon-seihi ga yowai AMERIKA de aru 'Particularly prominent among those countries is America, toward which the Japanese government is particularly partial' (SA 2685.24c) ← Nihon-seihi ga Amerika ni [tai-site] yowai 'the Japanese government is partial to ("soft on") America'; Tái-site týøyoku mo nái SAKÉ o ... nomi-sugos ite simatta ... 'He ended up drinking too much rice wine, which he was not particularly good at holding ...' (SA 2793.96b).

(10) reciprocal-dative to/ni (cf. p. 000) : Gaikoku de watasi ga åta HITÓ-TATI ... 'The people I met abroad' (SA 2658.61a) ← [sono] hitó-tati to/ni åta 'I met those people'; ... åte ma-mo-nái KIMI 'you whom I met not long ago' (or, with the epitheme taken as extruded subject: 'you who met [me] not long ago') (R) ← [Bóku(¬) ga] kimi to/ni åte ma-mo-nái 'It is not long since I met you'; ... watasi zisín ga hare-åta GUNZÍN-TATI wa ... 'the military men that I came in contact with' (SA 2688.108c) ← [sono] gunzin-tati to/ni åta 'I came in contact with [the] military men'; Watasi ga Táro o syookai sita TOMODATI 'the friend to whom I introduced Taro' ← Watasi ga [sono] tomodati (to/ni Táro o syookai sita 'I introduced Taro to my friend'; Senséi ga Táro o kurabeta KODOMO 'the child that the teacher compared Taro with/to' ← Senséi ga [sono] kodomó to/ni Táro o kurabeta 'The teacher compared Taro with/to that child'; Zibun ga kankei sita OTOKO no kazu sae mo wa karanai no da kara '(It's) because she doesn't even know the number of men she has had relations with' (SA 2650.105e) ← zibun ga [sono] otoko no kankei suru GINKOO kara ... 'from a bank that the mayor was connected with' (SA 2647.135c) ← Sityoó ga [sono] ginkoo to/ni kankei suru 'The mayor is connected with the bank'.

(11) reciprocal to : ... káre ga tatakauAITÉ mo ... 'the very adversaries that he fights (with) ...' (SA 2679.104a) ← Káre ga [sono] aité to tatakau 'He fights (with) the adversary'; ... Náh de mo hanasi no dekíru YUUZIN ... 'a friend that he can talk about anything with' (SA 2645.103c) ← [káre ga] yuuzin to ... hanasi no dekíru '[he] can talk ... with the friend' ← [káre ga] yuuzin to hanásu '[he] talks with the friend' (on the reciprocal valence with the derived noun hanasi, see §3.8a); Tomodati ga kekkon sita OONÁ 'the woman my friend married' ← Tomodati ga [sono] onná to kekkon sita 'My friend married the woman'; Káre ga kenka sita TOMODATI 'the friend he quarreled with' ← Káre ga [sono] tomodati to kenka sita 'He quarreled with his friend'; Ore ga issyo ni gakkoo e itta GAKUSEI 'a student who(m) I went to school with' ← Ore ga [sono] gakusei to issyo ni gakkoo e itta 'I went to school with the student'; Hahaoya mo gekirjikoo sita. Kyoshi-nákama de ári, dóosi de mo åta GABURÍÉRU ga ... 'The mother was indignant (too). Gabrielle with whom she [the mother] was a fellow teacher and a [Party] comrade ...' (SA 2649.105) ← [Hahaoya ga] Gaburíéru to kyosshi-nákama de ári, dóosi de mo åta '[The mother] was a fellow teacher and a comrade with Gabrielle'. An alternative interpretation ('Gabrielle who was ... with her [the mother]') would treat Gabrielle as an extruded subject, with the reciprocal phrase ('with her') elliptically suppressed.

An epithematized REASON usually involves a summational or transitional epitheme such as riyyu 'reason': Anáta ga katyoo ni nari-nikuku nátta RIYYU wa, mada áru 'There are still more reasons why it has become difficult for you to become a section head' (SA 2668.22c) ← [sono] riyyu de anáta ga ... 'for [those] reasons you ...'. An epithematized PURPOSE is similar: Watási-táti ga sinkon-ryókoo ni Oosutorária o érandá MOKUTEKI wa iiroo arimátsita ga, 'We had various aims in selecting Australia for our
honeycomb, and 

\[\text{(SA 2676.106c) } \leftarrow \text{[sono] mokuteki de watasi-tati ga } \ldots \text{[thos] aims we } \ldots\text{.} \]

It is awkward to epithematize an adjunct whose relationship to the rest of the sentence is incongruous without the particle. From \text{A ga B to naka-ii 'A is on good terms with B'} you would expect to get \text{A ga naka-ii B 'B whom A is on good terms with', but that is}

usually replaced by \text{A ga naka no ii B. From A ga B to onaiz} \text{da 'A is the same as B'} you expect to get both \text{(1) A ga onaiz no B 'that A is the same as' and (2) B to onaiz [no] A 'A that is the same as B', but in the latter case the version without no is preferred.}

The following examples of epithematized TIME locatives include some time nouns that are directly adverbialized (unmarked by ni) in the underlying sentence: Otona ni natta \text{ima mo } \ldots \text{'Even now that I'VE become an adult ..' } \leftarrow \text{ima otona ni natta 'I'VE now become an adult'}; Kessee-takhirai ga \text{kugatu itukak(\text{\text{-}})} \text{gozo ni-zif yonzip-pun -goro, } \ldots \text{ 'At 2:40 p.m., the fifth of September, when they had the inaugural session ..' } \leftarrow \text{kugatu -goro [ni] kessee-takhirai ga \text{at}ta 'at ... of September they had the inaugural session'}; \ldots \text{koto o nugu kisetu ni natte } \ldots \text{'when it gets to be the season to take off your coat' (SA 2679.37b) } \leftarrow \text{[sono] kisetu ni koto o nugu in that season you take off your coat'}; Sibai ga enziraete(\text{-}) \text{iri itei no zikan ni } \ldots \text{'During the set time that the play is being performed ..' (SA 2689.121d) } \leftarrow \text{[ono] itei no zikan ni sihai ga en-zi-raete(\text{-}) iru 'The play is being performed at (or: for/during) a set time'}. The epithematized time locative may serve any noun function in the larger sentence, but frequently it serves again as a time locative: Ogyaa to umareta hi ni sutaato site } \ldots \text{'Staring on the day of whimpering birth ..' (SA 2685.112c) } \leftarrow \text{[son] hi ni ogyaa to umareta 'was born with a whimper on that day'}; Orinipkku no \text{at}ta \text{Syiowaa(-) sanzyuu kyuu-nen ni genzai no benri na seido ga dekita n desu ga ... 'In 1964 when the Olympics took place the present convenient system was set up but ...'; \text{Ootani [Takezirou] san, Amerika kara hikoo-ki de o-kaeri ni natta sono ban ni } \ldots \text{'The ni ght that Mr [Takejiro] Ootani returned from America by plane he saw the play 'Yang Kuei Fei' ..' (Tk 3.328b) } \leftarrow \text{[sono] ban [ni] o-kaeri ni natta 'returned that evening'. In these sentences the ni is new, not carried over from the adnominalized sentence, since all case marking is suppressed when a noun is epithematized.}

Examples of epithematized PLACE locatives: \ldots \text{paaatii no at}ta \text{koyaa(-) 'the cottage at which they had the party' (SA 2637.26d) } \leftarrow \text{[son] koyaa(-) de paaatii ga at}ta \text{[= okotta, okonawareta] 'they had a party at the cottage'}; Kusao no haeata basyo o ... \text{'a place where grass had grown' (Takahashi 173) } \leftarrow \text{[son] basyo ni kusa ga haeata; Ningen ga ikiru kono- yo(-) ni meikai na kotaсоединенado-aru hazu ga nai 'In this world that man lives in we can't expect to be able to have clearcut answers' (SA 2649.108b) } \leftarrow \text{[son] ga kono-yo(-) ni ikiru 'man lives in this world'}. Not every epitheme that refers to a time has been extruded from the time-locative of the simplex. In Sore kara niyuu-nen tatta 1970-\text{-nen s\text{'en kyuuhyaku sitizyuu-nen} ... '1970 when twenty years had passed since then ..' (SA 2685.17d) the year designation is either a resultative epitheme (the particular year resulting from the passage of twenty years) or, possibly, a transitional epitheme—specifying toki 'time when [twenty years had passed]'.

The epitheme zyun or zyuban (one's) turn' must be treated as either summation or transitional in examples of this sort: \ldots \text{yome o morau ZYUN no watasi ga, ..'I whose turn it was to receive a bride [= get married]'} (SA 2684.138c).

The source of an extruded epitheme is not always obvious. The phrase Watasi no miru/\text{mita tokororo de wa } \ldots \text{'In my view ..' (= Watasi no kangaee de wa ..) is apparently derived}
from [sono] tokoró O miru ‘sees the situation’ (tokoró here meaning zyootai ‘situation’ or mondai ‘question’) rather than from [sono] tokoró KARA miru ‘sees [it] from that place (= position)’ with tokoró interpreted as tatibá ‘standpoint’. In the sentence Bíiru o nómu to tōire ni iku KAI-SUU ga ōoku naru ‘When one drinks beer the number of trips to the toilet increases’ (Endō 111) the epitheme is a noun extruded from an adverbialized expression of frequency [āru] kai-suu de tōire ni iku ‘goes to the toilet with [a certain] frequency’.

13.1.2. Epithematization of Adjuncts Extruded from Converted Sentences.

In general it is possible to extrude any adjunct from a converted sentence and epithematize it as the target of the adnominalization and as the point of embedding (i.e. as the shared word) in a larger sentence. Of particular interest are the various marking switches with VOICE conversions (§4) and with FAVORS (§10); subjectification of various adjuncts with DESIDERATIVES (§7.1), FACILITATIVES and PROPENSIVES (§9.1.8), and INTRANSITIVIZING RESULTATIVES (§9.2.4.(2)); and adjunct markings with the MUTATIVE, PUTATIVE, and EVALUATIVE conversions of §9.1.11. Separate sections treat the epithematization of adjuncts in existential, locative, and possessive sentences (§13.1.3) and in identificational and propredicative sentences (§13.1.5).

Notice that the “comitative” N tō amounts to the reciprocal tō + an adverbialization issyo/tómo(−) ni ‘together’ that is optionally omissible, as explained in §3.6. It is possible to extrude and epithematize the reciprocal provided the adverbial is NOT omitted: Kodomo ga ane to issyo ni neru ‘The child sleeps with the sister’ → Kodomo ga issyo ni neru ane ‘The sister that the child sleeps with’, but not *Kodomo ga neru ane ‘The sister that the child sleeps [ ]’ since there is nothing left to hint at the reciprocal valence.

Here is an epitheme extruded from a reciprocal-dative in a sentence that is embedded in an experiential possessive conversion (§14.1.1); observe how this conversion permits the sika-related negative to skip over to the verb of possession (cf. pp. 76-7): ... sono hwán wa ni-sankai sika áttakōto no nái HITÓ de, ... ‘the fans were people he had only seen two or three times’ (SA) ← ... ni-sankai sika [soré-ra no] hito (to/)ni áttakōto ná ‘has met the people only two or three times’. A similar example without the sika: Hatoyama san nánté, áttakotó no nái HITÓ da keredo mo, ... ‘Mr Hatoyama is someone I have never even met but ...’ (Tk 2.159b). An epitheme extruded from the direct object of a sentence embedded in an experiential possessive conversion: Dōko ka de míta kōto ga áru KAO dá to omottara, watasi ga yóku miti de áuru kuriiningu-ya no wakamonô(−) ni nité iru ‘Just as I thought it was a face that I had once seen somewhere I realized that it resembles [that of] a boy from the cleaners that I often see on the street’ (SA 2684.41c) ← Dōko ka de [sono] kao o míta kōto ga áru ‘I had seen the face somewhere’.

In the following example the epitheme is extruded from the subject of a sentence adnominalized to hāzu da: Tyoosyū-sya tte no wa, yonaká ni ókite benkyoo site iru hāzu no HITÓ ga syutai na wāke desyo ‘It must mean that the [radio] audience is mostly comprised of people who are presumably up studying late at night’ (SA 2684.115a) ← hito ga ... benkyoo site iru hāzu da ‘people are presumably studying’. An example with the epitheme extruded from the object of a transitive verb adnominalized to the postadnominal wāke in the expression wāke ni ikanai ‘it doesn’t stand to reason that’: ... úmi o umé-táte yámá o kezutté mo yooi ni huyáu wāke ni ikanai TOTI, ... ‘land that you can’t expect to expand very easily even filling in the sea or cutting into the mountains’ (Tanigawa 155).
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And in this example the epitheme is extruded from the object of a sentence adnominalized to tumori da: Zibun de suru tumori datta TÉSUTO ... 'The test I had planned to do myself ...' ← (sono) tésuto o zibun de suru tumori datta 'I had planned to do the test myself'.

In the following example the object ('operation') has been extruded from a highlighted negative gerund ('even not performing') to serve as the epitheme for an expression of permission: ... sinakute mo ō ŠYÚZYUTU o seraru baai mo āru 'sometimes one undergoes operations that would be as well unperformed' (Tk 4.3a) ← (sono) syúzyuyto o sinakute mo ō 'it would be all right not to perform the operations'. (The epitheme, with its adnominalization, is then used as the direct object of an adverbial of permission and THAT sentence in turn is adnominalized to the summational epitheme baai 'situation' which serves as the subject—here highlighted—of the verb āru 'there exists'.)

On epithemes extruded from adverbializations, see Kuno 1973.237–8, who gives such examples as sindá no de minnā ga kanasinda HITŌ 'a person by whose death all were saddened' (← sonó-hito ga sindá no de ...) and hara-ippai tábētara geri o site simatta O-KÁSI 'sweets that I got diarrhea from eating a bellyful of' (← [sono] o-kási o tábētara ...); Kuno also gives examples of epithemes extruded from adnominalized sentences.

To explain the sentence ... damátte wa irarenai hitōtu no mondai ga āru 'there is one matter that I can not be silent about' (Grootaers 178) we must assume an underlying hitōtu no mondai NI TÚITE damátte wa irarenai 'about one matter I can not remain silent'. Notice that waruí kotô o kangaerarénaï hitó is susceptible to two interpretations (at least): 'a person who can think nothing bad' (← [sonó-hito ni/ga waruí kotô o kangaerarénaï] and 'a person whom one can think nothing bad of' (← [sonó-hito ni tûite [N ni/ga] warûi kotô o kangaerarénaï]. Can epithemes be extruded from phrases marked by others among the many phrasal postpositions listed in §9.7 (sheding the postposition as if it were merely a case marker)?

It is difficult to account for the epitheme in the following example until you realize that ellipsis has deprived the verbal noun seturitu of the predicating auxiliary gerund site: ... seturitu ma-mo-nái NATI-TOO to sessyoku sita kâe wa ... 'He who had made contact with the Nazi party not long after its formation' (SA 2674.105c—the free translation will be 'having made contact ... he ...') ← Nati-too ga seturitu site ma-mo-nái 'The Nazi party is established and then it is not long = It is not long since the Nazi party was formed'. The epitheme is the extruded subject of the intransitive verbal noun in an adverbalized sentence; the nature of the adverbalization is somewhat obscured by the ellipsis.

The reader is cautioned that the "concocted examples" (and some of the translations) provided in the following several sections are for the most part quite artificial and are presented only to illustrate the grammatical structures in question, for which it is assumed that more natural examples can eventually be found. It is difficult to find good basic situations in which both subject and object are animate (since typically PEOPLE manipulate THINGS); and it is not always easy to apply conversions freely to particular sentences, even when the sentences themselves are fairly natural to begin with. I hope those who use this book will be alert for authentic examples to illustrate each of the grammatical structures for which I have had to rely on concocted examples. (An AUTHENTIC example is one not created by or for a linguist but actually used in a communicative situation.)
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

13.1.2 (1). Epithemes extruded from voice-converted sentences. From the description presented in §4 we can expect epithematization to yield 25 types of adjunct extrusion from the valences of a simple underlying transitive verb (N_1 ga N_2 o VT) and these are displayed in the following chart with constructed examples; similar examples for intransitive verbs—with fewer valences, hence fewer types—can easily be made up according to the patterns given. The translations that accompany the examples are intended to be suggestive rather than smooth: in general all adjuncts are translated as singular and definite; ‘that’ is used to introduce adnominalizations even when ‘who’ or ‘where’ or ‘when’ would produce better English; and the ambiguous English auxiliary ‘have’ is used for both passive and causative—and later for favor receipt, as well. Most of the constructed examples are given in the perfect since that makes it easier to visualize situations that might lead to their creation. It is difficult to find adequate examples from real texts because the adjuncts are so often omitted—or neutralized with focus—and the intention of the writer or speaker is not always clear from what remains. But I have started compiling a list of authentic examples that will be found at the end of the chart; bear in mind that few of these examples contain ALL adjuncts appropriate to the formulas they illustrate. Notice also that the formulas in the chart illustrate only TRANSITIVE verbs; formulas for the intransitives (found in some of the examples) are the same but without the direct object.

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \quad \text{Ag} \quad B \quad \text{o VT} \\
& \quad \text{tomodati ga kodomo o yonda} \\
& \quad \text{‘the friend called the child’} \\
1 & \quad \text{Ag} \quad \text{VT} \quad B \\
& \quad \text{tomodati ga yonda kodomo} \\
& \quad \text{‘the child that the friend called’} \\
2 & \quad B \quad \text{o VT} \quad A \\
& \quad \text{kodomo o yonda tomodati} \\
& \quad \text{‘the friend that called the child’} \\
\text{CAUSATIVE} \\
3 & \quad C \quad \text{ga(?)/no} \quad A \quad \text{ni VT-c B} \\
& \quad \text{haha ga tomodati ni kodomo o yobaseta} \\
& \quad \text{‘the mother had the friend call the child’} \\
4 & \quad C \quad \text{ga(?)/no} \quad B \quad \text{o VT-c A} \\
& \quad \text{haha ga(?)/no kodomo o yobaseta tomodati} \\
& \quad \text{‘the friend that the mother had call the child’} \\
5 & \quad A \quad \text{ni B} \quad \text{o VT-c C} \\
& \quad \text{tomodati ni kodomo o yobaseta haha} \\
& \quad \text{‘the mother who had the friend call the child’} \\
\text{PURE PASSIVE} \\
6 & \quad A \quad \text{ni VT-p B} \\
& \quad \text{kodomo ga tomodati ni yobaretta} \\
& \quad \text{‘the child got called by the friend’} \\
7 & \quad ?^* B \quad \text{ga(?)/no} \quad \text{VT-p A} \\
& \quad \text{kodomo ga(?)/no yobaretta tomodati} \\
& \quad \text{‘the friend that the child got called by’}
\end{align*}
\]

10. But for those verbs that have additional valences, such as the motion verbs, the number of types will increase. Reciprocal, instrumental, ablativ, and allative-or-dative epithematizations are not shown in the 25 types; examples are included among the sentences at the end.
§13.1.2. Epithematization from converted sentences

ADVERSATIVE PASSIVE

\[ C^g A^i B^o VT-p \]
\[
\text{haha ga tomodati ni kodomo o yobaretta} \\
\text{‘(unfortunately) the mother had the} \\
\text{friend call the child’}
\]

8 \[ C^g?/no) A^i VT-p B \]
\[
\text{haha ga?/no) tomodati ni yobareta kodomo} \\
\text{‘the child that (unfortunately) the mother} \\
\text{had the friend call’}
\]

9 \[ C^g?/no) B^o VT-p A \ [Okutsu 1974.149 rejects.] \]
\[
\text{haha ga?/no) kodomo o yobaretta tomodati} \\
\text{‘the friend that (unfortunately) the mother} \\
\text{had call the child’}
\]

10 \[ A^i B^o VT-p C \]
\[
\text{tomodati ni kodomo yobaretta haha} \\
\text{‘the mother that (unfortunately) had the} \\
\text{friend call the child’}
\]

(PASSIVE-) POTENTIAL

\[ A^i/ga B^g/o) VT-p \]
\[
\text{tomodati ni/ga kodomo gal/o) yob[ar]eru} \\
\text{‘the friend can call the child’}
\]

11 \[ A^i/ga/no VT-p B \]
\[
\text{tomodati ni/ga/no yob[ar]eru kodomo} \\
\text{‘the child that the friend can call’}
\]

12 \[ A^g/o/no) VT-p A \]
\[
\text{kodomo gal/o/no) yob[ar]eru tomodati} \\
\text{‘the friend that can call the child’}
\]

PURE PASSIVE-CAUSATIVE

\[ A^g C^i B^o VT-c-p \]
\[
\text{tomodati ga haha ni kodomo o} \\
\text{yobas[er]areta} \\
\text{‘the friend was had call the child by} \\
\text{the mother’}
\]

13 \[ A^g?/no) C^i VT-c-p B \]
\[
\text{tomodati ga haha ni yobas[er]areta} \\
\text{kodomo} \\
\text{‘the child that the friend was had to call} \\
\text{by the mother’}
\]

14 \[ C^i B^o VT-c-p A \]
\[
\text{haha ni kodomo o yobas[er]areta tomodati} \\
\text{‘the friend that was had to call the child} \\
\text{by the mother’}
\]

15 \[ A^g?/no) B^o VT-c-p C \]
\[
\text{tomodati ga kodomo o yobas[er]areta} \\
\text{haha} \\
\text{‘the mother that the friend was had to call} \\
\text{the child by’}
\]

SWITCHED (PURE) PASSIVE-CAUSATIVE

\[ B^g A^i ni, C^i VT-c-p \]
\[
\text{kodomo ga tomodati ni, haha ni} \\
\text{yobas[er]areta} \\
\text{‘the child was called by the friend at} \\
\text{the mother’s instigation’}
\]

16 \[ A^i ni, C^i VT-c-p B \]
\[
\text{tomodati ni, haha ni yobas[er]areta} \\
\text{kodomo} \\
\text{‘the child that was called by the friend at} \\
\text{the mother’s instigation’}
\]
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

17 B ga(?/no) C ni VT-c-p A
   kodomo ga(?/no) háha ni yobas[er]areta tomodati
   ‘the friend that the child was called by at the mother’s instigation’

18 B ga(?/no) A ni VT-c-p C
   kodomo ga(?/no) tomodati ni yobas[er]areta háha
   ‘the mother at whose instigation the child was called by the friend’

ADVERSATIVE PASSIVE-CAUSATIVEd

19 D ga C ni, A ni B o VT-c-p
   titi ga háha ni, tomodati ni kodomo o yobas[er]areta
   ‘(unfortunately) the father had the mother have the child called by the friend’

20 D ga(?/no) C ni, B o VT-c-p A
   titi ga(?/no) háha ni, kodomo o yobas[er]areta tomodati
   ‘the child that (unfortunately) the father had the mother have the friend call’

21 D ga(?/no) A ni B o VT-c-p C
   titi ga(?/no) tomodati ni kodomo o yobas[er]areta háha
   ‘the mother that (unfortunately) the father had have the child called by the friend’

22 C ni, A ni B o VT-c-p D
   háha ni, tomodati ni kodomo o yobas[er]areta titi
   ‘the father that (unfortunately) had his wife have the friend call the child’

POTENTIAL CAUSATIVE

23 C ni/ga(?/no) A ni VT-c-p B
   háha ni/ga tomodati ni kodomo gal/o) yobaser[ar]eru
   ‘the mother can have the friend call the child’

24 A ni B gal/o) VT-c-p C
   háha ni/ga(?/no) kodomo gal/o) yobaser[ar]eru tomodati
   ‘the friend that the mother can have call the child’
§13.1.2. Epithematization from converted sentences

25 A ni B ga(o) VT-c-p C
tomodati ni kodomo ga(//o) yobaser [ar]eru hāha
‘the mother that can have the friend call the child’

a An example has been suggested to validate the grammar: Watasi ga/no yobaretā no wa ano sensē da ‘The one I got called by was that teacher’. See also Okutsu 1974.149.

b Kodomo no yob eru tomodati and Tomodati no yob eru kodomo are both ambiguous. For authentic examples, see list.

c But most speakers will reject this conversion and the resulting adnominalizations (16-18).

d But many speakers will reject this conversion and the resulting adnominalizations (19-21).

EXAMPLES OF EPITHEMATIZATIONS FROM VOICE-CONVERTED SENTENCES
(listed by type)

... 5. ... zibun no kodomo o sensi saseta WATAŠI-TĀTI HAHAOYA ni tōtte ... ‘for us mothers who let our sons die in the war’ (SA 2793.133c).

6. Munē no soko-kāsiko ni mirāeru HĒNKA no nāka de ... ‘Among the changes seen here and there in the chest ...’ (SA 2651.21d); Amerika syokuminti-kyōōkai ga okutta ziyuukokūzin-tati ni yotte 1847- nen [sēn happyaku yōnyuu siti-nen] ni kenkoku saretā kono KUNI wa ... ‘This country [of Liberia] that was established in 1847 by free blacks sent by the American Colony Society ...’ (SA 2664.44c); Kā[t]u te tyūgaku o dēte kootoo-gākkōo kara daigaku e susumu tamē ni wa, erabāretaya SYUUSAII ‘igai ni wa semai mōn de atta ‘Formerly it was a narrow gate to go on to college from high school after leaving middle school, except for selected prodigies’ (KKK 3.284); Gōgatu sue ni hirakarēryu Nikkyōō-so ZENKOKU-TĀIKAI wa ... ‘The national convention of the Japan Teachers Union to be held at the end of May ...’ (KKK 3.284); Konō-gorō(―) tokai de tukawareru MĪSO wa ... ‘The mīso used in cities these days ...’ (Kotoba no yurai 160); Nōnde ḍwa-ikeiō to sarete iru TOTI NO MIZU o, ukkāri nōnde simatta ato ... ‘After one has inadvertently drunk local water that is considered unfit for drinking ...’ (SA 2689.122d); Gīzyutu dāke ni sāyuu sāreru SUPÔOTU nara, ... ‘If it’s a sport that is controlled by skill alone ...’ (Tk 3.217a).

8. ... yuu-sīkāko no kangō-hu de sae mo kin-zīraretē(―) iru KŌOI na no da ‘It is conduct that even qualified nurses have forbidden to them’ (SA 2666.113)―from kangō-hu ga kōōi o kin-zīraretē(―) iru, in turn from [dāre ka ga] kangō-hu ni kōōi o kin-zīrute(―) ‘someone’ forbids the conduct to the nurses’.

10. ... kubi o kirāretayOTOKÔ ‘a man who had his head cut off’ (Ōno 1966.80). With intransitive verb: ... tūma ni naku-nararetay TUUNEN-ÔTOKO ga syuzūkōo de atte, ... ‘the hero is a middle-aged man who has lost his wife’ (SA 2687.108d).

11. Wasurerarenai AZI ‘Unforgettable tastes’ (SA); Tanin ni wa dasēnai AZI dēsu kara nē ‘It is a flavor that others can not produce, that’s why’ (SA 2661.44d)―from Tanin ni/ga azī o/ga dasērū ‘Others can produce the flavor’ from Tanin ga azī o dāsu ‘Others produce the flavor’; ... bōku-tāti ga issyo ni kuraseru HĪ ga ... ‘the days we could spend together’ (SA)―from bōku-tāti ni/ga ... hi o/ga kuraseru ‘we can spend days’ from bōku-tāti ga hi o kurasu ‘we spend days’; ... otona no tanosimēru SIBAI o misēru ‘they
show a play that an adult can enjoy’ (SA 2688.109a)—from otona ga ... (§ 13.1.6) = otona ni/ga sibai o/ga tanosiměru ‘adults can enjoy the play’ from otona ga sibai o tanosiměru ‘adults enjoy the play’. But in Hará o kakáete(‘) waraeru SIBAI o ‘A play that you can laugh your head off at’ (SA 2688.109ab, heading—with nuclear ellipsis at the end) the epitheme is perhaps better taken as extruded cause (sibai DE warau ‘laughs because of the play’)? rather than object (sibai O warau ‘laughs at [= ridicules] the play’).

12. ... zí ni yomérú KO wa ... ‘the child who can read characters’ (SA 2677.54c) ← ko ni/ga zí ga yomérú ← ko ni/ga zí ga/o yomérú ‘the child can read characters’ ← ko ga zí o yómu ‘the child reads characters’.

13. With intransitive verb: ... baisyun sasérare te iRU ONNÁ-TATI wa ... ‘women forced into prostitution’ (KKK 3.248) ← [hito ni] onná-tati ga baisyun saséraruru ‘the women are forced [by people] into prostitution’ ← [hito ga] onná-tati o baisyun sasérurururururu ‘[people] force the women to engage in prostitution’ ← onná-tati ga baisyun sururu ‘the women engage in prostitution’.

... Pure passive with TIME epithematized: Nan-to-nákú hadásamu-sa no kan-zíraru ÁSA desita ‘It was a morning in which something of a chill was felt’ (KKK 3.282) ← ása {ni} [hito ga] hadásamu-sa o kan-zíru ‘[people] feel a chill in the morning’.

Pure passive with ALLATIVE epithematized: Toósáre tA HEYÁ wa wasitu dé ... ‘The room I was ushered to was Japanese style and ...’ (SA 2659.131d) ← [watazi ga] heyá e toósáre tA wasito dé ‘[they] ushered me to the room’.

Pure passive with DATIVE epithematized: Ráhu no huku se' o misárare tA OKAMOTO KÁNOKO ga ... ‘Kanoko Okamoto who has been shown a reproduction of a nude ...’ (Ôno 1966.19)—or was this intended as an adversative passive? (Note the object-marking!)

Pure passive with PLACE-LOCATIVE epithematized: Zí nken no omón-zíráre tA(‘) iru KUNI dé wa ... ‘In a country where human rights are prized ...’ (SA 2647.25e)—with personification this could be taken as an extruded agent (‘prized by the country’).

Pure passive with MUTATIVE-LOCATIVE epithematized: Sono tóki; kée kí no okareta TEEBURU no sugú sóba ni ita ... gurúpu ... ‘At that time the group that was right next to the table (where the cakes were put =) laden with cakes’ (CK) ← teeburu ni kée kí ga okareta ‘onto the table the cakes were put’ ← [hito ga] teeburu ni kée kí o oita ‘[someone] put the cakes on the table’; Ningen wa, tokaku zibun no okareta ÍTI o hyoozyun ni site, tentai-génsyo nazo o kangaerú n desu ‘Man is apt to think about celestial phenomena and the like by taking as his standard the position that he himself has been placed in’ (Tk 3.159a); Onná ga sei-teki nì isyuku site simaimo no wa, hamera reta ita WAKU no séi na n desu nè ‘It’s the fault of the [framework of] restrictions they have been hemmed in with that women wither sexually’ (Tk 3.109a).

Potential with INSTRUMENTAL epithematized: Asobèru ÔBUZYÈ ‘Objets [d’art] you can play with’ (SA 2680.3) ← [sono] óbuzye de asobèru ‘you can play with the objets’.

Potential with PLACE-LOCATIVE epithematized: ... ano hén de wa yúii tu no óyoçérú BASYO da ... ‘it is the only place in the vicinity where you can swim’ (SA 2689.126b)—the immediate sources are ano hén de wa yúii tu no basyo da ‘it’s the only place in that vicinity’ and [sono] basyo de oyoçérú ‘you can swim in [that] place’.

Evidentialized potential with underlying OBJECT epithematized: Zibun de kakkésú na monó ... ‘something that looks as though you could draw it yourself’ (Tk 3.258a).
§13.1.2. Epithematization from converted sentences

13.1.2.(2). Epithemes extruded from favors. For the giving and getting of FAVORS (§10) we expect epithematization to yield six types of extruded adjuncts for an underlying transitive verb, and these are shown in the following chart with constructed examples:

\[ A \text{ ga } C \text{ ni } B \text{ o VT-te GIVE } \]
\[ \text{tomodati ga } \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ni kodomo } o \]
\[ \text{yonde ageta } \]
\[ \text{‘the friend called the child for the mother’} \]

\[ 1 \text{ A ga(\text{/no}) C ni VT-te GIVE B } \]
\[ \text{tomodati ga(\text{/no}) } \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ni } \]
\[ \text{yonde ageta kodomo } \]
\[ \text{‘the child that the friend called for the mother’} \]

\[ 2 \text{ C ni B o VT-te GIVE A } \]
\[ \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ni kodomo } o \]
\[ \text{yonde ageta tomodati } \]
\[ \text{‘the friend that called the child for the mother’} \]

\[ 3 \text{ A ga(\text{/no}) B o VT-te GIVE C } \]
\[ \text{tomodati ga(\text{/no}) kodomo } o \]
\[ \text{yonde ageta } \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \]
\[ \text{‘the mother for whom the friend called the child’} \]

\[ C \text{ ga } A \text{ ni B o VT-te GET } \]
\[ \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ga tomodati ni kodomo } o \]
\[ \text{yonde moratta } \]
\[ \text{‘the mother had the child called by the friend’} \]

\[ 4 \text{ C ga(\text{/no}) A ni VT-te GET B } \]
\[ \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ga(\text{/no}) tomodati ni yonde } \]
\[ \text{moratta kodomo } \]
\[ \text{‘the child that the mother had called by the friend’} \]

\[ 5 \text{ A ni B o VT-te GET C } \]
\[ \text{tomodati ni kodomo } o \]
\[ \text{yonde moratta } \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \]
\[ \text{‘the mother that had the child called by the friend’} \]

\[ 6 \text{ C ga(\text{/no}) B o VT-te GET A } \]
\[ \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ga(\text{/no}) kodomo } o \]
\[ \text{yonde moratta tomodati } \]
\[ \text{‘the friend that the mother had the child called by’} \]

And we can add four more types by doubling the favor conversion:

\[ D \text{ ga A ni [wa] C ni B o VT-te } \]
\[ \text{GIVE-te GET } \]
\[ \text{titi ga tomodati ni [wa] } \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ni } \]
\[ \text{kodomo } o \]
\[ \text{yonde ageta moratta } \]
\[ \text{‘the father had the friend call the child for the mother’} \]

\[ 7 \text{ D gal(\text{/no}) A ni [wa] C ni VT-te } \]
\[ \text{GIVE-te GET B } \]
\[ \text{titi ga(\text{/no}) tomodati ni [wa] } \hat{\text{h}}\hat{\text{a}} \text{ ni } \]
\[ \text{yonde ageta moratta kodomo } \]
\[ \text{‘the child that the father had the friend call for the mother’} \]
We would expect more types to result if we continued reapplying the favor conversions, but it would be difficult—if not impossible—to find real examples, since even a doubling of the above sort (7-10), receiving the favor of someone’s doing it for another, is uncommon.

Authentic examples for a few of the types:

(1) ... Gankiti no hidari-ude no, okāasan ga motāsete kureta tokei ga kyuū ni ziriziri-tto nari-dasimāsita ‘The watch on Gankichi’s left (arm =) wrist that his mother had let him have suddenly started to buzz impatiently’ (KKK 3.84) ← okāasan ga [G. ni] tokei o motāsete kureta ‘the mother kindly let him [G.] have the watch’ ← okāasan ga [G. ni] tokei o motāseta ‘the mother let him [G.] have the watch’ ← [G. ga] tokei o motta ‘[G.] got the watch’.

(2) Bira(-) o gōman-mai mo maitē senden site kureta SYUSĀI-SYA ni, hontō ni kinodōkū na koto-simāsita yō ‘I really did a pitiful thing to the promoter who had distributed over fifty thousand handbills to advertise me’ (Tk 3.105a) ← syusāi-sya ga [watakushi ni [koogī(-) o]] senden site kureta ‘the promoter kindly advertised [[the lecture] for me]’; ... koko māde itte kureru dansei mo inakatta si, ... ‘there wasn’t a male present would go this far (in what he said)’ (R); ... unde kureta okāasan ... ‘... Mother who gave birth to me ...’ (R). In the example ... unde kureta bōku(-) ... ‘me whom she (kindly) gave birth to’ (R)—the epitheme is both the object and the recipient of the favor.

(6) ... tūuyaku o site morau hito ga hosii n desu ‘we want a person who will do translation for us’ (BJ 2.300) ← [watāsī-tāi ga sonō-]hito ni tūuyaku o site morau ‘we have the person do translation for us’ ← [sonō-]hito ga tūuyaku o suru ‘the person does translation’.

In the following two examples the desiderative is made on a favor conversion and the result is then turned into a negative (in the first example) and an evidential (in the second) before extruding the epitheme—which ultimately comes from an underlying object (yātu o utusu ‘photographs a guy’): ... utusite morai-taku nai yātu ... utusite morai-ta-soo na yātu ... ‘a guy who doesn’t want to have himself photographed ... a guy who looks as though he wants to have himself photographed ...’ (Tk 3.274a).
Additional types will also appear with the application of both VOICE and FAVOR, e.g. such an improbably constructed sentence as (?)Obaasan ga titi ni tomodati ni haaha ni kodomo o yonde agete morawasete (or morawareta) 'The grandmother let/had the father have the friend call the child for the mother' or even (!)Ojiisan ga obaasan ni titi ni tomodati ni haaha ni kodomo o yonde agete morawaserareta 'Unluckily the grandfather had the grandmother let the father have the friend call the child for the mother'. But it is highly unlikely that any speaker would want to embed such a complicated sentence into a larger sentence—if, indeed, he would be willing to put it together in the first place.

13.1.2. (3). Epithemes extruded from desiderative and quasi-desiderative sentences.

The interesting question with respect to desiderative and quasi-desiderative predicates is the surface marking of the underlying cathetic object—representing the role of the "desired" (or "undesired"). The chart below shows the expected epithematizations of (1) a desiderativized transitive verb; of (2) the quasi-desiderative predicates kowai 'fears' and suki da 'likes' (for which we could substitute either of the two other quasi-desiderative adjectival nouns kirai da and iya da 'dislikes'); and of (3) hosii 'desires', the suppletive realization of (*ari- tai 'wants to have'. Some of the surface sentences are, of course, ambiguous; but I have kept the roles constant, so that only a single interpretation is given: "A" is the cathetic subject (the emotionally affected), "B" is the cathetic object (toward which the emotion is directed).

A ga B ga/o VT-i-tai
haha ga kodomo ga/o yobi-tai

1 A ga(?/no) VT-i-tai B
haha ga/no yobi-tai kodomo
'the child that the mother wants to call'

2 B ga/no/o yobi-tai haha
kodomo ga/no/o yobi-tai haha
'the mother that wants to call the child'

A ga B ga/(o) kowai (suki da)
haha ga kodomo ga kowai
'the mother fears the child'

haha ga kodomo ga/(o) suki da
'the mother likes the child'

3 A ga/no kowai (suki na) B
haha ga/no kowai kodomo
'the child that the mother fears'

kodomo ga/no suki na kodomo
'the child that the mother likes'

4 B ga/no (/o) kowai (suki na) A
kodomo ga/no kowai haha
'the mother that fears the child'

kodomo ga/no(oi) suki na haha
'the mother that likes the child'

A (?ni/iga B ga(?/o) hosii
haha (?ni/iga kodomo ga(?/o) hosii

5 A (?ni/iga/no hosii B
haha (?ni/iga/no hosii kodomo
'the child that the mother wants'

kodomo ga/no(?/o) hosii A
'the mother that wants a child'

Examples:
(1) ... o-mimi ni ire-tai KOTÔ ga arimásite ... 'I have something I want to tell you' (KKK 3.259); Sóo só, ánta ni age-tai MONÔ ga áru no 'Yes, yes, there's something I want
to give you’ (KKK 3.259); Kāre wa zibun no yomi-tai MONÔ o yôndari, kaki-tai KOTÔ o kātari, kanga-tai MONDAI o kangaè-tari si-tàkatta ‘He wanted to read the things HE wanted to write, and gave thought to the problems HE wanted to give thought to’ (Y 294).

(2) O-tya no nomi-tai HITÔ wa imasén ka ‘Isn’t there anyone who wants to drink tea?’ (KKK 3.168); Takâi ga, umâi komé o kai-tai SYOOHÍ-SYA mo iru no da ‘There are also, you see, consumers who wish to buy rice that is expensive but tastes good’ (SA 2684.20c).

(4) Sake no sukí na KÅRE TO BÔKU(〜) wa yóku yóru no mató o nomi-aruita ‘He and I, fond of liquor, often made the rounds of the night-time city’ (SA 2647.62a); ... myûu-zikaru no sukí na SYÀIN-TÀTI wa ... ‘the employees who like music’ (SA 2647.62c); ... úmi o sukí na HITÔ ... ‘a person who likes the sea’ (SA 2650.58c); iinuke no tåkumi(〜) na HYOORON-KA ... ‘a critic clever at evasion’ (KKK 3.168) ← hyooron-ka ga iinuke ga tåkumi(〜) da ‘the critic is clever at evasion’.

Other adjuncts can be epithematized: Iki-tai TÖKÖRO ga takusåh aru no ‘There’s lots of places I want to go’ (R) ← [sono] tokoró e iki-tai ‘I want to go to the place(s)’; Anâtå ga sumi-tai TÔSI ‘The city you’d like to live in ...?’ (SA 2792.31b) ← Anâtå ga [sono] tösí ni/de sumi-tai? ‘You’d like to live in the city?’

13.1.2.(4). Epithemes extruded from facilitative-propensive sentences. Facilitative-propensive sentences apparently permit the optional subjectification (i.e. gâ-marking) of nearly any adjunct in the simplex—somewhat as any adjunct can be extruded for thematization or epithematization. We accordingly expect the extrusion of the subjectified adjuncts as shown below, even though in many examples the result would coincide with extrusion of the adjunct without prior subjectification and, of course, in such instances the simpler derivation is to be preferred. There seems to be uncertainty with respect to the acceptability of facilitative-propensive sentences with more than two surface-subjects (despite the examples concocted in §9.1.8), so we will confine our attempts to those with only one subjectification. Even some of these are questionable, especially in the highly artificial sentences concocted here; but we can hope that better examples will eventually be found.

OBJECT SUBJECTIFICATION (ó → gâ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A ga/o/ga VT-f</th>
<th>A ga/no VT-f B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hâha ga kodomo o/ga yobi-yasuí</td>
<td>hâha ga/no yobi-yasuí kodomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘it is easy/likely for the mother to call the child’</td>
<td>‘the child that it is easy/likely for the mother to call’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) B ga(~/no)/o VT-f A
| kodomo ga(~/no)/o yobi-yasuí hâha |
| ‘the mother that it is easy/likely for the child to make up to’ |

DATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION (ni → gâ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A ga B ni/?/ga V-f</th>
<th>A ga/no V-f B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kodomo ga hâha ni/?/ga amae-yasuí</td>
<td>kodomo ga/no amae-yasuí hâha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘it is easy/likely for the child to make up to the mother’</td>
<td>‘the mother that it is easy/likely for the child to make up to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3)
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\[ B \text{ ni/\textcolor{red}{ga}/no V-f A } \]

haha ni/\textcolor{red}{ga}/no amae-yasúi kodo mo

‘the child that it is easy/likely for it to make up to the mother’

PLACE SUBJECTIFICATION (\(dè/\text{ ni} \rightarrow \text{ gá} \))

\[ P \text{ de/ga (or ni/ga) A ga V-f } \]
kooen de/ga kodomo ga asobi-yasúi

‘the park is easy/likely for the child to play in’
kooen ni/ga kodomo ga i-yasúi

‘the park is easy/likely for the child to stay in’

\[ A \text{ ga/no V-f P } \]
kodomo ga/no asobi-yasúi kooen

‘the park that it is easy/likely for the child to play in it’
kodomo ga/no i-yasúi kooen

‘the park that it is easy/likely for the child to stay in’

\[ P \text{ de/ga/no (or ni/ga/no) V-f A } \]
kooen de/ga/no asobi-yasúi kodomo

‘the child that the park is easy/likely for it to play in’
kooen ni/ga/no i-yasúi kodomo

‘the child that the park is easy/likely for it to be in’

INSTRUMENTAL SUBJECTIFICATION (\(dè \rightarrow \text{ gá} \))

\[ A \text{ ga X de/ga V-f } \]
kodomo ga náihu de/ga kiri-nikuí

‘the knife is hard for the child to cut with’

\[ A \text{ ga/no V-f X } \]
kodomo ga/no kiri-nikuí náihu

‘the knife that is hard for the child to cut with’

\[ X \text{ de/ga/no V-f A } \]
náihu de/ga/no kiri-nikuí kodomo

‘the child for whom the knife is hard to cut with’

ALLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION (\(é \rightarrow \text{ gá} \))

\[ A \text{ ga P e/ga V-f } \]
kodomo ga kooen e/ga iki-yasúi

‘the park is easy/likely for the child to go to’

\[ A \text{ ga/no V-f P } \]
kodomo ga/no iki-yasúi kooen

‘the park that is easy/likely for the child to go to’

\[ P \text{ e/ga/no V-f A } \]
kooen e/ga/no iki-yasúi kodomo

‘the child for whom the park is easy/likely to go to’

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 1 (\(kara \rightarrow \text{ gá} \))

\[ A \text{ ga P kara/ga V-f } \]
kodomo ga kooen kara/ga utí(−) e kaeri-yasúi

‘the park is easy for the child to return home from’

\[ A \text{ ga/no V-f P } \]
kodomo ga/no utí(−) e kaeri-yasúi kooen

‘the park that is easy for the child to return home from’
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\[ P \text{kara/ga/?no V-f A} \]
\[ \text{kooen kara/ga/?no uti(→) e kaeri-yasúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the child that the park is easy to return home from’} \]

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 2 (kará/ó → gá)

\[ A \text{ga P kara/o/ga V-f} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga sekí kara/o/ga de-yasúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the seat is easy for the child to leave’} \]

\[ A \text{ga/no V-f P} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga/no de-yasúi sekí} \]
\[ \text{‘the seat that is easy for the child to leave’} \]

\[ P \text{kara/o/?ga/?no V-f A} \]
\[ \text{sekí kara/o/?ga/?no de-yasúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the child for whom the seat is easy to leave’} \]

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 3 (kará/ni ?→ gá)

\[ A \text{ga B kara/ni/?ga V-f} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga háhá kara/ni/?ga osowari-yasúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the mother is easy/likely for the child to learn from’} \]

\[ A \text{ga/no V-f B} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga/no osowari-yasúi háhá} \]
\[ \text{‘the mother that it is easy for the child to learn from’} \]

\[ B \text{kara/ni/?ga/?no V-f A} \]
\[ \text{háhá kara/ni/?ga/?no osowari-yasúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the child for whom it is easy to learn from the mother’} \]

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 4 (kará/dé ?→ gá)

\[ A \text{ga X kara/de/?ga [Y o] VT-f} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga kami kara/de/?ga [hako o] tukuri-yasúi kami} \]
\[ \text{‘the paper is easy for the child to make it [a box] out of’} \]

\[ A \text{ga/no [Y o] VT-f X} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga/no [hako o] tukuri-yasúi kami} \]
\[ \text{‘the paper that it is easy for the child to make it [a box] out of’} \]

\[ X \text{kara/de/?ga [Y o] VT-f A} \]
\[ \text{kami kara/de/?ga [hako o] tukuri-yasúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the child for whom it is easy to make it [a box] out of paper’} \]

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 5 (kará/ni/tó ?→ gá)

\[ A \text{ga B kara/ni/to/?ga V-f} \]
\[ \text{háhá ga kodomo kara/ni/to/?ga wakare-nikúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the child is hard for the mother to part from/with’} \]

\[ A \text{ga/no V-f B} \]
\[ \text{háhá no/ga wakare-nikúi kodomo} \]
\[ \text{‘the child that it is hard for the mother to part from/with’} \]
§13.1.2. Epithematization from converted sentences

\[ B \text{kara/ni/to/}\text{?ga/\text{?no V-f A}} \]
\[ \text{kodomo kara/ni/to/}\text{?ga/\text{?no wakarenikui haha} (20)} \]
\[ \text{the mother for whom the child is hard to part from/with} \]

TIME SUBJECTIFICATION (\(\text{nii/} \rightarrow \text{ga}\))

\[ A \text{ga T ni}\text{?}/\text{ga V-f T} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga/haru ni}/\text{ga asobiyasui} (21) \]
\[ \text{spring is easy for children to play in} \]

\[ A \text{ga/no V-f T} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga/no asobiyasui haru} \]
\[ \text{spring when it is easy for the children to play} \]

\[ T ni\text{?}/\text{ga/}\text{?no V-f A} \]
\[ \text{haku ni}/\text{ga/\text{?no asobiyasui kodomo} (22)} \]
\[ \text{children for whom spring is easy to play in} \]

RECIPROCAL SUBJECTIFICATION 1 (t\(\text{o/} \rightarrow \text{ga}\))

\[ A \text{ga B to/}\text{?ga V-f} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga tomodati to/\text{?ga}} \]
\[ \text{kenka siyasui} \]
\[ \text{the friend is easy/likely for the child to quarrel with} \]

\[ A \text{ga/no V-f B} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga/no kenka siyasui tomodati} \]
\[ \text{the friend that is easy/likely for the child to quarrel with} \]

\[ B to/\text{?ga/\text{?no V-f A}} \]
\[ \text{tomodati to/\text{?ga/\text{?no kenka siyasui kodomo}} (23)} \]
\[ \text{the child for whom the friend is easy/likely to quarrel with} \]

RECIPROCAL SUBJECTIFICATION 2 (t\(\text{o/} \rightarrow \text{ga}\))

\[ A \text{ga B to/ni/}\text{?ga V-f} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga tomodati to/ni/\text{?ga aiyasui} \]
\[ \text{the friend is easy/likely for the child to meet} \]

\[ A \text{ga/no V-f B} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga/no aiyasui tomodati} \]
\[ \text{the friend that is easy/likely for the child to meet} \]

MUTATIVE-COMPLEMENT SUBJECTIFICATION (n\(\text{i} \rightarrow \text{ga}\))

\[ A \text{ga B ni/}\text{?ga Vm-f} \]
\[ ?A \text{ga/no Vm-f B} \]
\[ \text{kodomo ga tomodati ni/\text{?ga nariyasui}} \]
\[ \text{a friend (it) is easy/likely for the child to become} \]

\[ ?A \text{ga/no Vm-f B} \]
\[ ?\text{kodomo ga/no nariyasui tomodati} \]
\[ \text{the friend that it is easy/likely for the child to become} \]

\[ B \text{ni/\text{?ga/\text{?no Vm-f A}} \]
\[ \text{tomodati ni/\text{?ga/\text{?no nariyasui kodomo}} \]
\[ \text{the child for whom it is easy/likely to become a friend} \]

\(\text{a} \)Or perhaps\( \text{nii} \text{[tai-site] \rightarrow ga, since the subjectification appears to be limited to datives of con­frontation.} \)
13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

A few examples:

(1—with traversal object) ... koré-ra no sanmyaku wa tobi-kosi-gatai SYOOHEKI datta si, ... 'these mountain ranges were barriers difficult to leap over' (R).

(1) ... keisi si-gatai zyuuyuu na ÎGI o mótu 'has an important significance that it is difficult to take lightly' (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.49b).

(2—with intransitive) Kore wa nagáï byooki de, naori-nikúi BYOOKI ná n de[su] 'This was a long illness and one difficult to get over' (R).

(3) ... ningen-kânei ni ōite(‘), sitasimi-yasûi PAASONÄRIT-II o mótte iru to kà ... 'in human relationships, to have a personality that is easy to get close to' (R); sitasimikúi KAO 'a forbidding face' (Kenkyusha).

(21) Natú wa ityoo no yowaru zîkî {de}, tabémônó no itami-yasûi KISÉTU desu 'Summer is the time when the digestive organs weaken and the season when food is apt to spoil' (SA).

There are other types of epithemes from facilitative-propensive sentences, e.g. one taken from an underlying subject: Tôku ni, kyoo-sân-ken no iu kotó o sin'yoo si-yasûi NIHON-ZÎN wa náo no kotó daroo 'In particular, it will be all the more true of Japanese, who are apt to trust what the Communist bloc says' (SA 2793.60a). From the underlying object of a passive (or potential?): ... sizi sare-yasûi ... 'views that can easily be supported' (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.49b).

And it might be questioned whether suwari-yasûi isu 'a chair that is easy to sit on (to seat oneself on)' should be derived from [sono] isu ga suwari-yasûi 'that chair is easy to sit on' by way of subjectification, or directly from the underlying mutative-locative in [sono] isu ni suwari-yasûi 'it is easy (for one) to sit on the chair'.

13.1.2.(5). Epithemes extruded from intransitivizing-resultative sentences. From the sentence [Hito ga] doa o siméru '[Someone] closes the door' we can derive the intransitivizing-resultative sentence Dôa ga simete aru 'The door is closed', converting the underlying object to the marking of a surface subject, §9.2.4.(2). If now we extrude the surface subject and epithematize it, the resulting phrase will coincide with what we get by extruding the OBJECT of [Hito ga] doa o simete aru '[Someone] has closed the door'—(1) to be ready, (2) and has that in his experience, (3) and the result confronts him:

\[
\begin{align*}
1-2-3) & \text{ Dôa o simete aru } & \rightarrow & \text{ Simete aru dôa 'the door is closed'.} \\
4) & \text{ Dôa ga simete aru } \\
& \text{ It is not clear whether the epithematization actually retains all four meanings:} \\
1) & \text{ 'the door that is closed (by someone)—so as to be ready'.} \\
2) & \text{ 'the door that is closed (by someone)—so that he has that in his experience'.} \\
3) & \text{ 'the door that is closed (by someone)—so that the result confronts him'.} \\
4) & \text{ 'the door that is closed—so that the result confronts one/us'.}
\end{align*}
\]

But in any event it will probably be necessary to recognize the two separate derivations in order to account for the difference between the total suppression of agent with the intransitivizing resultative and the casual omission of a specifiable agent with the other resultatives.

Examples: ... Wakasite âta HÚRÔ ni háitte ... 'getting into the bath which had been heated' (Y 512); Tákú(‘) no ué ni oite aru HÓN ga aru no de, nán daroo to omótte tê ni tótte mita 'There was a book set on the table; wondering what it was, I picked it up to
13.1.2. Epithematization from converted sentences

In §9.1.11 we examined six conversions of adjectivals and nominals: (1) the mutatives (intransitive/transitive) with naru/suru and similar verbs referring to a change of state; (2) the subject-adverbial; (3) the nuclear-adverbial; (4) the evaluative, which blends a statement or evaluation predicted by an adjectival or an adjectival noun with a sentence that uses the evaluated as direct object; (5) the transitive putative; (6) the intransitive putative. Since there are no adjunct-marker switches for the second and third types, epithematization is no different from that found in any other sentence: the subject and objects (if any) can be extruded freely. For the other conversions, we would expect epithematizations of the following sorts:

**MUTATIVE**

1. mizikaku katta kami 'hair cut short' ← kami o mizikaku katta 'cut the hair short'
   (← kami ga mizikai 'the hair is short')
2. akaku natta kao 'the face that had turned red' ← kao ga akaku natta 'the face turned red'
   (← kao ga akai 'the face is red')
3. sikai-sya ni sita otokō 'the man made master-of-ceremonies' ← otokō o sikai-sya ni sita 'they made the man master-of-ceremonies'
   (← otokō ga sikai-sya da 'the man is master-of-ceremonies')
4. sikai-sya ni natta otokō 'the man that became master-of-ceremonies' ← otokō ga sikai-sya ni natta 'the man became master-of-ceremonies'
   (← otokō ga sikai-sya da 'the man is master-of-ceremonies')
5. oto ko o sita sikai-sya 'the master-of-ceremonies that the man was made (into)' ← otokō o sikai-sya ni sita 'they made the man master-of-ceremonies'
   (← otokō ga sikai-sya da 'the man is master-of-ceremonies')
6. otokō ga natta sikai-sya 'the master-of-ceremonies that the man became' ← otokō ga sikai-sya ni natta 'the man became master-of-ceremonies'
   (← otokō ga sikai-sya da)

**EVALUATIVE**

7. utukusiku kaita zi 'beautifully written characters' ← zi o utukusiku kaita 'wrote the characters beautifully'
   (← zi ga utukusii 'the characters are beautiful')
8. yasuku katta ziten-sya(−) 'a cheaply bought bike' ← ziten-sya(−) o yasuku katta
   'bought the bike cheap'

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11. In ... daihyo-sya no hitori ni natte orareru Maeda-san aru ... 'from Mr Maeda who (has become =) is one of the representatives' (Tk 3.204a) the mutative sentence has been converted to the resultative (-te iru) and then given subject-exaltation (-te orare ru) before epithematizing the subject.

12. This type is more natural with karā replacing ga: sensēi ga/kara natta heitai 'the soldier that the teacher turned into' ← sensēi ga/kara heitai ni natta 'the teacher turned into a soldier' (or 'out of the teacher there became a soldier' if we wish to capture the flavor of the karā).
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

(9) *waruku iu tanin no koto ‘things ill said of others’ ← tanin no kotō o wāruku iu ‘says ill of others’ (← tanin [ni tuite] no kotō ga warūi)

TRANSITIVE PUTATIVE

(10) yasasiku omōta siken-mōndai ‘the exam questions that I thought easy’ ← siken-mōndai o yasasiku omōta ‘I thought the exam questions easy’ (← siken-mōndai ga yasasii ‘the exam questions are easy’)

(11) husigi ni omōtta kotobā ‘the word I thought strange’ ← kotobā o husigi ni omōtta ‘I thought the word strange’ (← kotobā ga husigi da ‘the word is strange’)

INTRANSITIVE PUTATIVE

(12) nāgaku mieta kao ‘the face that looked long’ ← kao ga nāgaku mieta ‘the face looked long’ (← kao ga nagai ‘the face is long’)

(13) Ŝingo ni [wa] keihaku ni omōeta hutari no musumē ‘the two girls who seemed flippant to Ŝingo’ ← Ŝingo ni [wa] hutari no musumē ga keihaku ni omōeta ‘the two girls seemed flippant to Ŝingo’ (← hutari no musumē ga keihaku da ‘the two girls are flippant’)

These are distinct from the QUOTATIVE putatives with S to + putative verb, which can be adnominalized in similar ways: Nizyuu-mētou mo arō ka to omowarēru takai tēnma ku [= tēnto] no TEP PĒN de wa ... ‘at the top of a tent that seems perhaps twenty meters high’ (KKK 3.287); ... mattaku hui-huiyoo to omowarēru ēnnīn no syussin-ti to izoku no zuuyuusyo simeī nenrei māde kuwasūku siru, ... ‘write down in detail the birthplace of the culprit and even the addresses, names, and ages of his survivors—(details) that are felt to be totally unnecessary ...’ (KKK 3.287); Kantoku ga arawasi-tāi to omōu SEIKAKU o sono māmā engi de simēsit(e) kureru haiyuu de nakerya, ikura kirei de mo damē na desu yō ‘Unless you are an actor who can show in your performance the very character that the director wants to have portrayed, it’s no good however pretty you are’ (Tk 3.199b) ← Kantoku ga SEIKAKU o arawasi-tāi to omōu ‘The director considers the character as desirable to have portrayed’ (← [seikaku ga] arawasi-tāi ← [seikaku o] arawasu)—an alternative interpretation ‘The director thinks he would like to have the character portrayed’ would take seikaku ō as the un-subjectified underlying object of arawasi-tāi. Other elements in these converted sentences can be epithematized, e.g. the instrumental in this example: Suu-nen mē ni wā-ga kuni no ōru seirigakusya wa atamā no yōku naru KUSURI to site suisyōo sareta monō de atta ‘A few years ago a certain Japanese biologist was recommending it [= MSG] as a drug with which the brain would improve’ (SA 2651.20a) ← [sono] kusuri de atamā ga yōku naru ‘with [that] drug the head gets good/better’ ← atamā ga yōi ‘the head is good/better’.

13.1.3. Existential, Locative, and Possessive Adnominalizations; Epithemes Extruded from Multiparous Sentences.

Existential and locational sentences with āru and iru (etc.) can undergo the expected adnominalizations:

A/X ga P ni iru/āru ← (1) P ni iru/āru A/X da ‘It is the A/X that is at P’;

(2) A/X [ga no] iru/āru P da ‘It is the P where A/X is’.

Examples: Kono rihātū-ten ga āru SITAMATI dé wa ... ‘In the downtown area where this

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barber shop is located ...' (SA 2661.105b) ← Kono riňatű-ten ga sitamati ni āru 'This barber shop is in the downtown area'; Bāakuree wa ... Karihwurionia-dāigaku no āru MATI da 'Berkeley is the city where the University of California is' (SA 2664.43b) ← ...-dāigaku ga [sono] mati ni āru 'The University ... is in [that] city'—extruded-locative epitheme used as Identifier; Tutu-zen, kāno-zyo wo sootyoo no hito ga hitōri mo inai Aōyama no MTTI o hasiri-dasita 'Suddenly, she dashed down an early-morning Aōyama street without a single person on it' (SA 2650.61c) ← Hito ga hitōri mo [sono] miti ni inai 'Not one person is on [that] street'—extruded-locative epitheme used as traversal object; Íma no Karuizawa na takusā ōru BESSŪO' ga ... 'The many summer houses that are in the Karuizawa of today ...' (SA 2642.43c) ← Bessūo' ga ima no Karuizawa ni takusā ōru 'Lots of summer houses are in the Karuizawa of today'—the located is extruded as epitheme to be used as subject. The last example might be regarded as simple existence rather than location—with the locative phrase taken as peripheral information, as the meaning would appear to demand for the following example: Uran-Baatoru ni hitōtū da ke āru RAMA-DERA wa, hakubutū-kan to site hozon site āru n da sóō desu 'The only lamastery existing in Ulan Baator [Mongolia] is being preserved as a museum, I am told' (SA 2666.110c) ← Uran-Baatoru ni rama-dera ga hitōtū da ke āru 'In Ulan Baator there exists only one lamastery'. An example of an epithematized mutative-locative (used as Identified): Dā kara dóo-sitē mo syūtō ooku KUNI wa Nihon da 'So by all means the country where the capital [of a United States of Asia] is to be put is Japan' (Tk 3.26b) ← syūtō o [sono] kuni ni oku 'puts the capital in [that] country'.

But there are difficulties, as noted earlier (§3.11.2), when the meaning of the verbs is clearly that of possession:

A ga/ni B/X ga āru 'A has B/X' → (1) B/X ga āru A 'The A who has B/X';
(2) A ni āru B/X (da) 'It is the B/X that A has';
but not (3) *A ga āru B/X da (except where this is a role reversal of the first type: 'It is the B/X that has A').

Let us examine two examples, the first with a possessed person, the second with a possessed thing. (1) Otooto ga/ni kodomo ga āru 'The younger brother has a child' will convert to Kodomo ga āru otoo-ōto (da) 'It is the younger brother who has a child'. But informants find the sentence Otooto ni āru kodomo da 'It is the child who belongs to the younger brother' strange, for there would normally be a replacement by the possessive nō: Otooto no kodomo da 'It is the younger brother's child'. Yet the grammatically parallel sentence Dorooبو ni āru te-sitā (da) 'It is an underling of/to a thief' may be acceptable to some speakers, because underlings can be changed (i.e. are alienable possessions) whereas, in the normal course of events, one is stuck with the relatives one has. (2) Otooto ga/ni nāihu ga āru (nāi) 'The younger brother has (lacks) a knife' will convert into Nāihu ga āru (nāi) otoo-ōto da 'It is the younger brother who has (lacks) a knife' and also into Otooto ni āru (nāi) nāihu da 'It is the knife that the younger brother has (lacks)'. Perhaps we can state a rule something like this: a sentence with āru or nāi carries with it the direct subject (i.e. the possessed = the underlying object of possession), so that N ga āru/nāi is equivalent in meaning to N o móōtu/motānai; in an adnominalized sentence the indirect subject (the possessor) can be marked only by nī (or, with ellipsis of āru, by nō—constituting genitivization §3.1.3), though ā is optionally permitted—for inalienable possession even REQUIRED?—in sentences that are not adnominalized.

Below are some constructed examples (using 'woman' and 'child'—other good ingredients
would be tomodati ‘friend’, aitē ‘partner’, o-tētudai-san ‘cleaning lady’, etc.) that will serve to illustrate the types of extruded epithematizations we expect with possessive sentences:13

(1) kōdomo ga/no onna 'the woman that has a child'

(2) onna ni/ga/no kōdomo → onna ni āru kōdomo / onna no kōdomo 'the child that the woman has'

(3) kōdomo ga/no iru/ōru onna 'the woman that has a child'

(4) ? onna ni/ga/no iru/ōru kōdomo 'the child that the woman has'

(5) ōkusama ga/no irassyāru / *o-ide ni nāru / *o-ide no irassyārānai / *o-ide ni narānai / *o-ide de nai ōkusama 'the lady that has a child'

(6) ? ōkusama ni/ga/no irassārā / *o-ide ni nāru / *o-ide no irassārānai / *o-ide ni narānai / *o-ide de nai ōkusama 'the child that the lady has'

(7) ōkusama ga/no o-ari ni nāru / o-ari no / (gozaimāsu) ōkusama 'the lady that has a child'

(8) ? ōkusama ni/ga/no o-ari ni nāru / o-ari no / (gozaimāsu) ōkusama 'the child that the lady has'

(9) kōdomo ga/no arimasu arimasēn onna 'the woman that lacks a child'

(10) ? onna ni/ga/no arimasu arimasēn kōdomo → onna ni arimasu arimasēn kōdomo 'the child that the woman lacks'

(11) kōdomo ga/no arī-sugīru nasa-sugīru ōkusama 'the woman that has too many children'

(12) ? onna ni/ga/no arī-sugīru nasa-sugīru kōdomo → onna ni arī-sugīru nasa-sugīru kōdomo [ONLY] 'the children that the woman lacks too many of'

13. When there is an arrow, at least some of the formula in front of the arrow will produce ungrammatical structures; the structures to the right of the arrow are presumed to be the only permissible outputs. Appropriate situations of "having" or "lacking" a person are not all easily found; the concocted examples may be difficult for the native speaker to construe out of context.
§13.1.3. Existential, locative, and possessive adnominalizations

And, with quasi-possessives:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haha ni/ga kodomo ga wakatta 'the mother recognized the child'} & \quad \text{haha ni/ga kodomo ga wakatta kodomo 'the child that the mother recognized'} \\
\text{kodomo ga/no wakatta haha 'the mother that recognized the child'} & \quad \text{haha ni/ga kodomo ga mieta 'the child was visible to the mother'} \\
\text{haha ni/ga kodomo ga mieta kodomo 'the child that was visible to the mother'} & \quad \text{kodomo ga/no mieta haha 'the mother that the child was visible to'}
\end{align*}
\]

Possessive sentences are adnominalized not only to extruded epithemes of possessor and possessed (etc.) but also to intruded epithemes, such as the summational kotó ‘fact’:

Hutarí no kodomo no arú kotó ga Kûnîko o sokubaku sita ‘Having the two children kept Kûniko tied down’ (Ig 1962.87) \(\leftarrow \) [Kûniko ni/ga] hutâri no kodomo ga arú ‘[Kûniko] has two children’; Hûkuko ni zikan no kánnen no nái kotó ga Masunaga o tûtuyø sas eru ‘The fact that Fukuko has no concept of time makes Masunaga hesitate’ (Ig 1962.87) \(\leftarrow\) Hûkuko ni/ga zikan no kán nen ga nái ‘Hukuko has no concept of time’. The epitheme of Tizuko no inai zinsëi wa wa ‘Life without Chizuko’ could be interpreted as a personified possessor (kåré no zinsëi ni/ga Tizuko ga inai ‘His life lacks Chizuko’) or as an extruded locative of time—or figuratively of place: Tizuko ga [kåré no] zinsëi ni inai ‘Chizuko is not in his life’. Another interpretation would epithematize a dative of reference: [Kåré no] zinsëi ni [tôtè] Tizuko ga inai ‘For his life Chizuko does not exist’.

Examples of epithematized possessor: Motomoto sainoo(*) no arú KÂRE wa, ... ‘He who had talent by nature ...’ (SA 2665.113a) \(\leftarrow \) Kåre ni/ga ... sainoo(*) ga arú ‘He has talent ...’—the epitheme is used as a subdued thematization (of a subject); Tûma to kawai kodomo ga aru KÂRE ga, dô site baysû-hu o korosita no ka ‘Why did he who had a wife and lovely child kill a prostitute?’ (SA 2647.112d) \(\leftarrow\) Kåre ni/ga tûma to kawai kodomo ga aru ‘He has a wife and lovely child’—the epitheme is used as subject of a verb; ... otootô ya imootô no nái WATASI wa ... ‘I who have no younger brother or sister’ (Endô 137) \(\leftarrow\) Watasi ni/ga (\(\rightarrow\) Watasi ni{nî} wa) otootô ya imootô ya nái ‘I have no younger brother or sister’; ... san-nin no ôoki na magô no iru OBĂA-TYAN ... ‘a granny who has three big grandchildren’ (SA 2684.140c); ... sinrû no zîtsurûko no arû ZYŐSYU ga ... ‘the assistant who has the capability to examine and treat (patients)’ (SA 2685.61e); Nân de mo hanashi no dekîru yuuzin ga aru HITÔ, ... ‘A person who has a friend whom he can talk about anything with’ (SA 2645.103c) \(\leftarrow\) [Sonô]-hito ni/ga yuuzin ga aru ‘[that] person has a friend’; Kubiwa no arû INU dâké ni ikiru kënû ga atæarere iru ‘The right to live is bestowed only upon collared dogs’ (V 1972.165); ... asobi-ba no nái TÔSÎ-KKO ni yûmë o atæuru monô ... ‘something to give dreams to city children who have no playgrounds’ (SA 2670.107d) \(\leftarrow\) Tôsî-kko ni/ga asobi-ba ga nái ‘The city children have no playgrounds’—the epitheme is used as a dative; ... soroban no nái OTOKÔ da ... ‘the man doesn’t have an abacus’ (Tk 3.306b); ... hahaha no nái KO de ... ‘is a motherless child’ (Kb 215b); ... kodomo no iru KATEI de wa ... ‘in a family that has children’ (SA 2649.97c). \(\leftarrow\) [sono] katei ni/ga kodomo ga aru ‘[that] family has children’—I am taking katei ‘family’, a synonym of utîl(-), as personified. Examples where the epithematized possessor is inanimate: Hei no nái SYOONÉN-IN mo ôoî ‘There are many reformatories that have no walls’ (SA 2688.26c); Si ga nái TÔSÎ da ga, nání ka no mîryoku(\(\sim\)) wa arú ‘It is a city that lacks poetry, but it does have a certain charm’ (SA 2793.61d); ... sekînin to kengôn arû PÔSUTO wa ... ‘posts with responsibility and authority’
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

(SA 2685.61c); Zintai ni gai no aru NOOYAKU wa tukatte wa ikan (= ikenai) 'Pesticides harmful to the human body must not be used' (SA 2684.62a)—the first phrase is a dative of confrontation (zintai ni tā-site) or of reference (zintai ni tōtte) and nooyaku ni gai ga aru 'the pesticide has bad effects' could be treated as a figurative locative instead of a possessive. The following sentence contains animate and inanimate possessors, both episematized: Hontoo ni nōryokun no aru NOOYA KU wa tukatte wa ikan [= ikenai] 'People that really have ability are not assigned to the posts that carry responsibility' (SA 2685.61c). And, with quasi-possessives: Nihon-go no seisitū no yōku o-wakari no KĀTĀ ... 'Those [esteemed] persons who have a good understanding of the characteristics of the Japanese language ...' ← (Sono) kātā ni/ga Nihon-go no seisitū no yōku o-wakari dā '[Those] esteemed persons have a good understanding ...'. (For potentials, see p. 633.) The following example once caught my eye in an advertisement for a single establishment boasting two names: Sāuna no aru hōteru—hōteru no aru sāuna : Ueno-kankō-hōteru—Ueno-Sauna-Onsen-Kāikan 'The hotel that has a sauna—the sauna that has a hotel: Ueno Tourist Hotel—Ueno Sauna Bath Center'. Apparently the episematized noun is to be taken as possessor rather than possessed, though it would make little difference here, since the sentence is an equational identification, and that is part of its charm.

In the following examples the possessor is extruded from its position within a multiparous sentence (where it was incorporated by the ellipsis of the possession verb as explained in §3.11.2): ... tekī ga ōoi HITŌ datta 'He was a man who had many enemies ...' (SA 2642.39a) ← (Sono-)hito ga ōru= teki ga ōoi 'He has many enemies' 'The enemies he has are many'—the epitheme is used as a descriptive Identifier; ... atamai no yosa-sōo na OZYŌOSEN de aru 'She is a young lady with a seemingly good head on her shoulders' ← Ozyōōsan ga ōru= atamai ga yosa-sōo da 'She appears to have a good head' 'She has a head that appears to be good'—the epitheme is used as a descriptive Identifier; Kenri-isiki no tuyōi ima no KODOMO no kimoti ga, wakatte imasō nē 'They don’t understand the feelings of the child of today, who has a strong awareness of his rights' (SA 2665.127d) ← ... kodomo ga ōru= kenri-isiki ga tuyōi 'The awareness of rights possessed by the child ... is strong'—the epitheme is used as the possessor in a genitivization Kodomo no [arū] kimoti 'the feelings that the child has' of the possessive sentence Kodomo ni/ga kimoti ga arū 'The child has feelings'. Here is an example with a convergence of two possessors extruded to function as a single epitheme ('Japan')—used as a dative of reference: Sizen-sigen ga sukūnaku, sono taigai-i/2/2-o'n-do ga takai NIHŌN ni tōtte, ... 'For Japan, who has few natural resources and who has a high degree of dependence on countries abroad for them, ...' (SA 2648.45a) ← Nihon ni/ga sizen-sigen ga sukūnaku, sono taigai-i/2/2-o'n-do ga takai 'Japan has few natural resources and has high dependence for them on countries abroad' ← Nihon ni/ga [arū] sizen-sigen ga sukūnai 'The natural resources that Japan has are few' + Nihon ni/ga [arū] sono (= sizen-sigen no) taigai-i/2/2-o'n-do ga takai 'The dependence of Japan on countries abroad for them [= natural resources] is high'.

A more complicated explanation is needed for this sentence: Mattak①, itimān nisen-en no gekkyuu to wa omoēnai husigen na ZINBUTU datta 'He was an odd character whom [in view of his extravagance] you simply couldn’t conceive of as having a monthly salary of [only] twelve thousand yen' (SA 2642.54b). The entire sentence is a stranded Identifier based on an epitheme that is the (attributee-)subject of the adjectival noun—[Sono] zinbutu ga husigen dā 'The character is odd'—and also is the subject in a propredicative
13.1.4. Extruded genitives as epithemes

Once the genitive is created by reduction from a possessive sentence, it stands ready to be extruded like any other adjunct. With genuine possession of the sort that can be expressed in a multiparous sentence (§3.11) it would be possible to take the extruded noun back to ga-marking in the immediately underlying sentence rather than assume that the phrase has been reduced to a nò-marked genitive, as in this sample of inalienable possession: kami ga nagai kodomo ‘a child with long hair’ ← kodomo ga kami ga nagai ‘the child has hair that is long’; or ← kodomo no kami ga nagai ‘the hair of the child is long’.

But the locative genitive, such as in no ‘of the house’ in in no mae [ni] ‘[in] front of the house’, must be taken as the immediately underlying source of the epitheme in these adnominalizations: MAE ni kyuruma ga tomatte i ru ANO IE ‘that house that has a car parked in front of it’ ← ANO IE NO MAE ni kuruma ga tomatte i ru ‘In front of that house a car is parked’; Hikóo-ki ga UE o tonda YAMÁ ‘the mountain that the plane flew over’ ← Hikóo-ki ga YAMÁ NO UE o tonda ‘The plane flew over the mountain’; Densya(-) ga SITA o tóotta HASÍ ‘the bridge that the train passed under’ ← Densya(-) ga HASÍ NO SITÁ o tóotta ‘The train passed under a bridge’; MAWARI ni kankóo-kyaku ga atumate i ru DAIBUTÚ(-) ‘The Big Buddha with tourists gathered around it’ ← DAIBUTÚ(-) NO MAWARI ni kankóo-kyaku ga atumate i ru ‘Around the Big Buddha tourists are gathered’.

Examples of various other kinds of genitives that have been epithematized:

(1) Partitive: MÁDO kara hakaba no miéru BAA ga aru ‘There is a bar from the window of which you can see a graveyard’ (SA 2641.10) ← BAA NO MÁDO kara hakaba ga miéru ‘From the window of the bar you can see a graveyard’; ... ATAMA(-) no okasi na (=ookasi) HITÓ ... ‘a person with a funny head’ (Endô 138) ← [Sonó-] HITO NO ATAMA ga okasi ‘The person's head is funny’; ... boku(-) ga SINÁRIO(-) o káita ÉIGA(-) ... ‘a film that I wrote the scenario for’ (Tk 3.194a) ← Boku(-) ga ÉIGA(-) NO SINÁRIO(-) o káita ‘I wrote the scenario of the film’.

sentence [Sono] zinbutu ga ... gekkyuu {dā} that represents a possessive sentence [Sono] zinbutu ni/ga ... gekkyuu ga aru ‘The character has a salary’. The propredicative sentence, however, has been incorporated in a quotational putative ... gekkyuu {dā} to omoeru ‘is conceived of as [being] a salary ...’ that is negativized with subdued focus ... gekkyuu {dā} to wa omoenai and then adnominalized to the extruded epitheme. In Nân no koto wa nai, ookii dake ga torié {dā} to iu ringo de aru ‘It is an apple of no consequence whose only claim to fame is its size (SA 2647.17d), the stranded Identifier ‘apple’ has been extruded both as possessor (Ringo ni/ga nÂh no koto {dī} ni nai ‘The apple has no consequence’) and as genitive (ringo no torié ‘the claim to fame of the apple’ from a possessive sentence Ringo ni/ga torié ga aru ‘The apple has a claim to fame’). The sentence OokÂk dake ga [ringo no] torié da is equivalent to [Ringo no] torié wa ookii dake da ‘The claim to fame [of the apple] is just that it is big’, since ĝā marks the Identifier.

With quasi-possessives, it is possible to epithematize the (quasi-)P OSS ESSED, even though it can not be genitivized: Seiáu ga zenryoo kai-agéru syokkan-seido [= syokuryoo-kánri no séido] o arátame, kokumin ga hituyoo na SAITÉI-GEN dake seíáu ga mendō o miru ‘They revise the food controls system that has the government buying up everything so that the government will take care of only the minimum that the people need’ (SA 2684.20c) ← kokumin ni/ga [sono] saitéi-gen ga hituyoo dâ ‘the people need [that] minimum’.

13.1.4. Extruded Genitives as Epithemes.
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(2) Underived attributive: ... KÁZU sukunái \( \text{ZIKKEN-DÉETA} \) ‘scanty experimental data’ (SA 2678.18b) \( \leftarrow \) ZIKKEN-DÉETA NO KÁZU [ga] sukunái ‘The number of experimental data is scant’; ... monó o káku kotó ga SYOKUGYOO de áru HITÓ-TATI ... ‘people whose occupation is writing things’ (Shibata 1965.204) \( \leftarrow \) monó o káku kotó ga HITÓ-TATI NO SYOKUGYOO de áru ‘Writing things is people’s occupation’, the genitive deriving from hitó-tati no fáru \( f \) syokugyoo ‘the occupation that people have’ \( \leftarrow \) Hitó-tati ni/ ga [sono] syokugyoo ga áru ‘People have the occupation’ (an unnatural sentence as it stands); SAKAKUSE ga wáruku nái WATASI mo ... ‘whom whose drinking posture is not troublesome = who am not a rowdy drunk’ (Endô 92) \( \leftarrow \) WATASI NO SAKAKUSE ga wáruku nái; kono sóhuto \( -\) ga áreba, BUKKA ka bái \( -\) no SINGATA ni kiri-kaeru hituyoo ga naku-naru no da kara, IBM [ai-bii-ému] ga kono sóhuto-úea o kai-ta-gatte irú no mo toozen dà ‘Since with this software you eliminate the necessity to change over to a new model that costs double, it is only natural that IBM is eager to buy [this software =] it’ (SA 2635.39a) \( \leftarrow \) SINGATA NO BUKKA ga bái \( -\) dà ‘The cost of the new model is double’.

(3) Partitive?, Underived attributive?: Keibatu-syúgi ga KIHON de áru KÉI-HOO ... ‘criminal law which has the principle of punishment as its basis’ (SA 2688.28d) \( \leftarrow \) KÉI-HOO NO KIHON ‘the basis of criminal law’; ... zinrui no tyoowa ga TÉEMA no BANKOKU-HAKU ‘the international exposition of which the theme is the harmony of mankind’ (SA 2688.35d) \( \leftarrow \) BANKOKU-HAKU NO TÉEMA ‘the theme of the international exhibition’.

(4) Partitive?, Place-locative?: ... hituyoo na KÍZI ga hitó-me de wákáru génzai no SINBUN ‘the modern newspaper whose essential articles are understood at a glance’ (SA 2647.137e) \( \leftarrow \) SINBUN NO ... KÍZI ga ... wákáru ‘the ... articles of the ... newspaper are understood ...’.

(5) Place-locative?: Dá ga watasi wa, Nihón ‘gúrai heikin site, tabérú MONÓ no oisii KUNI wa nái yóo ni omóu ‘But I feel that there is no country where the things you eat taste so good on the average as [they do in] Japan’ \( \leftarrow \) KUNI NO ... MONÓ ga oisii ‘In the country things that you eat are delicious’ or KUNI DE tabérú ... oisii ‘Things that you eat in the country are delicious’.

13.1.5. The Adnominalization of Propredications and Identifications.

As we saw in § 3.10 it is possible to prune a sentence by substituting the essive ní that underlies the copula dá—either for the nucleus alone or for the nucleus together with any number of its adjuncts, provided that at least one adjunct remains to pick up the otherwise stranded essive, for forms of the copula can stand alone only in a few elliptical phrases where sore ‘that’ or soo ‘like that’ have been omitted. It is this sort of cutting back from the core of the sentence, called “propredication”, that we have treated as the source of the multiple ambiguities that lead the nominal sentence to border on total vagueness: Kodomo dá ‘It’s [...] a child’ can have as many intended meanings as there are sentences with kodomo (or kodomo + marker) as an adjunct. Perhaps the meaning of the ordinary nominal sentence is the SUM of all these meanings (or the element that is common to them?); or so we might speculate if indeed we assume that such a sentence can exist independently both of the propredications and of the identificational sentence.

It is from the adnominalization of partial propredications that a number of the interpretations of N nó N must stem. The examples in Alfonso 390 are to be explained—for
The adnominalization of propredications and identifications

§ 13.1.5.

The particular meanings intended—as follows:

14. Boosi no hitó ‘the person with the hat (on)’

$\uparrow$ [sonô]-hito ga boosi [o kabûtte iru no] da ‘the person—it’s a hat [he’s wearing]’

$\downarrow$ [sonô]-hito ga boosi o kabûtte iru ‘the person is wearing a hat’—a similar example is

mégane no hitó ‘the person wearing glasses’, to be derived from [sonô]-hito ga mégane o
kâkete iru; Ano kâdo no o-mâwari-san ‘the policeman on the corner’

$\leftarrow$ o-mâwari-san ga ano kâdo [ni tâtte iru no] da ‘the policeman—it’s that corner [he’s standing on]’

$\leftrightarrow$ o-mâwari-san ga ano kâdo ni tâtte iru ‘the policeman is standing on that corner’;

Ano zidô-nya(-) no hitó ‘the person in that car’

$\leftarrow$ [sonô]-hito ga ano zidô-nya(-) [ni notte iru no] da ‘the person—it’s that car [he’s driving in]’

$\leftrightarrow$ [sonô]-hito ga ano zidô-nya(-) [ni notte iru ‘the person is riding in that car’;

Mukoo(-) no simâ ‘the island [that appears] over there’

$\leftarrow$ [sono] simâ ga mukoo(-) [ni miéru no] da ‘the island—it’s over there [that it appears]’

$\leftrightarrow$ [sono] simâ ga mukoo(-) ni miéru ‘the island appears over there’;

Teeburu no uê no koppu ‘the cup on the table’

$\leftarrow$ koppu ga teeburu no uê [ni (oite) âru no] da ‘the cup—it’s on the table’

$\leftrightarrow$ koppu ga teeburu no uê ni [oite] âru ‘the cup is (placed) on the table’;

Syoo-windoo no omôtya ‘toys [lined up] in the store window’

$\leftarrow$ omôtya ga syoo-windoo [ni narande iru no] da ‘the toys—it’s in the show window [they are lined up]’

$\leftrightarrow$ omôtya ga syoo-windoo ni narande iru ‘the toys are lined up in the show window’;

Kinzyo no gaizin ‘a foreigner [living] in the neighborhood’

$\leftarrow$ gaizin ga kinzyo [ni sünde iru no] da ‘a foreigner—it’s the neighborhood [he’s living in]’

$\leftrightarrow$ gaizin ga kinzyo ni sünde iru ‘a foreigner is living in the neighborhood’;

Tosyô-kan no hôn ‘books from the library’

$\leftarrow$ hôn ga tosyô-kan [kara] da ‘the books are [from] the library’

$\leftrightarrow$ hôn ga tosyô-kan kara [karite âru no] da ‘the books—it’s the library that they are borrowed from’

$\leftrightarrow$ hôn o tosyô-kan kara karita ‘[someone] borrowed the books from the library’. In the sense

‘books that belong to the library’ the same phrase would be given a different derivation,

one of the genitives (localitive?, possessive?, partitive?) that are explained in §3.11.2.

But when the phrase N nó can be taken as the subject of an omitted verb (with nó

substituting for gâ under the option explained in §13.1.6), a better explanation is simple

ellipsis: Pikâso no é ‘a picture by Picasso’ can be derived directly from Pikâso no [kâita]

é, in turn coming from Pikâso ga/no kâita é ‘a picture that Picasso painted’—with an epi-

theme extruded from the object of the sentence Pikâso ga é o kâita ‘Picasso painted the

picture’. In the meaning ‘a picture that belongs to Picasso’, the structure is explained as a

POSSESSIVE GENITIVE; and only in the meaning ‘a picture of (i.e. portraying) Picasso’

will the propredicative adnominalization be required as an explanation, with the deriva-

tion assuming an ellipsis something like É ga Pikâso [ou utûsu no] da ‘The picture is [one

that portrays] Picasso’. The expression kasiya no kookoku ‘an ad for a house to rent’ is

perhaps best taken as adnominalized propredication of an ellipsis: kasiya [ni tûite] no

kookoku ‘an ad about a house for rent’. Perhaps a similar explanation will account for

mûsu(-) ka óusi(-) kà no kûbetu ‘the distinction of whether it is a cow or a bull’.

The examples most clearly showing that a propredication has taken place before the

adnominalization are those that contain structures of the type N1 ó N2 nó N3, in which

the nó is replacing a verbal element, apparently always surû—with or without a preceding

marker, depending on whether the N2 is a transitive verbal noun, for that calls for an ñ

that is obligatorily suppressed when the direct object is explicitly realized as N1 ó.

14. Other interpretations are possible for most of the sentences; they would be explained in similar

ways, choosing other predicates to put in the brackets.
Examples: Amerikā-zin o aité no misē ga narande iru ‘Shops aiming at American customers line the streets’ ← Amerikā-zin o aité ni/to sita misē ... ‘Shops that have taken Americans as their customers ...’ (the sentence with the adnominalized propredication can be tightened by turning the adnominalization into a compound noun: Amerikazin-āite no misē ...); Ėki no minami-gūti ni tikākute, komāmono(•) o senmon no misē wa arimasēn ka ‘Isn’t there a store that is at the station (and) near the south entrance and specializes in haberdashery?’ ← ... komāmono(•) o senmon ni site iru misē ... (Mikami 1963.103); ... yasū ni o daisen no gyuuniku-ya dāta ‘it was a beef eatery that was mainly noted for being cheap’ (Kb 244b—daisen ‘a title label to paste on a book’) ← ... yasū ni o daisen ni sita ‘had made being cheap its label’; Asū no ensoku wa, zē-hi, suito o yooi no kotō ‘Be sure to provide yourself with a water flask for tomorrow’s picnic’ (Morishige 299) ← ... suito o yooi suru kotō [da] ‘One is to provide oneself with a water flask ...’. The telltale case-marker need not be ो: ... syokuhin-gāisyā ni kīnmu no go-syūzin to ‘... with her husband, who is employed by a food company, ...’ (SA 2816.32a) derives from go-syūzin ga syokuhin-gāisyā ni kīnmu suru ‘her husband is employed by a food company’.

Propredication is one way to explain the phrases that consist of case marker + ٶ, such as ēsū E NO kagaku ‘science (aimed at =) for tomorrow’, Okinawa DÉ NO zīken ‘an incident on Okinawa’, soko DÉ NO seikatū ‘life in that place’ (SA 2649.92a), māinititi(•) no seikatū DÉ NO hu-yūkai na kotō ‘the unpleasant things in everyday life’ (SA 2645.–), otokō TO NO kankei ‘relations with men’, hāha KARA NO tegami ‘a letter from mother’, etc. In some situations the propredication represents the auxiliary suru, e.g. with verbal nouns: Kāre TO NO intābyuu ‘the interview with him’ means kāre to suru/sita intābyuu ‘the interview conducted with him (as the reciprocal-counterpart)’, and we might think to derive it directly from that sentence without going back to the propredicative finite sentence Intābyuu ga/wa kāre TO DA ‘The interview is with him’. But in the sentence “roodoo kārā no kaihoo” to iūi imē DE NO nikutai-ansoku-bi o danda huyāsite kita ‘we have gradually increased the days of physical rest in the sense of “liberation from work”’ (SA 2645.47c) the adnominalization will have to be taken back to an underlying statement Nikutai-ansoku-bi ga/(wa) ‘roodoo kārā no kaihoo’ to iūi imē DE DA ‘The days of physical rest are in the sense of “liberation from work”’ with a surface juxtaposition of two copula forms, the gerund dé followed by the imperfect da, which form represents the propredication of something like ... to iūi imē DE [wakāru no] DA ‘it is [understood] by being (= in) the meaning of ...’. (Ultimately the gerund is also perhaps a propredication from ... to iūi imē [ga āru no] da ‘it has the meaning ...’.) When identifications are adnominalized, the adnominalized copula (nā/nō) can be replaced by the more formal de āru, but apparently this is not true when propredications are adnominalized, perhaps because of the particularly colloquial nature of propredication to begin with. In general, propredications are more common in the adnominalized form with ٶ than in the underlying form with da that we are assuming to be basic.

The IDENTIFICATIONAL sentence contains something given, the Identified (Id), and something new, the Identifier (Ir). The Identified is an unknown variable, like the x in algebra, for which the value is supplied by the Identifier—the solution to the equation x = ? . Difficulty in understanding the structure of the Japanese identificational sentence arises from problems of focus and thematization; the most common version appears with the Identified as a subdued theme Id wa Ir (da), but there are good reasons to assume that this common (and hence semantically neutral) version is the result of operations applied.
to a less common version that can be said to underlie it: \( \text{Ir ga \text{Id} da} \).\(^{15}\) In terms of variable and value the sentence Kane ga mondai da 'MONEY is the question' \( (\text{Ir ga \text{Id} da}) \) says the same thing as Mondai wa kane da 'The question (—it) is MONEY' \( (\text{Id wa \text{Ir} da}) \); and the sentence Kane wa mondai da 'The money (—it) is a QUESTION' \( (\text{Id wa \text{Ir} da}) \) says the same thing as Mondai ga kane da 'A QUESTION is the money' \( (\text{Ir ga \text{Id} da}) \). Under adnominalization (without extrusion) we find both (1) kane ga mondai no toki 'a time when MONEY is the question' \( (\text{Ir ga \text{Id} no \text{N}}) \) and (2) kane no mondai no toki 'a time when money is the QUESTION' \( (\text{Ir no \text{Id} no \text{N}}) \)—if my attempt at interpreting the replacement of \( \text{g} \) by \( \text{n} \) in §13.1.6 is correct; otherwise both sentences will translate alike. We expect to find equivalent adnominalizations for the other pair, and mondai ga kane no toki 'a time when a QUESTION is the money' \( (\text{Ir ga \text{Id} no \text{N}}) \) seems to be acceptable, but doubt is expressed about the acceptability of (?)mondai no kane no toki 'a time when a question is the MONEY' \( (\text{?Ir no \text{Id} no \text{N}}) \).

Examples of what I take to be \( \text{Ir ga \text{Id} no} \): Sēihu ga suponsaa no purozyëkuto da 'It is a project that the GOVERNMENT is the sponsor of' \( \text{(SA 2661.29c)} \) = Sēihu ga suponsaa da = Suponsaa wa seihu da 'The sponsor is the government'—the epitheme is an extruded genitive 'project's sponsor'; ... eiyoo-syōogai ga gen'in no baai ga òoi '... There are many cases where the cause is a nutritional deficiency' \( \text{(SA 2650.97c)} \) = Eiyoo-syōogai ga gen'in da = Gen'in wa eiyoo-syōogai da 'The cause is a nutritional deficiency'—the epitheme is summational 'cases such that'; Šikāsi, kore wa motomoto ziyuu-booeki-syūgi ga hata-zirusi no Beikoku ni tōtte, mattaku rikutu no toorānu hanasi [da] 'But for (= coming from) America, which has always had free trade as its banner [= slogan], this is talk that makes no sense' \( \text{(SA 2661.126b)} \) = Ziyuu-booeki-syūgi ga hata-zirusi da = Hata-zirusi wa ziyuu-booeki-syūgi da 'The banner is free trade'—the epitheme is an extruded genitive 'America's banner'; Kēnnai de gyuunyuu ga gen'in no tyuuđoku-ziken ga ōkita 'Within the province there occurred poisoning cases with milk as the cause' \( \text{(SA 2678.19c)} \); ... ‘Kookoku to Ŝei’ no tyōsyā de seisin-būnseki ga senmon no Huzisakī Šooiti-si 'Mr Fujisaka Šōichi, who is the author of “Advertising and Sex” and whose specialty is psychoanalysis’ \( \text{(SA 2677.46a)} \).

With the uncontracted copula, \( \text{Ir ga \text{Id} de \text{aru} \text{N}} \): Keibatsu-syūgi ga kihon de ārū kēi-hoo ... 'criminal law which has the principle of punishment as its basis' \( \text{(SA 2688.28d)} \); Ōtani san ga syat’yoo de ārū Syootiku-Kinēma kara gekkyuu o moratte ita ‘I was receiving a salary from Šōchikū Cinema, of which Mr Ōtani (is =) was the president’ \( \text{(Tk 4.299)} \); ... ŭru no tyōowaa ga tēema no bankoku-haku ‘the international exposition of which the theme is harmony of mankind’ \( \text{(SA 2688.35d)} \); ... katei ga syokoŭba(-) de ārū watasi ūšin no sašāyaka na bunpi-tūseikatu wa ... ‘my own little literary life as one whose home is his workshop (= whose workshop is at home)' \( \text{= katei ga watasi no syokoŭba(-)} \) de ārū = watasi

\(^{15}\) One piece of evidence for this "counterintuitive" interpretation of the "marked" form as basic is the ellipsis (or direct nominalization) that must be assumed in the following sentence: Kabu no gensoku wa, yasuku kate takaku urēba moókāru [no da] = Ŷatsuku kate takaku urēba moókāru no ga kabu no gensoku da ‘The principle of stocks is [that] you make money if you buy cheap and sell dear’ \( \text{(SA 2684.48a)} \). However, it can be argued that under certain conversions (in subordinate clauses and under adnominalization to intruded epithemes) \( \text{N} \) ga represents the Identified—or perhaps the distinction between \( \text{Id} \) and \( \text{Ir} \) is neutralized, with Kane ga mondai nāra ... and Mondai ga kane nāra ... differing only by emphasis. A number of subtleties that I have overlooked are examined by Kuno.
no syokubā(に) wa katei de āru ‘my workshop is home’—for the apposition of watasi (along with the entire adnominalization) to zisin ‘self’, see §25.

If we extrude an epitheme from within the identification, our choice is limited to the Identified: ir ga ld da (= ld wa ir da) → lr no ld.16 Thus kane no mondai ‘a question of money’ is to be derived only from mondai ga kane da (= kane wa mondai da) ‘money is a question’ and mondai no kane ‘the money in question’ is to be derived only from kane ga mondai da (= mondai wa kane da) ‘the question is money’.

From what we have said, it follows that only the Identified (and never the Identifier) can serve as either THEME (ld wa ir da) or as EPITHEME (lr no ld). What is confusing is the disappearance of the marker ga when the Identified gets extruded:

\[
\text{ld wa ir da} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{lr [ga ld] da} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{lr [ga ld] da} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{lr no ld}
\]

Thematization

Epithematization

The THEME of an identificational sentence, since it derives from the Identified, can not be marked by a case particle and it will sound naked without focus, but the focus need not be limited to wa, for both of the following sentences are possible: Kane mo mondai da ‘The money too (—it) is a question’, Mondai mo kane da ‘The question itself is money’ (both ld mo ir da). (Thematization, here as elsewhere, can be signalled by the underlying juncture, but the signal is easily suppressed when the theme is short and atonic.) The essive ni can not stand as a theme-marker—and thus differs from the CASE markers ga, ō, and (the etymological identical) ni—but a pseudo thematization can be had by ringing various conversions on the copula (made up of the essive ni + the auxiliary ār- in various manifestations): Kane dā to (Kane nāra) mondai da ‘If it’s money, that’s a question’ and Mondai dā to (Mondai nāra, Mondai to dā to iu to) kane da ‘If it’s a matter of the question, it’s money’, etc.

As examples of lr no ld we can cite such phrases17 as Zyosei no anāta ga ... ‘You who are a woman’, Onnā no wakatsuki ga ... ‘I who am a woman ...’, Namakemono(に) no bōku(に) ga ... ‘Lazy me; I who am a lazybones’, and the following sentences—from KKK 3.166 unless otherwise noted—in which the adnominalized copula (equivalent to de āru) is printed in capital letters: ... kono kodomq ga ōkite iru aida wa, hahaya NO watakusi wa ōkite inakutya ikenai ‘While this child is awake, I who am his mother must stay up’ (SA 2640.20c); Soko ni go-suzyūn NO Teiraa-gūnsoo ga haitte kita ‘Then Sergeant Taylor, her husband, came in’; Sono tamē ni Sūuzan no booi-hurēndo NO Zyōrii ni ko o wāruku sasetari sita ‘For that reason it would sometimes put Susan’s boyfriend Jerry in a bad mood’; Kantoku NO Aavingu-Rāisu wa sinzin de ... ‘Irving Rice, the director, is a newcomer and ...’; ... sikaku-mondai o, saibān-kan, kensatu-kan ōyobi(に) bengō-si NO sānsha ni kyōtozu site kangaerēba ... ‘if we think of the qualifications question as being common to the three—judge, prosecutor, and lawyer—’; Seiyōo-hūzin no boosi no genryūo NO nagā himo ni nattē ... ‘Becoming long long ribbon that is the material for western ladies’ hats ...’; ... takai tēnmaoku

16. Instead of nō or de āru, you will sometimes see nāru, the literary attributive form of the copula: Hāna nāru hitō ga dete kīte, ... ‘A woman who would be the mother came out and ...’ (Fn 408).

17. And also otokō no kata ‘male person’ and onna no kata ‘female person’ despite the lexicalized otokō-no-hito and onnā-no-hito; otokō no o-ko-san ‘[your] male child’ and onna no o-ko-san ‘[your] female child’ despite the lexicalized otokō-no-ko and onnā-no-ko; cf. anō-ko ‘that child’ but ano o-ko-san ‘that esteemed child’, anō-hito ‘that person’ but ano kāتا‘that [esteemed] person’. (This information differs slightly from that in BJ 1.151.)
§13.1.5. The adnominalization of propredications and identifications 657

[=tento] no teppén de wa hasigó-nori(・) NO kyókúgei(・) ga hazimatte iru ‘At the top of the tall tent the ladder-climb act is beginning’; ... kootoo-saiban-syo tyookan mátá-wa hánhzi NO syökú(・) ni ãtta monó o ã mo kuwaérú(・) békú, ... ‘To be added are those who have been in the position of high-court judge or of justice ...’; ... doozi-kánsoku o okonaeba ... ‘ataranai tenki-yóóo’ NO akuhyoo o nozoku kotó mo tân-naru yumé de wa áru ‘mai’ ‘If we perform simultaneous observations ... it will not be a mere dream to avoid the bad reputation of “inaccurate weather forecasts”’; Ittai kono yóó no mondai wa, dótira ga yóí ka to iu mondai de wa nákú, sizen-zyóóken ya tá no saibai-zyóóken nádo no saibai-kánkyoo ni täi-si dótīra ga tekïoo surú ka NO mondai de áru ‘This sort of problem is not a problem of which is better but of just which is to be applied toward the cultivation circumstances of natural conditions and other cultivations, etc.;’ ... 12725 NO bangóo o te-gákari ni ... With the number 12725 as a clue ...’; ... yosán-men ni wa, kono hókyúú-kin(・) NO katati dé nomi dète ita ’... on the budget sheet it appeared only in the form of this subsidy’; Sore nárá-ba, syoosetu-ka NO na ni ôíte(・), arúi-wa zissen-ka NO na ni ôíte(・), géndó o síanru hihióo-séisin no üé ni danzai no óno o huruu kotó wa ... ‘That being so, in the name of “novelist” or in the name of “practical person” the flourishing of a decapitating ax on the critical spirit that knows no limit ...’; Sore kóso wa, ippan-sángyóókai ni ôíte(・) göókú syóóсуú no kyóói-dokusen-sión nomí ni kyuuusai no tame[7] syuuutyu-séisan’ to “kigyoo-gooriika’ NO na no mötó ni kyóookoo si-tútú áru tokoró no ... ‘... that are being forced under the name of “intensive production” and “logicalization of industry” for the purpose of saving just a few large monopoly capitalist enterprises’; ... seikatu-hozóóhyó no mëîmoku de múri-yarí(・) o-si-tukera’retā syóogaku no syakuúsai(・) ni ... ‘small-scale loans that have been forcefully pushed under the heading of living subsidies’; Zyúun-tubó NO hiró-sa da ga, ... ‘It’s a width of twelve tsuubo, but ...’ (SA); Itti-niti “zyuu uti(・) ni ite kázóku no sewá o surú no ga sigoto NO okáa-san ni wa ... ‘For your mother, whose job it is to stay home all day taking care of the family, ...’ (SA 2838.105c). And examples of the more formal Ir de áru Id: Kígeki-sákusya DE ARU wataku ña, taïdan no saisyo wa warai kara hazime-tákatta ‘I who am a writer of comedy wanted to begin my [series of] interviews with laughter’ (SA 2659.48); Syúúhu de ari, tiúsá na kodomo no hahaoya DE ARU watakui ni tôotte, ... ‘For me who am a housewife, and am the mother of small child(ren) ...’ (SA 2688.146); Seménto no genryóó DE ARU sekká-seki ... ‘Limestone which is the raw material for cement ...’ (SA 2688.23a). The copula can be perfect, Ir dáta Id (or Ir de áțá Id): ... hon-no kodomo DÁTTA watasi ní mo ... ‘even to me who was a mere child’ (SA 2676.107b). Sometimes the epithematized Id has been extruded from an identificational sentence adnominalized to a postmodifier such as hazu. Thus ... “teki’ no hazu no Bateto-Ráo dai hyóó-bu ga ... ‘the representatives of the Pathet Lao who are supposed to be the “Enemy”’ (SA 2688.4) comes from “teki’ ga dai hyóó-bu no hazu da = dai hyóó-bu wa “teki’ no hazu da ‘the representatives are supposed to be the “Enemy”’ ← “teki’ ga dai hyóó-bu da = dai hyóó-bu wa “teki’ da ‘the representatives are the “Enemy”’. Identifications and propredications can be embedded within other identifications and propredications; when the result is a string of nó-linked noun phrases, you may be puzzled as to the intended constituency. The phrase watasi no siriái no Kánsái(・) no áru zassi no hensyúu-sya wa ... (Fukuda in Œnó 1967.187) might be taken either as ‘the editor of a certain Kansai magazine who is an acquaintance of mine’ or as ‘the Kansai editor of a certain magazine who is an acquaintance of mine’. The phrase Gakkoo no senséi ga siboo de kyooikú-gaku senkoo no Arísóna wa ... ‘Alison, majoring in education with the aspiration
to become a school teacher, ...’ (SA 2680.22e) has an epitheme (Arison ‘Alison’) that can be taken as extruded from both embedded clauses: Gakkoo no senséi ga Arison no siboo da = Arison no siboo wa gakkoo no senséi da ‘Arison’s aspiration is (to be a) school teacher’ is converted into a gerund to represent the CAUSE of kyooikú-gaku [ga] Arison no senkoo da = Arison no senkoo wa kyooikú-gaku da ‘Arison’s major is education’. In the following example kodomo NO mutú NO toki represents kodomo GA mutú DE ARU/ATTA toki ‘the time when the child was six years old’: Saisyo no kánai ga naku-nattá no ga, kodomo no mutú no toki datta kara né, kyóo niżyuu-nen tátte ‘ru wáke da ná ‘Since my first wife’s passing away was when the child was six, (it means) today twenty years have passed, I guess’ (Tk 3.35b).

Some identification sentences that represent DESCRIPTIVE identifications—the Identifier typically a noun modified by adnominalized description—will permit the structure ld ga Ir da when adnominalized to a summational epitheme:18 Watasí-táti wa, Kindáití GA sugúreta Ainugo-gákusya DE ARU kotó o sitte iru bákari de naku, konó-hitó ga Æín̄u no hitóbito ni hukái aizyoo o mótte tát ni tigai nái to omóu ‘Not only is it well known to us that Kindáichi is an outstanding scholar of the Ainu language, but I feel that this man surely held the Ainu people in great affection’ (SA 2679.103c). Here ga (optionally replaceable by nó) marks the Identified, which would be required to undergo subdued thematization if it were not adnominalized: Kindáití WA sugúreta Ainugo-gákusya de aru ‘Kindáichi is an outstanding scholar of the Ainu language’. A similar example: Sore ga úso DE ARU syooko ni, sono kao ga pat-to akaku nátte iru ‘As proof it’s a lie, his face has suddenly turned red’ (SA 2814.24e).

Sentences of the type Sakana wa tái da ‘The only (= best) fish is sea bream (= red snapper); Sea bream is THE fish’ (cf. p. 251) and Aité ga aité de da ‘Such is the opponent’ (p. 664) can be freely adnominalized to various epithemes, unchange except for the form of the copula:

Sakana wa tái NA no da.    Sakana wa tái NO Nihôn nara, ...
    NA yóo da.             NA kotó wa (dáre de mo sitte iru).
    NO hazu da.           NO tamé, (= Sakana wa tái de kará).
Aité ga aité NA no da.
    NA kotó wa (dáre de mo sitte iru).
    NO tamé, ... (= Aité ga aité de kará, ...)
    NO torihiki nára ...

Cf. Kuruma wa VW no Dóitu ‘Germany where THE car is the VW’ = VW ga kuruma no Dóitu ‘Germany where the VW is THE car’.

In certain sentences it is necessary to assume ellipsis of the adnominalized copula in order to account for the structure indicated by the other elements present: Mondai ga mondai [na] daké ni ... ‘Just because the problem is a problem ...’ (KKK 25.78a); Byoônin ga byoônin [na] daké ni ... ‘Just because patients are patients ...’; Basyo ga basyo [na] daké ni ... ‘Just because it is the place it is ...’; Genkín ga zyuu-man-én ‘miman [de aru] l madé wa, l risoku wa l saikoo l nén l ní-wari, l ... ‘Up to where the principal is under ¥100 000, the interest is at a maximum twenty percent a year, and ...’ (SA 2689.123b)—ellipsis is also indicated in ... saikoo [de] nén [ni] ní-wari [de]. Cf. ellipsis of ná with

18. Compare the earlier note on possible neutralization of the distinction between ld and Ir in subordinate clauses and adnominalized sentences.
adjectival nouns, §13.5a; that will account for Mondai ga sinri-teki [na] daké ni ... ‘Just because the problem is psychological ...’.

In written Japanese you will often come across an ellipsis N [no] N which leaves two nouns juxtaposed as if they formed a compound noun. (Cf. Martin 1970, where there are listed additional ellipses that yield N N; see also §25.) Usually the no is best regarded as adnominalized propredication, regardless of the ultimate origins—which may be diverse. How do we know that N + N is not to be taken as a noun compound? If the first noun is tonic, there will normally be a juncture (or its traces) left behind from the ellipsis of the no; if the second noun is tonic you will hear a reduced version of its accent: ... zyósi \{no\} puro-resu ni ... ‘in women’s wrestling’ (SA 2678.138a); Bánkoku \{no\} I yuubinrenngoo-zyóoyaku ‘The Universal Postal Union Treaty’. On the other hand, a compound noun that is made up of two free nouns (as yuubin-réngoo ‘Postal Union’ + zyóoyaku(’ ‘treaty’ or yuubin ‘postal service’ + réngoo ‘union’) accentuates the first syllable of the second noun, unless that is mesotonic or has already acquired a new accent pattern by the addition of a suffix (for such patterns persist in larger compounds so that you can not tell from the accentuation whether a suffix is to be taken with the compound as a whole or with the second member); cf. p. 19. None formations sometimes allow either treatment: Kyóoto [no] I sitén-tyoo ‘the branch head in Kyóoto (= the head of the Kyóoto branch)’ can be tightened into the compound Kyóoto-sitényoo ‘the Kyóoto branch head’; Bánkoku I Hakurán-kai ‘International Exposition’ readily tightens into Bánkoku-Hakuránkai, and that is easily abbreviated to Bánkoku-haku and Ban-paku ‘Expo’. And nízyuu-nen I kinzoku I hyoosýó-medaru ‘a badge-medal for twenty years of continuous service’ (SA 2660.57a) can be said as nízyuunenkinzoku-hyoosýoomédaru ‘a twenty-years service medal’.

Elsewhere (Martin 1970.441) I have treated the juxtaposition of the object noun with a transitive verbal noun as ellipsis of a deeper structure N [ó] VN [surú no]. But we will need to account for N no VN, in any event, so that the immediate ellipsis can be from an adnominalized propredication; zíkken \([no] \| \) zyúurin ‘violation of human rights’ will eventually derive from something like zíkken o zyúurin surú no da ‘it is violating human rights’. Cf. §14.3. Other examples of this: kókwé \([no]\) I keiyoo ‘raising [of] the flag’; untín [no] I neage ga ... ‘the hiking of the fares’ (from untín o neage surú ‘hikes the fares’) ... .

You may be puzzled by written phrases that have an unwanted no (as if the opposite of the situation described above): A-ki [no] N and V-rú [no] N or the like (cf. §14.6: p. 903). This is an exceptional kind of adnominalization which dates from the 1300s (according to Ishigaki Kenji 192-3) and seems to have been particularly popular in texts of the Meiji period.18a The input sentence (A or V) is directly nominalized—A-ki [no] de aru, V-rú [no] de aru—and the copula is converted to its adnominal form no, so that the underlying structure is something like A-ki [no] no N and V-rú [no] no N, in which the dropped no is the nominalizer and the expressed no is the copula: Mótíron, o-ta-gai ni aité [no] okúgata(’ni) ni tài-site wa, kí-húzin ni tài-surú NO réi o mótte hanásu no de aru ‘[Being old friends we were relaxed in our talk, but] when it came to speaking of each other’s wives, we talked with the etiquette appropriate when referring to [honored] ladies’ (Tk 3.31).


In §2.3 we found that any adjunct can be subdued by adding the particle wa—thereby...

18a. The earliest example I have seen is late-Heian: haku no kinu ‘a garment to wear’ (Ruíju - Myögi-shō, 71081 A.D.).
removing the possibility of specifying the subject-object relationship because ga and ó are incompatible with wá. Something a bit similar can happen to the SUBJECT of an adnominalized sentence: the particle ga can be replaced by nó. Observe that sentences are normally adnominalized without subduing the subject, going directly from A ga B o ... rather than from A wa B o ... or B wa A ga ... . So the reduction of ga to nó is direct, not by way of a sentence with wá, and it preserves the specification of the subject intact. You are more likely to mark the subject of an adnominalized sentence with ga when the sentence is short and the noun selected for epithematization is the object of the sentence underlying the adnominalization. And you are unlikely to change ga to nó if there is the possibility of misinterpreting the nó as a genitive.

The above remarks were written with the notion that ga → nó (or gagate no) in an adnominalized sentence serves essentially the same function as ga → wá (or gagate wá) in an unadnominalized sentence, i.e. that it subdues the subject. (This idea was first presented, I believe, in Essential Japanese and I have since repeated it elsewhere.) But it appears that this description may not be accurate. Some speakers feel that the choice of ga or nó in an adnominalized sentence is nothing more than a stylistic option, with ga the more colloquial. So let us consider a somewhat different description:

The surface-subject marker ga is optionally replaced by nó when the sentence is adnominalized. The option is chosen more often in writing than in speaking; it is less common when the adnominalized sentence is long and consequently contains a number of adjuncts: Harada found that younger Tókyó speakers reject the nó-option when the resulting sentence has an intervening constituent between the subject and the verb and older speakers reject the option when there is more than one intervening phrase. The option is generally avoided when a danger is recognized that nó might be misinterpreted as the genitive (which may be derived from a reduction of an adnominalized possessive sentence in which ga/nó marks the possessor), although the spoken versions can disambiguate the two by juncture. The origins of the surface subject are irrelevant, it would seem; and if there is more than one surface subject, it is possible to exercise the option for any or each of them. Thus Káre ga supóoto ga hetá na kotó nara ... ‘If it’s the case that he is clumsy at sports’ can be said with nó for either or both instances of ga.

The kind of epitheme is also, in general, irrelevant; all types occur, including the resultative, as in these examples: Kodomo ga/no kirei ni kaita Zí ‘a character nicely written by the child’; Gásu ga/no hídoku morérú NIÓI ‘the smell of gas leaking terribly’; Sénisu ga/no rippa ni yuuysoo sita YOROKÓBÌ(−) ‘the delight that the champion has won’; Senséi ga/no watasi no ronbun o yón día INSYOO ‘the teacher’s impression on reading my thesis’; Kókku ga/no sore o ryóoiri sita AZI ‘the flavor when the cook has cooked it’.

Even the all-purpose postadnominal (or general pronoun) nó will permit the replacement: ... aíe NO osói no o hinan si-tai ‘wants to criticize a partner for being late (a partner’s being late)’; Watasi wa Biéntyan no hikoo-zyoo de renrá [u]-ki

19. On the other hand, the notion of nó as a subdued version of ga may have merit; Tanaka Humio (in Kokugo-bumpó nò mondai-ten 352-8) gives examples in which it is difficult to replace ga by nó because the noun carries intrinsic emphasis. And Yoshida clearly supports the notion, saying that in Bóku(−) no katta sebíro ‘The suit I bought’ the emphasis is on sebíro ‘suit’ but in Bóku(−) ga katta sebíro the emphasis is on bóku(−) ‘I’ (Y 299-300).

20. Or, §14.2.3, ‘wants to criticize whichever partner is late’.
NO dēru no o mātta ‘I waited at the Vientiane airport for the liaison plane to appear’ (SA 2673.22e); Masagō-zusi no ozisā no o sitte irū ka i ‘Did you know that the man at the Masago Sushi place is dead?’21 (Kb 16a); Sore kara, kutikazu ga sukuṇai no to, kuti no kiki-kata NO sīzuka na no ga tokutyoo dātta ‘And then, she had the special quality of being sparing of words and quiet in speech’ (KKK 3.16B) = Tokutyoo wa kutikazu ga sukuṇai no to kuti no kiki-kata GA sīzuka na no datta’. And even direct nominalizations with ellipsis of no can take the option: Dandān yō NO hukēru [no] ni turete nemūkū wa nāru, harā wa heru, sae-agatē wa kūru ‘As the night gradually wears on I get sleepy, I get hungry, I start sobering up’ (Kb 106b). But one avoids replacing no ga by no nō, so that you are unlikely to hear (*doobutu o miru no no suki na kodomo for doobutu o miru no ga suki na kodomo ‘a child who likes to look at animals’; cf. doobutu o miru kotō ga/no suki na kodomo. And the option is not normally permitted for certain epithemes that have been reduced to the status of what Fujioka calls ‘clause auxiliaries’:

\[
\text{N ga S + bākari}
\]

\[
dakē [de nāku], nōmi-nārazu
\]

\[
tame {ni} ‘because’
\]

\[
(karā, mōn [da kara] ‘because’\)\]

\[
monō da ‘it is natural that’
\]

\[
kusē ni
\]

\[
dōkoro [ka]
\]

\[
nō da ‘the fact is that’
\]

\[
nō de ‘because of the fact that’
\]

\[
nō ni ‘despite the fact that’
\]

\[
kotō ga ‘aru ‘ever’
\]

\[
yōo da [But see below.]
\]

\[
mīta da
\]

\[
(sōo da)\]

\[
hazu dá [But see below.]
\]

Yotei and tumori will permit the option, but not in the common meaning ‘I intend ...’; in that meaning they belong in the list above.

Although no da/de/ni block the option in the meanings given, other uses of no meaning ‘fact’ as well as ‘the one’ will permit the option, as will most uses of kotō, the only exception being the experiential possessive expressions (‘ever’) and perhaps a few similar usages(?).

Though yōo da will preclude gā → nó, the option is permitted when the resulting sentence is itself adnominalized (... yōo na N) or adverbialized (... yōo ni):24 Āme no hurānai yōo na hī ... ‘A day when it doesn’t rain ...’; Mi no sukuūmu(−) yōo na sabiši-sa ga ātta ‘There was the kind of loneliness that one’s body cowers at’ (Kb 83ab); ... gāten(−) no ikanai yōo ni, ... ‘as if in doubt’ (Kb 140b); Gokai no nai yōo ni ari-tai monō da ‘We want to keep it so there are no misunderstandings’. This is true also for evidentializations with -sōo da; the option is permitted only for the adnominalization (... -sōo na N) and the adverbialization (... -sōo ni): Ki no nasa-sōo na kao o site iru ‘He looks uninterested’; ... ki

21. Or, §14.2.3, ‘You know the man at the Masago Sushi place who died?’
22. But S with these is not an adnominalization: N da kara/mon. See § 17.1.
23. But S with this is not an adnominalization: N da sōo da. See § 18.
24. Gōtoku and gōtoki follow the same rules: kimi NO siru gōtoki ... oyā ... ‘the parent who is as you know’ (Kb 327b = kimi no sitte iru yōo na ... oyā ...).
Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

no nasaso ni, ... 'looking uninterested' (Kb 44b); ... omoide no huka-soo ni ... 'as if deep in memory' (Kb 50a)—more commonly said omoide [ ] huka-soo ni. But only ki GA nasa-soo + dà, dé, nára, ni miérù.

Similarly, hazu dá will not normally permit the option, but ga → nó will be possible when the resulting sentence itself is adnominalized (N ga/no suru hazu no N) and also when the sentence appears in larger structures of the type Kúru hazu [da/datta] ga kónakatta 'He was supposed to come but he didn’t': Óyama san to Koizumi san NO miérù hazu ga tôotoo o-mie ni nármasēn desita 'Oyama and Koizumi were supposed to appear but in the end they didn’t' (Kb 39a.7). Cf. p. 980.

In the following examples nó replaces ga with various postadnominals: ... kore to iu yóo NO nái kágirì, ... 'so long as there is no business in particular to be done' (Kb 122b); ... kikái(¬) NO áru gótō ni, ... 'every time the opportunity is available' (Kb 118a); O-nóbu wa hanásí NO kíretá mamá ni daidokoro e tātta 'O-nobu went out to the kitchen without another word' (Kb 34b); ... kankei NO áru to iu kótó ga ... 'The fact that there is a relationship' (Kotoba no uchū 27a); ... Wákamiya-kun ni sonna monó NO átta to iu hanásí d’atte atasýa [=watasi wa] siranai yó 'I didn’t even know that Wákamiya had such things' (Kb 185b); Hi NO kureru māde wa ... 'Until the day draws to a close ...'; Háhá NO káeru máde ... 'Until/Before mother comes back ...'; Háhá NO kærántai nít(¬)/saki ni ... 'Before mother gets back ...'.

An adnominalized sentence that is a close-knit phrase will sometimes omit the subject marker entirely: ... zunoo(¬) [ga/no] meiseki na Míeko san da kara yókatta kedo mo 'Fortunately Míeko is clear-headed, so it will be all right' (Tk 2.95a)—epithematic identification. The following example would appear to omit both the subject marker and the specific subject, leaving the adnominalized genitive to carry the burden: Zibun no utín yá no [ú(-) ga/no] átta tokoró, ill àrite l mináṣu to ll nán da ka ll Yóshiwa to wa l omoénai n desú 'When I walk around where our house and my relatives' [house] used to be, somehow it just doesn’t seem like the Yóshiwa' (Tk 2.269-70)—the juncture represented by the comma signals ellipsis of the particle ó, called for by the traversal object tokoró, which is an epithe me extruded from a locative [sono] tokoró ni ... átta ‘(houses) were in [that] place’.

Throughout the history of Japanese the two particles ga and nó have shared functions with each other, and the actual distribution of the functions today varies from dialect to dialect; cf. Martin, Journal of Asian Studies 16.148-50 (1956). Thus we are prepared to find both of these markers used for the genitive, ga in the literary language and nó in the standard colloquial; some dialects, notably in the Ryūkyūs, use the local reflex of nó (pronounced ná) not only to mark the subject of an adnominalized sentence (an option in standard Japanese) but also to mark the subject of an unadnominalized sentence, and for those dialects nó and ga can be thought of as suppletive alternants of a single marker, the distribution depending on the nature of the preceding noun. Marking the subject of unadnominalized sentences with nó is common in western Kyūshū, too (H 1968.107, Zhs 6.24).

In certain dialects an even more surprising phenomenon turns up: the pronominal function of nó ‘the one/fact/act’ is also carried by ga; see p. 48. The distribution of ga and nó in the older literary language has been explained in three ways (according to Kinoshita 19): (1) Yamada Yoshio says ga emphasizes the preceding noun, nó emphasizes the following noun; (2) Jugaku Akiko says nó shows respect, where ga shows intimacy or humility or dislike; (3) some say the selection is arbitrarily set with particular words. In conversational
§13.1.6. Subject marking and focus in adnominalized sentences

...tôôzi no I hitôbito no II yosoo MO sinâkatta I katati de ... 'in a form unanticipated by people of that time' (R); Hîdekô no sonzai wa, î zibun no î nôgaku MO I nai I syôôgai("*) ni, î kakegae no nai I î gi o I môtte î ita ni î tigai nai 'Undoubtedly Hîdeko’s existence held a precious meaning in his own none-too-long life' (Ig 1962.86). 25 We suggested that except for cases where two contrasting sentences are conjoined before adnominalization (as in Otokô wa nômu ga onnâ wa nomânai sake 'liquor that the man drinks but the woman does not'), a subdued focus could be placed only on the SUBJECT of an adnominalized sentence—and this done by changing gâ to nó. But (aside from other objections) that statement seems to be incorrect, for the following examples display a variety of situations in which wâ is used to subdue adjuncts within an adnominalized simplex: ... tatoe("*) î huku-kénézi no I syussin de, î syuuusu-yuu-sei no syuusu-yuu WA î ozâru I monô ni î tuite mo ... 'even with respect to those who have come up from assistant prosecutor but have NOT completed the procuratorial training ...' (KKK 3.186) î syuusu-yuu O ozâru monô ...; Moo iti-dô, î mae yori WA î ooki ni î kôe de î yobimâsu to ... 'Upon calling again, with a voice LOUDER than before ...' (KKK 3.191) î mae yori [ ] ... (directly adverbial); Nihôn no mondai ga î yagatêWA î kokusai-kan no î mondai to nárû hî ga î âru kotô ô lomôi, ... 'Thinking that there will be a day when Japan's problem at last becomes an INTERNATIONAL problem ...' (KKK 3.191) î ga yagatê[ ] ... ; Ima-mâde î yosân-men ni î arawasaîtreî inâkatta î "enyo-sîkin" î ga î kôndo WA î yosân-men ni î hakkiri î sûgata o î arawasaî ô kotô de aru 'The "aid fund" that has not appeared on the budget page up till now is a matter that this time IS clearly shown on the budget page' (KKK 3.191) î ga kôndo [ ] ...; Sin-nâikaku wa î "senso-nâikaku" de î âtte, î Tyuukyoo tô WA î tettei-teki ni tatakau kêtûi de âru 'The new cabinet is a "war cabinet" and is resolved to an all-out FIGHT with the Chinese Communists' (KKK 3.191) î Tyuukyoo tô[ ] ...; Sîkäsî, î rakuda ni WA î kôrite iru î hutarî[ ] ... 'But the couple who have learned a lesson from a camel ...' (KKK 3.190) î rakuda ni [ ] ... tasyoo tô mo î bûngaku ni î kokôrô no î âru î hitô ni WA î tae-gataî î bûnsyoo da ga 'It is a sentence that is IN TOLERABLE to a person with the least sensitivity to literature (but ...)' (KKK 3.188) î hitô ni ... The following examples of subdued adjuncts within adnominalizations were noticed in the expository text in the cited pages of Sakakura: ... kore wa, î bunpoo-teki ni WA î toriatsuuki-nikûî monô de aru ... 'this is something difficult to HANDLE grammatically' (164); ... bunpoo-teki no mondai tô WA î kangaerâenai no ga î dutu de âru 'the USUAL ones are those that NOT can be thought of as grammatical problems' (172); Kono gö wa, î kâtute, î gênzai to WA î kânari î koto-nätta î î mi o î môtte î moti-irarete ita to omowarérû 'This word is thought to have been used earlier with a meaning rather DIFFERENT from

25. From Watasi mo tegami o kâita 'I too wrote a letter' you can produce Watasi mo kâita tegami 'the letter that I too wrote'; it is possible to say Watasi no mo kâita tegami but only as the result of an ellipsis of a pronominalized genitive Watasi no ënôî mo kâita tegami 'the letter written by mine too' in which what is dropped is equivalent to monô 'the one' or kodomo 'child' or the like.
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[the one it has] at present' (187); ... to iū no mo, =} hukugoo-dōosi to li sitē WA =} kangaenikūi I monō de, =} ... 'the very expression ... is something hard to CONCEIVE of as a compound verb' (187); ... no gōtōki I koootai WA =} mitome-nikūi I kōtō o, =} wareware wa sitte iru ‘We are well AWARE that it is DIFFICULT to recognize alternations like ...’ (187).

There is an interesting expression Tookyoo wa Kanda no umare ‘(being) born in Tōkyō [right] in KANDA = born in Kanda the heart of Tōkyō’ (MKZ 911a). This appears to be the adnominalization of an identificational sentence26 Tookyoo wa Kanda dā = Kanda ga Tookyoo dā meaning something like ‘Kanda IS Tōkyō’ (or ‘Tōkyō IS Kanda’) for the two English sentences can be taken as identical in nonthematic content), and the example may turn out to be the answer to our question of subdued focus in adnominalized identificational sentences, left unresolved in the preceding section. Notice, however, that here we have a rather special kind of identificational sentence, one which identifies by citing a prime example of the identified—a literary device now largely limited to set phrases and advertising slogans. See also pp. 251, 658. Another special kind of identificational sentence is that exemplified by Aite ga aitē da ‘The adversary is THAT adversary’ or ‘Such is the adversary’ (Kb 165a). Sentences of this type (N1 ga N2 dā) are specificationary: Kuruma ga kuruma dā kara ... ‘My car being the car that it is ...’. Cf. N1 wa N1 dē [mo], pp. 244-5; N1 ga N2 dē mo, pp. 249-50; N1 mo N1 [dē], p. 246.

Here is a clearcut example of an adnominalized identification in which the Identified (N wa in N wa X dā) is marked with nō: Ozisan NO 1 koo-dānsi na no ni l odorōita ‘I was surprised at the fact that the old man was a handsome gentleman’ (Shibata 1965.191). To be sure, the epitheme is the summational postadnominal nō ‘fact’ and the noun is a compound containing a semantically “adjectival” prefix: koo-‘good’ + dānsi ‘gentleman’.

13.2. POSTADNOMINALS

A number of noun-like words occur either typically or exclusively with adnominal modification; some of these have been called by various Japanese grammarians “adhesives” (kuyuyaku-go) or “formal nouns” (keisiki-meisi) and “formal adverbs” (keisiki-hūkusi), but I will call them POSTADNOMINALS. Some of the words in question are used fairly widely as ordinary nouns (baai ‘situation’, wāke ‘reason’, ...); others occur now and then without adnominal modification but under circumstances that invite us to think of them as shortenings of sono ..., as in [sono] māe ‘before [that]’. You will find this true for most of the words referring to time or place in the list below, together with a few other words such as hoka. The assumed ellipsis can probably be justifiably not only by history but by statistics, in that the use WITHOUT something like sono ... is probably less frequent than would be the case for ordinary nouns, such as teeburu ‘table’ or hana ‘flower’. (A different point of view would assume that ANY occurrence of an unmodified noun involves ellipsis of some adnominal element—minimally sono ‘that’ or aru ‘a certain’ or the like. I do not take that approach because I would like to derive adnominal elements from the adnominal-

26. Or a propredicational sentence standing for a genitive structure related to Tookyoo no Kanda ‘Kanda which is in Tōkyō’. That interpretation would put the expression in the same category with the highlighted phrase in Aru aki mo sue no samui yōru no koto, ... ‘One cold night at the very end of autumn, ...’ (Takeda 1970.112) and Kugatu mo sue no, yōru no siti-zu ‘sugi de atta ’roo ‘It must have been after seven o’clock one evening at the very end of September’ (SA 2831.68d). Cf. p. 65.
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

zation of sentences so far as possible, despite the small residue of intractable cases that are taken up in § 13.5.)

Some postadnominals are always preceded by an adnominalization or by an adnoun: dán, gurúi(‘), hazu, hóo, ippóo, kátá, katawará(‘), múkí, síí, samá, sélé, tóóri, wari, yóó, .... The list that follows includes a number of words that are also treated as restrictives (§2.4):
bákari, dáké, dókoro, góto, gúrái, hódó, ígái, ízen, ízyoo, kágírí, mádé, .... Before these restrictives the copula that marks a nominal sentence (dá) does not appear as nó (as it will before most of the other postadnominals) but instead either changes to ná (as it does before a few postadnominals) or drops, permitting the noun to be joined directly to the restrictive. Moreover, unlike most postadnominals, the restrictives do not occur after adnouns such as sono—with the exception of hódó and kúrai/gúrai, and combinations with those are perhaps best treated as lexical compounds, as we suggest elsewhere (§29). One of the items included below, kará, is treated as a conjunctionalization (§17.1) because before it a nominal retains the predicating dá intact (contrast byooki dá kara ‘because I am ill’ with the synonymous byooki no tamé); the only reason for including kará here is to remind us that it can be followed by the copula infinitive ni (usually subdued ni wa) and is similar in meaning to tamé. Kará is also treated as a case marker, as is mádé; mádé, in addition, is a restrictive.

When a sentence—whether verbal, adjectival, or nominal—is adnominalized to the postadnominal, the new sentence created has its own grammar; this is sometimes the grammar of an adverb, sometimes of a precopular noun, and most often of that of a pure noun. In all three instances, further adnominalization will require the copula (dá) to appear in the shape ná; but there are also a few postadnominals which behave like adjectival nouns, and after them the shape of the adnominalized copula is ná: mííai, yóó, ..., and optionally gúrái. Although most postadnominals can occur in the imperfect (... dá) many of them are more commonly found in the infinitive (... ní) or gerund (... dé) or are directly adverbialized (cf. §9.1.13, §14.6).

If the epitheme is a noun which might be either an extruded adjunct or a postadnominal that is not extruded, a given adnominalization can be ambiguous. Warúi rikutu could be derived from Rikutu ga waruí ‘The reason is bad’ and given the interpretation ‘a bad reason’ or it could be derived from [Sore ga] waruí ‘[That] is bad’ adnominalized to a transitional epitheme and given the interpretation ‘(for) the reason that it is bad’; Chamberlain 60 was mistaken in allowing only the second interpretation. It might be thought that the expression could be disambiguated by including the adjunct; yet kodomo ga/no waruí rikutu is also ambiguous, for it could be taken either as ‘the reason that the child is bad’ or ‘the child’s bad reason’ and the latter interpretation (genitive) is possible for the version with kodomo gá not only in the literary language (where it would be equivalent to the colloquial kodomo nó) but also in the spoken language if properly derived from Rikutu ga/(wa)—kodomo gá [= kodomo nó gá] waruí, that sentence in turn deriving from a permutation and thematization of Kodomo ga [árú] rikutu ga waruí ‘The reason possessed by the child is bad’.

An example of ambiguity is cited by Shibata 1966.189: súbeté no gen’in can mean either ‘all the reasons’ (presumably from gen’in ga súbeté da ‘the reasons are all’) or ‘the reason for everything’ (from súbeté ga/no áru gen’in). Couldn’t this also be taken as [sore ga] súbeté da adnominalized to a transitional epitheme and given the meaning ‘the reason [that/why] it is everything’?
Some postadnominals permit or require an adnominalized sentence to be marked as if quoted: $S \text{ to } iu ...$. Extruded epithemes can also be marked as if quoted, provided the reference is not directly to the speaker. An actual quotation can itself be adnominalized, so that the surface versions of most of the sentences that can be said with the purely formal "quotationalization" are ambiguous: omosirōi to iu kotō can be understood either as 'the matter of [someone's] saying it is fun' (with genuine quotation) or as 'the matter of [its] being fun' (with quotationalization). Just as you may quote a quotation (Omosirōi to iu to iu 'Someone says that someone says that it is fun')—and in theory, at least, even quote the quotation of a quotation, the device being recursive—it is also possible to quotationalize a quotation. Thus omosirōi to iu to iu kotō means either (1) 'the matter of [someone's] saying that it is fun' or (2) 'the matter of saying that they say it is fun'. (Authentic examples, to be sure, will usually identify explicitly one or more of the sayers.) Unlike the genuine quotation, quotationalization is NOT recursive and it will occur only once before a given epitheme; if, by some odd chance, you should run across anything so weird as omosirōi to iu to iu to iu kotō, you will know that the first two to iu phrases must be genuine quotations, while the last may be either a further quotation ('THEY SAY that they say that ... ') or a purely formal quotationalization, since that is permitted by the summational epitheme kotō.

The following list is a rough collection of postadnominals that have come to my attention, with what information I have been able to find about each, together with a good many examples. Further investigation will, in many instances, lead to corrections and modifications of the information given. There are undoubtedly a large number of additional words that should be included; with all synonyms the list might expand to over a thousand items. But I believe I have caught the common and important ones, especially those requiring extensive discussion, as well as a few that are not so common. Certain of the items are treated individually in the following sections (§13.2.1-9); the selection for more extensive description is in part arbitrary and certain other items should perhaps have been accorded equal coverage (e.g. hōo, sēi, hodo, dake, bākari).

The list contains six columns of information. First, the epitheme type(s): e(xtruded), s(ummational), r(esultative), f(transition). Next an attempt to indicate other uses, if any, of the word: N means the word is freely used as an ordinary pure noun (if less freely the N is parenthesized), AN as an adjectival noun, PcN as a precopular noun, Adv as an adverb, R as a restrictive, etc. NpI stands for place noun, Ntm for time noun, Nab for abstract noun, Nac for action noun. The third column indicates what type(s) of grammar the phrase S + postadnominal displays—most often this is N, but sometimes Adv or other. The fourth column attempts to indicate the kind of adnominalized sentences most commonly (or exclusively) taken by the postadnominal; where there is no indication, it means I am unaware of any particular restrictions or preferences. In the notations of Column 4, "-ru" means the imperfect of any type of sentence, "-ta" the perfect, unless further specified by V before the hyphen. The fifth column lists "Q" for those postadnominals that require the adnominalized sentence (if not N no or siyoo to suru) to be linked by quotationalization, "[O]" for those optionally permitting such linkage, and "*[Q]*" for those which will not permit 27. Or, sometimes, $S \text{ tte ...}$ or $S \text{ to itta ...}$; but only these versions of marking quotation can be used for quotationalization.
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quotation. (Before the latter *S to iu could only be used as a genuine quotation of someone's words.) The last column lists the postadnominals in alphabetical order, with their principal meanings and uses, together with examples of the more interesting items. Those nominal sentences other than adjectival nouns will normally adnominalize *N da → N nó, but the following postadnominals will usually require *N na of all nominals: bàkari, dáké, dókoro, hódó, ígai, ízyoo, kágiri, koró, máde, monó, nó, wáke. (Instead of choosing nó or nó it is always possible to use *N de áru, with the formal uncontracted form of the copula.) And those postadnominals that are also restrictives will more often be attached directly to the noun with no intervening copula, since the difference in meaning is usually slight unless the noun has more than one kind of grammar.

LIST OF POSTADNOMINALS

<table>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t,r</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>Adv, *V-*ta *Q</td>
<td>ageku {nî} 'as the final outcome (upshot) of, (as) a crowning blow (after) = finally after; (= ué) on top of, not only ... but’—most commonly *V-*tá or VN nó (rarely VN dâta); sometimes *V-*anákatta, A-kâtta, AN dâta: Nagái aida, áme ga huránakatta ageku, kaze ga hidoko húita no de hokori de tamaranâkatta 'We had an awful wind on top of its not having rained for a long time, so the dust was unbearable'; Kûroo no ageku {nî} byooki ni nátta ‘The upshot of all the work was that I got sick’; Nagûttari këttari no ageku [= Nagûru kérû no ageku] korosite simatta ‘With all the beating and kicking they ended up killing him’; Sono ageku da ‘It’s the result of that’; Sono yóru wa hidoko sámukatta ageku (= ué) yami-yo datta no de, dâre mo iki-ta-garanâkatta ‘That night was not only dreadfully cold but pitch black out and no one wanted to go’; ... to nári, ageku ni satuzin máde okâsita ‘and finally ended up committing murder’ (SA 2793.95); Ageku no haté ni ... ‘As the final upshot ...’ (Tk 4.24a); Sanzan nûnda ageku ga kono arisama(‘) da ‘This scene is the outcome of all that wild drinking’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>t,s</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>N-te íru *Q</td>
<td>aida {nî} ‘while, during the time (interval) that; between</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>where (they ...)’. Examples will be found in the dictionaries and textbooks. See also Okutsu 1974.298-9.</td>
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<tr>
<td>?s</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N-te ita *Q</td>
<td>akatuki {nî} wa ‘(on) the morrow of, once (that), in event/case of’: Senso no akatuki wa ‘In the event of war’; Kansei sita/no akatuki wa ‘Once completed’; Söo nárú ‘rasii ga hatasite soo nátta akatuki ni wa ... ‘In the likely event (it happens) ...’; ... eiga-hakubutûkan ga dékita akatuki wa, soko ni hozon site morâté mo ì to iu yóó na monó wa, dôre desu ka ‘once a film museum has come into being, which [of your roles] would you care to have preserved there?’ (Tk 3.300b).</td>
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28. As a summational epitheme; optionally *N na kotó (if unambiguous). Cf. hontoo no kotó ‘what is true’ (extruded subject), hontoo na kotó ‘that it is true’.

29. As a summational epitheme.

30. As a summational epitheme; optionally *N no wáke (if unambiguous).
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\[t, (s)\] (N) \(N_{tm}\) V-ta \(\hat{t}^*Q\) akuru(-) ... 'the next ... after': akuru āsā (= yokuasa, yokutyoo) 'the morning after'; akuru ba'n 'the evening after'; akuru-hī(-) (= yokuzitu) 'the day after', akuru-tosi (= yokutosi, yokunen) 'the year after'; akuru tuki (= yokugetu) 'the next month'; kāette kita āsā 'the next morning after we got back'; [ ] yoku ātera āsā 'the next morning [after that] which was nice and sunny'. Cf. fn. 62.

\[t, r\] N Adv \(\hat{t}^*O\) amari 'in the excess of; from an excess of': Uresi-sa no amari namida o kobōsita 'I shed tears overjoyed'; Harā ga tatta amari, tūhi hidōi kotō made itte simatta 'Overangered, I finally said something terrible'; Ki ga sekū amari, kakē-as de tonde itta 'Overeager, he dashed off'. Cf. amari Adv, AN, 'āmari R.

\[s\] N N [Q] 'from proposal, plan, scheme'.

\[s\] N N [Q] anbāi 'condition, state, health; manner, way; (= azī) taste, flavor'.

\[?s, ?e\] N N [Q] 'from matter, case, item'.

\[?s\] N N [Q] arasōi(-) 'struggle'.

\[?s\] N N [Q] arasuzi 'summary, plot'.

\[s\] (N) N [Q] arisama(-) [Chaplin prefers arisāma] 'condition, situation, scene': Kurusūnde iru arisama(-) 'a situation of agony'; Saigo made kurusūnda arisama(-) wa mite irarenākatta 'I couldn't stand watching the suffering to the very end'; Ningen no kurusūmu arisama(-) wa mi-tāku nai 'I do not want to see human beings suffering'; Senzyoo wa zigokō no yōna arisama(-) datta 'The battlefield was a scene out of hell' (here the epipheme is extruded). Cf. yosu, zyootai.

\[t\] N \(N_{tm}\) \(\hat{t}^*Q\) āru-hī 'one day when ...': Sono āru-hī ... 'Then one day ...'; ... is-syūukan hodo tatā āru-hī ... 'one day when a week had passed ...' (SA 2641.17).

\[r\] N N \(\hat{t}^*Q\) asātō 'traces (of where ...), footprints (from ...)': Dāre ka ga yuki no u e o arūta asātō ga nokotte iru 'There are footprints remaining from where someone walked on the snow'.

\[t\] N N \(\hat{t}^*Q\) asimōtō 'close by (at the foot of where ...)': Watasi ga tatte iru asimōtō kara usagi ga tobi-dāsita 'A rabbit darted out from (under) where I was standing'.

\[t\] N \(N_{pl}\) \(\hat{t}^*Q\) ātari: (1) ' (= hen) neighborhood, vicinity'

\[t\] N \(N_{tm}\) \(\hat{t}\) (2) ' (= gōro) about (a time)'

\[s\] \(N_{ab}\) \(\hat{t}\) (3) 'feature (= ten); situation, appearance'

\[s\] R Adv \(\hat{t}\) (4) 'or the like, of the sort (such that)' (= [ten] nado): Hito o mite, monō o iū ātari, nakanaka no rikō-mono da 'He's quite a shrewd fellow when it comes to knowing what to say to people and so on'; Sensoo 'tyuu ni yake-nōhara no Tookyoo de, toti o kai-simeta ātari, syōonin to site no kankaku ga surudōi 'He has a sharp sense as a business man, such that he bought up land in Tōkyō when it was a burned-out stretch of land during the war'.
§13.2. Postadnominals

\[ t \] (N) \( N_{tm} \) V-ta *Q áto {de} 'later after (doing)': Zýúgyoo sita/no áto {de} syokuzi ni iku 'After teaching my class I'll go eat'.

\[ t \] Adv V-ru *Q áto kara 'right/later after (doing)' (cf. sóba kara): naráu áto kara wasurete simau 'forgets it right after learning it', benkyoo no áto kara wasuretayau 'after studying it forgets it'. Cf. áto kara áto kara suru (= sóba kara sóba kara suru)'does it in sequence, one after another'.

\[ r \] (N) N [Q] áto 'right (after (doing))': *Q ato fde} 'later after (doing)': Zyugyoo oo sit a/no ato fde} syokuzi ni iku 'After teaching my class I'll go eat'. *Q ato kara 'right (after (doing)) (cf. soba kara): narau ato kara wasurete simau 'forgets it right after learning it', benkyoo no ato kara wasuretayau 'after studying it forgets it'. Cf. ato kara ato kara suru (= soba kara soba kara suru) 'does it in sequence, one after another'.

\[ s,t \] (N) N,Adv [Q] baka ri 'only just' (= dake): "'V de fwa} nak u 'not only (that) .. .' (examples in KKK 3.202).

\[ s,t \] R N,Adv *Q baka ri ni 'just because': Rooodoo-kúmiai ga kore o kobânda baka ri ni, syakaiminsyu-too kakuryoo no soo-taizin ga okóri, sore ga kekk yokû[1] minsyu-syûgi no teki no tamé ni miti o hiráku kien("') o tukúitta 'Merely because the unions opposed this a general resignation of the Liberal Socialist cabinet took place, and THAT created an opportunity to open a path for the enemies of democracy, after all' (KKK 3.202); Sonna koto o itta baka ri ni konna koto ni nattete simattte 'Just because I said such a thing, matters have come to this'. Cf. Alfonso 724.

\[ s \] PcN V-ta *Q baka ri da 'has just done' (= tokoró da): Zyettó-ki wa tyakuriku sita baka ri desu 'The jet plane has just landed'; Tyakuriku sita baka ri no zyettó-ki ... 'The jet plane that has just landed ...'. For V-te baka ri iru, see p. 522; S to baka ri [ni], p. 999 (n. 7); S to iwan baka ri [ni], pp. 614-5. Bamen("') 'scene (where ...)' (= sin): Káno-zyo ga arawaëta {to iu} bamen("') wa ... 'The scene where she appeared ...'.

\[ s \] N N [Q] bân 'one's turn (to V)': Watasi ga yómú bân désu ka 'Is it my turn to read?'; Kóndo wa Ákiko ga akké ní torarëru bân datta 'Now it was Akiko's turn to be

s  Pcn V-ru *Q  "bēki 'ought to do' (see § 15.12b).
Adn  "bekaramāru N = "bēki zya nai N 'N that ought not' (KKK 3.247).
Adv  "bēku 'needling/having to do': ~ mo nai 'there should be no possibility/likelihood that';  yogi-nāku sareru 'becomes/is inevitable that' (Y 370).
S  "bēsi = "bēki da.

?s  (N) N N no ?  bu 'department, section, heading; (= būri) class, category, bracket'.
?s  N N N no [Q]  būmon 'category, classification'.

s  (N) N [Q]  būn 'situation, state (= guai); part, portion; lot; status; ...';  de/niai wa 'so long as, at the rate that': Kono būn de wa (Kono būn de ikēba) āme mo hūru 'mai 'At this rate we're not going to have any rain at all'; Zibun no kane de zibun no si-tai kotō o suru ≪to iu≫ būn ni wa oyā no yurusi wa hituyō nai daroo 'So long as I am doing what I want to do with my own money I don't see why I need parental permission'.

?s  N N N no [Q]  būri 'class, category'.

s,t  R N, *Q  dake (1) 'only, just'; (2) —usually ~dakē—'as much as (possible), all that': (1) "Aru-tyuu" ga byōoin ni kākuri(−) sareru dake de wa naoranai kotō wa, sude ni senmon-ka no zyoosiki de ārii, ... 'It is common knowledge to the specialist that the alcoholic will not recover just by being isolated into a hospital, and ...' (SA 2673.42b); Sore o kau dake no kane ga iru n desu 'I need (only) enough money to buy it'; Sore o kau dake no kane ga nai n desu 'I lack enough money to buy it'; O-sake o sukosi ni oite de kō o kake kōate ite 'Only having drunk a little rice wine I am red in the face'. (2) Suru dake no kotō wa sita 'I did what was to be done'; tabēru ~dake tabete simau 'eats to one's heart's content'; naku dake naite simau 'cries one's heart out'; Sukī na "dake" turi o site asonde iki-nasāi, to iu no de atta 'He said to enjoy all the fishing we liked (before leaving)' (SA 2671.95c); Kane o tamura no ni osoro o made no syūunen(−) o moyasi, sēs-te takuwārō tamē ni syokuzī o kiri-tumerarērē dake(kiri) kiri-tumeta 'He burned with an obsession to save money that bordered on the terrifying and skimped on meals as much as possible in order to hoard money steadily' (SA 2665.116b); Atta dake tabeta 'We ate all there was'.
dake de/zya naku tek 'not only': ... syōkkīngu na dake de naku, ... 'not only is it shocking but ...' (SA 2674.104b)—cf. nōmi-narazū, bākari de naku.

V-ru  dake de ii 'If I could only ...'.
V-ru/-ta  dake(kiri) no kotō wa āru 'is well worth doing (having done)': Sono mondai wa sarabēru dake(kiri) no kotō wa āru 'That problem merits examination'.
dake ni/atte 'as might (can/could) be expected; for the very reason that; if only because': Hōn o yōnda dake ni wakatta 'I understood it as might be expected for having read the book': Sono tōōi wa gakusei dāta dake nī sono kotō wa yōku siranākatta
'At that time I didn't know much about that, being only a student'; Kantan na daké ni káete yakusi-nikúi 'It is all the harder to translate for being simple'. See also p. 105 (§ 2.4), Alfonso 720-1.

NOTE: N de áru daké is usually reduced to N [na] daké without the ná: Káre wa semmon-ka [na] daké ni wakari-yásuku setumei site kureta 'He explained it in an easy-to-understand way, as you'd expect of a specialist'; Nikkő wa yuumei na tokoró [na] daké ni kankó-kyaku ga óó ni da 'Nikkő has lots of tourists, if only because it is a famous place'. But adjectival nouns can not omit the ná: Kírei na daké ni ... 'just because it is pretty', Sukí na daké ni ... 'just because it is liked'. Exceptionally, adjectival nouns with the suffix -teki will permit ná to drop: atto-teki {na} daké ni 'just by being overwhelming' (SA 2670.25c). (These remarks apply to other uses of daké as well.) V-ta daké da means 'only happened, it is only that V (that's all)'; V-ta bákari da means 'has just happened'. For daké = hódó 'all the more', see p. 560 (§ 9.3.1).

\[ N \text{tm} \ V \text{-ru} \ (OJ \ \text{dan} \ (ni \ naru) \ '(g}ets to be) the very moment to ... , the time to ... ': Káéruru dán ni nátte, ... 'When it came time to leave (and go home)' (SA 2684.124cd); Iyóyó sáigo no keiyaku to iu (ça kimeru) dán ni nátte, aité ga mata kangaé o kaete simatta 'When we got to the very moment of the final contract (to the very moment of decision) the other party changed his mind again'. Cf. dotanba.

\[ N \ N \ V \text{-ru} \ (OJ \ \text{dandóri(-)'plan, program': Asitá wa gözen 'tyuu ni tátte, atíra de yuu-zín to rántí o tábete, góó kaígí ni déru \{to iu\} dandóri(-) ni nátte imasu 'Tomorrow I have it planned to leave sometime in the morning, have lunch there with a friend and in the afternoon appear at a conference'; Sáte, iyyóyó syóoku-zí to iu dandóri(-) ni nátte, sako o kái-wáúre-ta no ni ki ga túite komáatta 'Well when we finally arranged to have a meal I was embarrassed to discover I had forgotten to buy wine'.

\[ N \ N \ \text{[O]} \ \text{dankái} \ 'stage, phase, grade': Dekiru dankái ni náréba ... 'When one reaches the stage of being able ...': Sore wa máá de zituyoo-ka sezu kízyoo no kenkyuu no dankái o déte inai 'It has not been tested in practice but is still at the stage of theoretical study'; Iyóyó káre ke këkkon ni túite gutai-teki na hanasi o suru dankái ni nátte kíte iro ... to kokuhaku site kara, ... 'After confessing that things had finally reached the stage of concrete discussions with him about marriage ...' (Ariyoshi 293); ... Ímá, ríppoo no mondai to site, iroïro rôngi sarete iroo dankái de arimu-so ga, ... 'at present it is receiving considerable discussion as a legislative matter, and ...' (R).

\[ N \ N \ \text{[O]} \ \text{dekgotó} = \text{ziken} \ 'incident'.

\[ N \ N \ \text{[O]} \ \text{densetu} (o \ tutaér(u(-), \ ii-tutaér(u, \ katari-tutaér(u) 'tells) the tradition that ...': Káre wa mafí no hitóbito \| \| ga sósen no manuke dátta densetu o sono mamá-ii-tutáete iro tokoró ga, nan-to-náku nónkí de, omosírói ki ga sita 'The town people would frankly tell him the tradition that his ancestors were half-wits, but he felt somehow unconcerned and amused' (V 132).

\[ N \ N \ \text{[O]} \ \text{doai} \ 'degree, extent': ... koogai o dáite iru doai ni taioo sita ... ['taxes'] corresponding to the degree that
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

environmental damage is produced' (SA 2792.109e); ... sinsaku no zitai wa tukawaru doai ga kiwamete hikui no de aru 'the extent to which the newly created character-shapes are used is extremely low' (Nagano 1968.68).

s,t R PcN, Adv *Q dokoro 'hardly': see pp. 930-2.

s,t N Npl [Q] donzoko 'the depths (that/where)': Sitūi no donzoko ni ótita 'I fell into the depths of despair'.

s N N [Q] dooki(・) 'motive': si-tai to iu ~ 'the motive for wanting to do'.

s (N) N [Q] doori 'reason (why ...)': Konna kantan na kotō ga wakaranai doori wa nai 'There's no reason why you shouldn't understand such a simple thing'. But the most common uses are in S nō mo doori da 'It is natural that S' and Doori de ... 'That's why ...'.

e (N), N *Q dōoisi 'fellow who (with one/me) ...': tatakau dōoisi 'a fellow fighter'; sin-zūru(・) dōoisi 'a fellow believer'.

s,t (N) Ntm [Q] dotanba 'the critical moment when/where'—most commonly V-ta ~ ｛ni/māde｝, especially V-[r]are-soo ni natta ~: Oi-tumerāre, korosare-soo ni natta dotanba māde kiken ni ki ga tukanakatta 'Right up to the very moment when I was about to be caught and killed I was unaware of the danger'.

r N N [Q] eikyō 'the influence/effect of': Doru-syōkku de bukka ga agaru eikyō o ūketa 'We felt the effect of prices rising under the “dollar shock”'.

s N N N no [Q] én 'connection, affinity, relation(ship)': Si-tei no én o musunda 'They formed a relationship of master and pupil'. But the common use is V-tā no ga én de ... 'as a consequence of having V-ed': Dookyū-u-sei to site tukue o narabeta no ga én de kekkon simēsita 'As a consequence of having shared neighboring desks as classmates, they got married'.

?s N Npl [Q] gaimen 'the outside of where ...':

?s N N [Q] gaimen 'concept, notion': gensi-syakai ni okēru kekkon/ syūukyō no ga gaiken 'the concept of marriage/religion in primitive society'.

?s N N [Q] gairaku 'summary, epitome'.

?s N N [Q] gairon 'an outline (a general statement) of'.

?s N N [Q] gaiisetu 'an outline (a general statement) of'.

e R N ? gen'an 'original plan': Minsyusyugi-teki kyoiku o okonau ｛to iu｝ gen'an de Amerika kara senmon-ka o
yonda ga ... ‘We invited specialists from America with the plan to practice democratic education, but ...’.

gen’in ‘cause’: Kodomo ga huita tō iu + gen’in de ie ga tezema ni natte kita ‘My house grew cramped from the proliferation of children’.

genkai ‘(limit)(s), the limitation that’; Gaikoku-go wa sono kuni no hitō hodo wa rikai(−) dekinai tō iu genkai ga wakatta ‘I realized the limitation that one can not under- stand a foreign language as well as the people of the country where it is spoken’.

gensyoo ‘phenomenon’: Kokuzin no tikara(−) ga tūyoku nari-sugita tō iu gensyoo ga mirarérō sóo da ‘They say the phenomenon can be seen of blacks having become too powerful’.

genjitsu ‘the hard fact that’ (Ariyoshi 236).

genzyoo ‘present situation (conditions)’: ... seikatsu-hukūsī e no sikoo o tūyōmete iru gensyoo dē wa, ... ‘under the present situation when people are strengthening their interest in social well-being’ (R).

gi ‘matter, affair, case’ (= ken): Sono gi ni tuki (tūite, kān-site) moosiage-tai ‘I wish to report on this matter’; Sùde ni o-kiki no g[ ... ‘As you have heard ...’. In letter-writing used as a particle in the phrase Watakusi [As for me ’].

goto (ga aru) ‘(has) the duty to ...’. go-ôn = ŏn.

gōto {ni} ‘every time that, whenever’: kikai [ga] āru gōto ni ‘whenever one has the chance’; Kodomō-tāti wa āu gōto ni seityoo site iru ‘Every time I see the children they’ve grown’; Hutto kōdo ga issen-mētoru masu gōto ni, kion wa, yāku rokū-do no wari de hikūku natte iku ‘Usually with each thousand meters rise in height the air temperature is lowered by about six degrees’ (V 1967a. 97).

gōtosi = yōo da.

gōtoku {ni} = yōo [ni] ‘so that, like’: Maborosi no
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

gótoku arawāretā 'It appeared like a phantom'; ... roohei ga kieru gótoku kieru 'will fade away like an old soldier (fades away)' (Tk 3.136b); Osorosii higeki ga ippo toonōita("") tokī no gótoku ni, mune o nade-orosita 'He gave a sigh of relief as if (it were a time when) a terrible tragedy had retreated a step' (Y 372). See also p. 895.
gótu naru [Kyūshū dialect] = yōō da (Y 372-3).

\[s \ N \ N \ N \ [Q] \ guai 'situation, condition; way': kōo i guai ni 'in this manner, in this way'; Tō itta guai ni 'In such a situation'; ... \\
s,t \ R \ N, \ Adv \ gūrāi (na/no) 'extent; at least; as much as to ..., so as to ...; virtually'; ~ nara 'if ... at all; rather than ...': Sini- tai gūrāi (= hodo) turākatta 'It was so agonizing I wanted to die'; Hāyaku kētta gūrāi no kōto de kūbi ni sareta 'I got fired for nothing more than leaving (work) a little early'; Kōnna kurusii seikatsu o suru gūrāi nara sinda hōō ga masi da 'Death would surely be preferable to a life this miserable'; Ma ni aū gūrāi ni hāyaku dekaketa 'I left early enough to be on time'; Warai-tai gūrāi datta 'I felt almost like laughing'; Goman-en dé mo yasū gūrāi da 'It would be cheap even at fifty thousand yen'; Bikkūri suru gūrāi datta 'It was enough to startle me'; Sindo to itte mo iō gūrāi datta 'I was all but dead (I was more dead than alive)'; Sekai-iti to ittē mo iō gūrāi na kēsīki da 'The scenery bids fair to be the best in the world'.

\[t \ Npl \ N \ no \ *Q \ guurūri(\(~\)') 'around' (= mawari): Ikē no guurūri(\(~\)') ni kī o ueru 'We will plant trees around the pond'; [Sono] guurūri(\(~\)') o tori-maku koobā wa 'The factories surrounding (it) ...'. (MKZs prefers atonic version.)

\[s \ N \ N \ [Q] \ haba 'the breadth, scope, range': ... iroo no baai o kāngae-awase o haba o motānakereba, kāisyaku ga tukanai 'without the scope of considering various situations, an interpretation will not be achieved' (Nagano 1966.202).

\[t \ (N) \ Npl \ N \ no \ [Q] \ haigo (\(~i\)) back of; behind': Sutō o kankō suru sita haigo ni ... 'Behind the carrying out of the strike ...'; Teki no haigo ni wa kyoosankēn-syōkokoku no ēnzyō ga ēru 'In back of the enemy there is aid from the Communist countries'.

\[s \ N \ N \ [Q] \ hakarigōtō(\(~\)') 'scheme, stratagem, plot': Hisōka ni daitōyōo o ansatu sīyō to suru [ansatu suru to iu] hakarigōtō(\(~\)') ga ātta 'There was a plot to secretly assassinate the president'.

\[s \ N \ N \ [Q] \ hakobi 'stage, step; progress': Iyōiyo syūpan no hakobi ni nātta 'We have finally reached the stage of publication'; ... koko ni, sono seika o matomete happyoo suru hakobi to nātta 'we have reached the stage of putting the results together here and publishing them' (Inokuchi 1); Tūi ni, uri-dasēru hakobi ni kōgi-tuketa 'At last we have reached the stage where we can start selling'; Iza hanbāi to iū hakobi ni itātta(\(~\)') tokī ni, kēizai no dai-hēndo ga okotte, zitugen sinākatta 'Just when we
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got to the stage of merchandising there was a big economic upheaval so that it didn’t materialize (= work out ').

?s (N) N [Q] hamé ‘plight, predicament’; Sonna hamé ni náru/otíru to wa omoimasén desita ‘I never thought I’d get/fall into such a predicament’; Titioya no uwayaku ni náru to iu, okási ni hamé ni tatasárete yowáte imasu ‘I am perplexed at having been placed in the odd predicament of getting my father for a supervisor’.

s N N [Q] hanasi ‘tale; report, rumor; happening; situation; (making) sense’; Wagamámá de omoi-dasitá kara tyót-to waghai no utó (%) no syúzin ga kono wagamámá de sippai sita hanási o siyoo ‘Speaking of selfishness reminds me—let me tell you the story of how the master at my place made a blunder through this selfishness (we speak of)’ (V 129). But in ordinary conversation, quotationalization will be required: Nihón e iku to iu hanási da ‘The story is (= has it) that you are going to Japan’.

s t N N [Q] hán’i ‘the scope, limits (of ...)’: Watasi no sitte iru (Watasi no tíšíki no) hán’i de wa, sonna réi wa nái ‘Within the bounds of what I know (Within the limits of my knowledge) there is no such example’; Nan-péézi kara nan-péézi made to iu hán’i o kime te kudasái ‘Decide the scope, from what page to what page’.

t (N) N [Q] hanmén(−) ‘but/and, yet, on the other hand ...’: Tyóosyo mo áru hanmén(−), kettén(−) mo áru ‘He has his strong points but he has his shortcomings, too’; Taisui-sei ni sugúrete ita hanmén(−), tuuuhu ni mondai ga átta ‘While it was superior in water resistance, there was a problem in ventilation’; Kanzoo ga yowá no de wa nái ka to ka, sinpai site ita ten wa wáruku nái kotó ga wakáatta hanmén(−), toonyoo-byoo to koo-kétuatu to inkoo tó ga kánari warúi to iu kotó ga wakáatta ‘While I found out that the points I had been worried about, such as whether my liver might be weak, were not amiss, on the other hand I discovered that I was in a fairly bad way with respect to diabetes, high blood pressure and throat’ (SA 2645.47a). Synonym itímen(−).

s N N, V-ru [Q] hará ‘(belly =) intention (of someone other than the speaker—cf. tumori)’: Kuti dé wa suru to ittá ga, sinai hará ‘rasí (or: suru hará wa nákatta ýóó da) ‘He says he’ll do it but he seems not to have any such intentions’; ... o teían suru hará da ‘has it in mind to propose ...’ (SA 2665.127e).

?r N N [Q] hara-isé(−) ‘(as) revenge for: Sáte wa umaya no umá o korosareta hara-isé(−) ka ‘Well was it revenge for having had the barn horses slain?’ (KKK 3.285).

s (N) N, V-ru [Q] harazúmorí ‘determination, resolution’ (= késsín): Sáigo made tatakau (yamenai) haražúmorí de hazimeta ‘I began with the determination to fight (not to give up) till the end’.

?s N N V-ru *Q harai ‘the worthwhileness of’; ~ ga áru ‘is worth doing’: ... atasi no hóó de kataru harai ga áru ýó ‘it is worth my telling, you see’ (Okitsu 1.139).
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§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

| r,t (N) NcN V-ta [Q] | haté 'ni ji ' (as) the end result of' (cf. sue, ageku): Sitigure sita/nou haté 'ni ji ' zisatu sita 'Her disappointment in love led to suicide'; Sanza[n] nóna haté ni byooki ni nátta 'The result of all the wild drinking was that I got sick'. |
| t N Ntm [Q] | hazime 'the beginning when/where ...': syusyoo ni nátta hazime kará 'from the beginning (of) when he had become prime minister = from the start of his premiership'. Cf. saisyo. |
| s N,PcN [Q] | hazu 'expectation': see § 13.2.7. |
| s,t (N) PcN, V [Q] | hazumi 'ni ji ' 'in the act of', hazumi de 'by force/moment of': Tobi-agàta hazumi ni kutú ga nügetyatta 'In jumping up I lost my shoes'; Të o nobásite toroo to sita hazumi ni kóppu no mizu o kobósite simatta 'In reaching my hand out to take it, I spilt the cup of water'; Isidan o oríru hazumi ni subéte así o ótta I slipped going down the stone steps and broke my leg'; Ókóttá hazumi de, aíte o nagütte simatta 'In a moment of anger I ended up taking my fists to the other fellow'; Dónna hazumi de/kara dai-sénsoo ga okóru ka wakaránai 'I don’t understand what causes great wars'; S nó ga hazumi ni nátte 'with (the fact that) S as an impetus ...'. Cf. totan, hyoosí, ikiói. |
| t (N) Npl N no [Q] | hen 'locality, vicinity': Kono hen da 'It’s in this vicinity...'; Toogè no tyamisé no hen máde itte míru ka 'Shall we go as far as the teashop at the top of the ridge?'. More limited in distribution than átari. |
| ?r N N V-ta [Q] | hénrei(’no) ni 'as a return courtesy/present, (in) acknowledgment/appreciation of': Kèkkoo na monó o itadaita hénrei(’) (= o-réi) ni kotira ka ró mo nání ka okurimasýóó 'I must send something back in appreciation for the splendid gift'. |
| s N N [Q] | henzi 'a reply (to the effect that)’: Asitá wa ikarenai [to iu] henzi ga átta 'There was a reply that they couldn’t come tomorrow'; Syoodaku no henzi o sita 'We gave an affirmative reply'. |
| t N Ntm [Q] | hi 'day (when ...)' (accent drops when there is no adnominal modification): Tugi ni, sono hána ni áu hi ga kimásita 'Next came the day I was to meet that mother (of mine)' (R). |
| r,s N N [Q] | hiai 'sorrow, grief': Saki ni musuko o usinai, íma mata musumé o usinatta hiai wa ... 'the grief of losing first a son and now a daughter’ (Takahashi 177). |
| r N N [Q] | hibiki 'sound, echo, murmur': Daidokoro no suido no sén kara mizu no sitáru hibiki ga kikoérú 'There is a sound of water dripping from the taps in the kitchen' (V 134). |
| t (N) Npl [Q] | hidari '(to) the left of (where ...)': Watakusi no jìswuttaá hidari ni iro hitó 'The person on the left of me [of where I am seated]...'. |
### §13.2. Postadnominals

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§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

s  N N,Adv  [Q]  hoka つni, hoka つni wa ‘in addition to (being/doing)’,
on top of’ (= ué): Yóšiko no hoka ni moo hitótó ga arimášu ‘In addition to Yoshiko there is still another younger sister’; Hito no monó o nusúnda hoka ni, hoka máde sita sóo da ‘In addition to stealing other people’s things they say he even set fires’; Yómi-kaki no hoka, soroban mo umái ‘In addition to reading and writing, she’s good at the abacus’; Zìmu ga múdan(•) de kaisya-síkin o tá no kaisya ni ryuuuyoo site ita hoka, zibun no purúibéeto na kotógár(•) ni made kaisya no kane ga tukaware, mi-seísan ni nátte iru kóto made wakáta ‘Not only had management diverted company funds to other companies, but money has been used for their own private affairs, so that it has become apparent that it [the company] is actually insolvent (SA 2648.58d).

hoka つni, hoka つni wa ‘aside from (doing/being),
except for (doing/being)’ + NEGATIVE, usually nái: Ayámáru hoka つni [wa] nái ‘There’s nothing to do but apologize’; Buzí ni sono-hí sono-hí o okuri-tai to iu hoka ní wa [tái-síta nozomí(•) wa] arimášen ‘I have no great desire for anything except to see each day pass harmlessly by’; Sinú hoka nái ‘Death is the only choice’; Kazó o hiíte iru hoka wa warúi tokóro wa nái ‘I am well sure that I have a cold’ (Kenkyusha). Cf. sika.

s  N *Q  hokubu ‘(the part to the) north (of where ... )’.

?s  N N  V-ru  [Q]  hónnóó(•)”an instinct (to ... ”): Zibun o kiken kara mamóru hónnóó(•) ga áru ‘One has an instinct to protect oneself from danger’.

s  N  [Q]  hóó ‘the alternative of ... (rather than the other),
rather, preferably; (N no hóó) the direction of, towards’:
Kore yóri sore no hóó ga takái hau desu ‘That is surely more expensive than this’ (BJ 2.28); Watakusi-dómo no hóó no teótí desita ‘We were the ones at fault’; Tumaránu kóto wa háyaku wasureta hóó ga toku da ‘Stupid things are best quickly forgotten’. In giving advice, V-ta hóó ga and V-(a)hóó ga are the usual forms: Sóto de tabéru yóri utí(•) de tábeta hóó ga yasú-agári da si kiráku da ‘It is cheaper to eat at home than to eat out, and cozier, too’; Sonna kóto wa kóngó sinai hóó ga ritable ‘It would be better not to do such things in the future’.

S hóó da ‘rather S, on the S side’: Watasi wa, supóóto o míru kóto ga suki ná hóó da to omóu ‘I (think =) guess I’m rather fond of watching sports’ (SA 2671.36a).

S hóó de wa nái ‘not too (much) S, not over(ly) S’ (Hayashi 139): Karada mo amari tuyói hóó de wa nái si ... ‘I’m none too sturdy, so ... ’; Seiseki wa yuusuuyoo na hóó de wa nákatta ‘My grades were none too outstanding’. Cf. pp. 231–2, 386, 565.

hóódai: see §9.1.7.

e,?s  N N  V-ru  *Q  hoohóo ‘method (to do)’: zyúgyoo suru hoohóo ‘teaching method’.

s  N N  [Q]  hookoku ‘report (that ... ”): Káígi ga súnda つto iu

31. Since only two alternatives are entertained, *Dóre no hóó desu ka (= Dótira つto hóó desu ka) ‘Which one is it?’ is acceptable.
hookoku o ūketa ‘We have received a report that the conference has ended’.

e,s N N [Q] hoosiki ‘method’.

s N N V-ru [Q] hoosin ‘a policy (to do, of doing)’: Akú-máde tatakau hoosin desu ‘It is a policy of fighting to the end’; Atakusya [= Watakusi wa] uti(−) de wa, yakusyo no hanasi wa issai

sinai hoosin desu kedo mo ... ‘I make it a policy never to talk office business at home but ...’ (Tk 2.311a); ... sono uti(−) no hitotu o moti-te hoka o suteru hoosin o utidasite iru kotō wa ... ‘tossing out a policy of using one of them and rejecting the other(s) ...’ (K 1666.161). Cf. tatémæ.

s N N [Q] huan ‘uncertainty, apprehension, worry (= sinpai)’: Asitā ni de mo kubi ni naru (to iu) huan de, sigoto ga té ni tukānai ‘I can’t go about my work anxious I might lose my job (even tomorrow =) any day now’.

r N N [Q] hukai ‘displeasure (at/from)’: Arúite iru uti(−) ni käre-ra wa danada yūkai na koohun no sāmte yuku hukai o kan-zita ‘While walking they felt a displeasure at the gradual fading of the gay mood’ (V 133).

hukin ‘(in) the vicinity (of) where ...’.

s N N [Q] hukuan ‘a scheme (in mind); a plan, an idea’; Minsyu-teki kyooiku o motte kūru (to iu) hukuan o tāteta ‘They drew up a plan to bring in democratic education’.

human ‘dissatisfaction, complaint’: Zinsyu-teki ni sābetu sarete iru (to iu) human ga ōoi ‘There are many complaints of being discriminated against racially’.

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r N N [Q] huri(o suru) ‘makes a pretense of’: Siranai huri o site, aisatu mo sinākatta ‘ Pretending he didn’t know us, he didn’t even say hello’; Sirī mo sinai de, sitta (or: sitte iru) huri o suru na ‘Don’t pretend to know when you haven’t a clue’; Sinda huri o sita hōo ga anzen da ‘It will be safer to play dead’; Genki na (Genki-soo na) huri o site ita ‘I was pretending to pep’; ... atta yōo na huri o site, ... ‘making as if we had met’ (SA 2687.23d).

(N), N, [R] AN hūu ‘manner, way; air, bearing; (such) that’: Era-soo na hūu o site iru ga, hira-syain da ‘He puts on airs of appearing important but he’s an ordinary office worker’; Ikā ni mo hyakusyoo ‘rasiī hūu o sita otokō da ‘He was the complete farmer in his manner’; Heiki na hūu ni hurumātta ‘He acted non-chalant’; Konna hūu de ... ‘In this manner’ (Y 347); ... sizen ga me-atarāsiku kanzirareru to iu hūu da ‘It was as if nature could be sensed in a new way’ (Y 347); Kanzyoo-teki ni yowai monō no mikata o si-tai to itta hūu na, īwaba(−) māa is-syuu no sentimentarizumu datta ‘It was, so to speak, a kind of sentimentalism of the sort to take the side of the emotionally weak’ (Y 347); O-hyakudo o humu hūu no, kyoogén no yoro-mēku asisakī(−) ni omowātera ‘It seemed like the shaky steps of a kyōgen performer doing his hundred obeisances’ (Y 348). Cf. yōo. The restrictive is ‘hūu.

s? N N [Q] hūukei ‘a scene where ..., a view of ...’: Sono yoko de
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

| s | N | N | [Q] | huuhyoo = uwasa (rumor). |
| s | N | N | [Q] | huusetu = uwasa (rumor). |
| s | N | N | [Q] | huusyyuu 'custom, manner, practice'; Yosó kara no toorai-mono o, yorokóbi(“) o wakati-au to iu kimoti de, siria ya kínzyo ni kubáru huusyyuu ga áru ‘There is a practice of distributing presents from faraway places to acquaintances and neighbors in a spirit of sharing the joy’ (Kotoba no yurai 44). |
| t | (N) | ?PcN, V-ta, | *Q | hyoosi ni ‘at the moment when’, hyoosi de ‘by the accident/chance/impulse of’: Kyuu ni tati-agatta/-agaru hyoosi ni, kúra-kura to memái ga site taórete simatta ‘The moment I suddenly stood up I went black and fainted’; Nigeyóo to sita/suru hyoosi ni hando-bággu o otósíte simatta ‘In trying to flee I dropped my handbag’. |
| s | R | N, V,(A) | [Q] | hyooyyoó(“) ‘an expression of ...’; Ik-kágetu ‘iyoo mo no gekisen to bussí-hókaku (= bússi [ ] hókaku) de tukare-kitta hyooyyoó(“) no kokuzin-heííi ... ‘A black soldier with an expression of exhaustion from more than a month of heavy fighting and seizure of materiel’ (SA 2684.37b). |
| s | N | N | [Q] | igai ‘except/save for, outside of’: Iwareta tóori sigoto o suru igai {ni [wa]4}, náhi mo dekinai ‘He can’t do anything beyond what he’s told how to do’; Iti-dö-o-tya o nómi ni déta igai zut-to koko ni imásita ‘Save for a single trip out to have a cup of tea I have been here right along’; Konna monó wa yasúi [to iu] Igai ni toriè ga náï ‘This sort of stuff has nothing to recommend it beyond the fact that it is cheap’; ... zibun de kaisyyu suro hóo ga toku da to suru igai náï ‘One can only consider it advantageous for them to collect it [= industrial waste] themselves ...’ (SA 2688.45c).—Cf. hoka, sika. |
| s,t | PcN, N, V-ta | *Q | ikiói (by) force, moment of’: Are wa mattaku[:
| Adv | Adv | VN no | ikiói no náriyuki de, ... ‘That was the result of being thoroughly drunk’ (SA 2793.97c). Hasítta ikiói de uekí- báti o watta ‘In running I broke the flower pot’ (MKZ5). |
| s | N | N | [Q] | ikiisatu ‘details (intricacies, circumstances) about ...’; Wakarénakereba naránaku náttá {to iu} ikiisatu o setumei sita ‘I explained the circumstances of our having to part’. Synonym yukuutate. |
| s | N | N | [Q] | ikken ‘the affair/matter of ...’: Gokuhi-búnsyo o happyoo sita [to iu] ikken de yuuimei ni náttá otokó ‘A man who became famous from the affair of publishing the secret documents’; gokuhi-búnsyo happyoo no (or: to iu) ikken ni yotte yuuimei ni náttá otokó ‘a man who became famous from the incident of the secret-documents publication’ |
§13.2. Postadnominals

s  N  N  [Q]  ikoo 'intention, idea, thought': Senkyō-sen ni syutubasuru/si-tai ikoo ga āru (or: ikoo o móto) 'has the intention of entering the election campaign'.

t  N  Ntm  "Q  ima 'now that/when ...': Kāre ga naku-natta ima ...
"Now that he has passed away ...'; Keizai-zyōtai ga akka si-tūtū āru ima de sae, nān-ra sekkoyoku-teki na te o útu kotō o okotatte(−) iro séihu wa, munoo to iu hoka nai 'A government that neglects to take any sort of positive action even now when economic conditions are deteriorating is nothing but incompetent'.

s  N  N  [Q]  ō 'sense, meaning; (= tanē [ni]) purpose, aim, idea':
Tyuuoo-syuukken-ka o husēgu ō de, kakkun no zītō o kyoororyoku ni susumenakereba narānai 'In the sense of (For the purpose of) preventing the centralization of power, we must strongly promote the autonomy of the (various) prefectures' (MJW). But quotationalization is usual in ... tō[1] ō tā de 'it means ...'.

s  N  N  [Q]  inbō 'plot, conspiracy (to do)': Ansatu siyoo to suru/iu (Ansatu no) inbō ga atta 'There was a plot to assassinate him'.

s  N  N  Q  insyoo1 'the impression that ..., an impression of ...':
Zimu-tekai de tumetai hitō da to iu inyoo o ōketa 'I got the impression he is a cold, businesslike person'.

r  N  N  V-ta "Q  insyoo2 'the impression from (doing) ...': Watakusi ga kono ronbun o yōnda insyoo de wa ... 'As the impression I got from reading this treatise ...' (SA 2651.22d);

Ore ga koko de kazūme ni tatta inyoo wa ... 'My impression on standing here on the teacher's platform for the first time ...'; Tyuuoo-Aizā o tabisita insyoo 'Impressions of journeying through Central Asia' (Tanigawa 64).

s  PqN  V-ru  "Q  ippōo1 'doing nothing but, steadily (does), keeps (doing)':
Kangō-hu san no gekkyuu wa agaru ippō da si 'And the salary for a nurse keeps rising' (Ariyoshi 73);
Toti wa neagari suru ippōo de, ... 'Land just keeps rising in price, and ...' (SA 2689.147b);
Tokorō-ga, Sinzyuku no kūuki wa nenn yo yorureru ippōo [da] 'But the Shinjuku air keeps getting dirtier and dirtier year after year' (SA 2653.19b);
Wakesirigao no taida o tōru ippōo, ... 'Always taking a knowing attitude ...' (SA 2653.128e);
Mu-seigen ni huēru kuruma ni osarete, kodomo no sekai wa sēmaku nāru ippōo na no da 'Hemmed in by cars that proliferate without limit, the world of the child keeps getting narrower' (SA 2635.41e).

?s, t  Adv  "Q  ippōo2 = katawarā(−) 'but on the other hand':
Yō-nin no syoonēn-tāti wa, hō-to(−) 'sita kaihōo-kan o aziwāu(−) ippōo, kī no nuketa yōō na sabisî-sa no mažītta dōō ni mo narānai kimo tō o, moteamasite ita 'The four youths, while tasting a feeling of liberation and relief, were overwhelmed with a hopeless feeling mingled with a loneliness as if the zest were gone' (SA 2647.116); "Edokko' to iu, ōkki to sita kotobā ga āru ippōo, tīkagoro 'Tokyō-zin' to iu husigiana kotobā ārawata 'While we have the perfectly respectable word "Yedoite", nonetheless there has lately appeared the peculiar word "Tokyoite" (SA 2648.35c); Asonda ippōo yōkū
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

hataraki mo sita 'We enjoyed ourselves but at the same time we worked, too';
Sinamono ga yōi ippōo, nedan mo takai 'The merchandise is good, but on the other hand the price is high, too'.

s N N V-ru [Q] isi 'intention, mind'; ~ ga áru/nái 'has the (has no) intention of doing'; ~ da 'intends (has it in mind) to do':
Titi wa watakusi o isya ni suru isi datta 'My father intended me for a physician' (Kenkyusha);
Tákoku(·) o syinryaku suru isi wa nái 'We have no intention of invading other countries'.

s (N) PcN V-i-tai *Q issin de 'is eager to V, is intent upon V-ing': Háha ni ai-tái issin de, byóosin(·) o osite ryokoo sita 'Eager to see my mother, I urged my sick body into the trip';
Sikáši hieta karada o atatame-tái issin de, tobi-kónde simatta 'But he flung himself in [the hot bath], eager to warm his chilled body' (SA 2672.23d); ... kyášia o tabe-tái issin de ... 'intent upon eating caviar' (SA 2677.61b); 
Dóitu o yattuke-tái issin de ... 'intent upon getting the better of Germany' (Tk 3.280a).

t (N) Adv ?*Q itiimen(·) 'but (at the same time), yet (on the other hand)':
Ohukuro wa, yasasii itiimen(·), hizyoo ni kibisikatta kotó mo gozaimasu 'My mother was gentle, yet she could be very strict at times' (R);
Kokumin wa kokumin de 'Komatta daigí-si dá' to omóu itiimen(·) 'Ano daigí-si yori oré-táti no hóo ga sínsi de aru' to iún de mánzoku site iru 'The people for their part think "What awful diet members!" but at the same time they feel satisfied saying "They are not the gentlemen us guys are"' (Tk 2.165a).

Synonym hanmén(·); cf. itiimen(·) kó-keesi ga aru 'On the one hand ... and yet (on the other) ...'.

s N N [Q] itirei 'an example, an instance of ...': Nhóonzing-ryuuagüseii ga Ameriká-hei to site sensi sita kó-iúj itirei to site wa Suzukí-kun(·) no kéesu ga áru 'As an example of a Japanese student abroad dying as an American soldier there is the case of Suzuki'.

s N N V-ru [Q] itó 'intention, design, aim': Ansatu suru (Korosu) itó wa nákatta 'There was no intention to assassinate (kill)'.
Káre ga dáizin o koro sita itó wa imada-ní wakaranai 'His motive in killing the minister is still not known' has an epitheme extruded from the simplex: [sono] itó de koro sita 'killed with [that] intention'.)

?s N N V-ru [Q] iyoku 'the will to V': Ikíru iyoku o usinaté, zisatu sita 'He lost the will to live and committed suicide'; Sáigó made tatakai-tuzukéru itó iúj iyoku ga taisetu da 'A will to fight to the end is important'.

r R Ntm V-ru *Q izen 'before (= mae), up till the time that': Kono daigaku ni nyuugaku suru izen ... 'Before I matriculated at this university ...';
Kootuu-kikán, tyozoo-hoo no hattatu suru izen wa, kážitu o syóohin(·) to suru yúiitu no hoohoo wa kánka to suru kótó de atta 'Up till the time when (Before) there were developed the transportation facilities and the preserving techniques, only the ones which made to a commercial
product out of fruit was to dry it' (V 141); Íma kara rokú-nen máe, máda mánsyon naru monó ga konna ni hukyuu suru ízen ni, ... 'Some six years ago now, before the "mansion" apartment-house had yet spread so, ...' (SA 2679.158).

13.2. Postadnominals

[R \( \text{izyoo 'seeing that, now (that), in as much as, so long as, since'} \): Sigoto o hazimeru ízyoo, owari mãde suru kákugo ga iru 'So long as you are going to begin the job you need the determination to do it to the end'; Kiita ízyoo, siranai tó wa ienai 'Now that you have asked you can't say you don't know'; Sitte ízyoo damàtte mite wa irarenai 'In as much as I know (about it), I can't just look on without a word'; Nin gen ga umareta ízyoo hataraku, "béki da 'Man was born to work'; Sore ga sinzitu de áru ízyoo, sáiban ni wa kit-tó kátu 'That being the truth, we are sure to win in court'; Káre no tinzyutu ga sinzitu(\( \)) de átta ízyoo, dáre mo hantai suru kótó ga dekínakatta 'In view of the fact that what he said was the truth, no one could oppose him'; Nooritu-tekí de nákatta ízyoo wa, sáihin-nin si sikararerú no mo toozen da 'In view of the way you were inefficient, it is no wonder you are (= were) scolded by the manager'.

s ?N N [Q] kádo 'grounds, score, charge (= accusation)': Kiken-zínbutu de aru \( \{ \text{to iu}\} \text{ kádo de toraeráreta 'He got arrested on the grounds of being a dangerous person'} \); Hukéi no (Hukéi o okasita \( \{ \text{to iu}\} \text{ kádo de toogoku sareta 'He got thrown in jail on charges of (having committed) blasphemy'} \).

N \[Q\] Pcn, V-ta Adv VN no kaeri \( \{ \text{ni}\} \text{, kaeri-miti \{ni/de\} on returning from doing;}\) (on) the way back from doing': Íma gakkoo e itta kaeri na n desu 'I am now on my way back from school'; Gakkoo (Ryokoo) no kaeri ni ... 'On my way back from school (from a trip) ...'; ... Tookyoo e itta kaeri-miti, ... 'on the way back from (going to) Tókyó' (Nagano 1966.10).

\( t R \text{ Adv} [Q] \) kágiiri 'as long as, inasmuch as; as far as; insofar as'; Wata si no sitte iru kágiiri de wa, ... 'As far as I know ...'; Warúi kótó o sinai kágiiri kubi ni wa dekínai 'I can't get fired unless I do something wrong'. In the meaning (= "daké 'all that ..." "kágiiri has a dominant accent and is usually attached without juncture: Dekíru (Yurusárérú) "kágiiri site mimášu 'I will do all I can (all I am permitted)'. Cf. hanaserú 'kágiiri 'all I can say' and hanaserú kágiiri 'as long as I can speak'. Kóe o kágiiri ni 'at the top of one's voice/lungs' is idiomatic.

s N, N, [Q] kakkoo 'appearance': Íki-ta-soo na kakkoo dá (ni nátte iru) 'He has every appearance of seeming to want to go'; Niramiai no kakkoo dá 'They are at daggers with each other'.

s N N V-ru [Q] kákugo 'the decision to do', \( \sim \text{ da 'is resolved to do'} \): Sinu \{daké/hodo no\} kákugo o site, ... 'Resolved to die, ...'; Kuni ni tukúsu kákugo da 'I am resolved to do my utmost for the nation'.

s N N [Q] kámæ 'a posture, an attitude': ... zikyüu-sen de tatakau kámæ o tótta 'took a posture of fighting a war of attrition'.
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbal Words

(SA 2679.19b); ima ni mo teki ni tobi-kakaru (tobi-kakarō to suru) kāmāe o mīseta ‘We took a posture of setting upon the enemy at any moment’.

s N N no32 ?*Q kān1 (ga āru, o tēi-site iru) ‘(presents) a spectacle of, impresses one as (if) being’: Senzyoo wa zigokū no kān ga ātta ‘The battlefield was a vision of hell’.

s (N) N [Q] kān2 ‘a feeling that’; Ōzai wa mūnashi (') monō da) to iu kān ga suru ‘One gets the feeling that life is empty’; Hazīmete satori o e ā kān ga ātta ‘For the first time I felt I had achieved satori (enlightenment)’; Aiseki no kān [ga] kiwamāte nāmida o nagāsī ‘I wept, overwhelmed by grief’; Hukyoo ga kākō no monō to nātta kān ga āru ‘There is a (= We have a) feeling that depressions have become a thing of the past’ (SA 2673.44a).

r N N N [Q] kanasimi(’) ‘the sadness of (= resulting from ... )’: Tōmō o usinatta kanasimi(’) ‘The sadness of losing a friend’.

s N N [Q] kangāe ‘thought, idea, intention’: Iku kangāe o suteta ‘I discarded the idea of going’; Sorīn kōtō o siyoo to iu kangāe ga ukandā no wa a itu-goro désu ka ‘When did the idea occur to you to want to do such a thing?’; Žīko de mo okōsita no de wa nai ka to iu kangāe ga ukanda ‘It occurred to me that he might have been in an accident or something’.

r N N N [Q] kangeki ‘emotion, impression (from ... )’: Muzukashi(’) sikēn ga pāsū dekita kangeki de, nāmida o kobōsīta ‘I shed tears with the emotion of having been able to pass the test’.

s,r N N N [Q] kankaku ‘the feeling of (or: from)’; Turi de yūkai na no wa, ōoki na sakana o hikkákete, ayāsite, turi-agēru, ano kankaku désu nē ‘The delightful thing about fishing is that feeling of (or: that you get from) hooking a big fish, toying with it, and reeling it in, you see’ (Tk 4.151a).

?r N N N [Q] kankei (de, -zyoo) ‘(with, in view of) the connection/affinity of’: Tonari ni sūnde iru kankei de/zyoo koosai sinai wāke ni wa ikanai ‘Since we are neighbors, we can hardly avoid social relationship’; ... ningen to ningen to no kankei ‘relations between human being and human being’ (Tanigawa 17).

s N N N [Q] kānnen ‘the concept (idea, notion) of’: Sōsen o uya māu [to iu] kānnen wa Tooyōō-zin ni tuyōi desyoo ‘The idea of venerating one’s ancestors is strong in Orientals, you know’.

s N N N [Q] kanoo-sei ‘the possibility that’: ~ ga āru/nāi ‘there

32. Or N no yōo na, N no gotoki, N sa-nāgara no, sa-nāgara N no.
§13.2. Postadnominals

is/isn’t the possibility that’, ~ ga óóī/sukunáí ‘there is a large/small possibility that’: Hán nin wa ura-kido kara sinnyuu sita kanoo-sei ga óóī ‘There is a strong possibility that the culprit forced his entry by the back door’; Kono ziken wa daisanzi-táisen no tántyo [= tánsyo] ni nárú kanoo-sei mo áru ‘It is possible, too, that this incident will trigger a third world war’.

s,r N N N [Q] kanzi ‘the feeling that (or: that results from)’; ~ dá, ~ ga suru/áru ‘has the/a feeling’: Ue kara míta kanzi daké de ... ‘Just from the feeling (you get) seeing it from above ...’ (SA 2673.46c); ... uragiráreta kanzi o móto ‘harbors a feeling of having been betrayed’; Anó-hito wa hazukasii to iu kanzi o móto inai rasii ‘He appears to have no feeling of shame’.

e,s (Count) N N N [Q] kaotuki ‘a facial expression of ...’: Hontoo wa wakáru no ni, náhi mo wakaranai íto iu+ kaotuki de, tobókete ita ‘He really knows but he feigned ignorance with an expression of not knowing a thing’; Komátta íto iu+ kaotuki = Komátta yóo na kaotuki ‘an expression of embarrassment’.

(N N V-ru V-i-yasui [Q] katamukí(−) ‘the tendency/propensity to’: kyokután ni hasíru katamukí(−) ga áru ‘has a tendency to run to extremes’; kantan ni ketúron(−) o dasí-yasúi katamukí(−) dá ‘there’s a tendency to come to simple conclusions’.

(N N V-ru V-i-yasui [Q] kasyoo ‘place, spot (that ...); (= kudari) passage/part (where ...)’: “Bo ku” ga zyookyoo si, saisyo no itiya o sugósita kasyo de aru ‘It is the passage where the young hero has arrived in Tókyó and spent his first night there’ (K 1966.56).

e N N [Q] katá ‘esteemed person (who ...).’

s N ?N, ?PcN [Q] katatí ‘form, shape, arrangement; indications, appearance, situation (as it appears)’; ~ dá ‘there are indications that, it appears that, it looks as though’: Íma ni mo dai-žiken ga okori-sóo na katatí da ‘It looks as though a big incident might happen any time now’; Kyanpeen ga zu ni atata (= úmaku seikoo sita) katatí da ‘The campaign appears to have been quite successful’; Eigá-kai no hukyoo o daiben sita katatí dá ga, osamaránaí no wa kantoku ya haiyúu-táti [] ‘It looks as though they’ve taken the rap for the slump in the film world, and it’s the directors and actors who are disgruntled’ (SA 2653.109b); ... Róóma de, hworo-romáano o mi-orosu takadai de hanáí o suru katatí ni nátte orimáso né ‘it’s arranged so that they talk on a hill overlooking the Foro Romano in Rome, you see’ (Tanigawa 196).
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

s,t  Adv  V-ru  *Q  katawarā(“) ‘besides V-ing, while V-ing (at the same
time ...)’: Osieru (Osiete iru) katawarā(“), zibun mo
daigakü-in de kenkyuu site iru ‘While teaching, I am pur-
suing my own research in the graduate school’; Osakasyōgoyo o sotugyōo (¬
) , anī no misē o tetudā
katawarā(“), zassī ni toosyo site ita bungaku-seïnen ga ... ‘The young literary man
who, after graduating fromŌsaka Commercial (College) was submitting contribu-
tions to magazines while helping out at his brother’s store ...’ (Tk 3.302). Cf. ippōo,
nāgarā.

s  N  N  no  [Q]  katēgorīi ‘category’.

s  N  N  V-ru  [Q]  katei ‘the process (of)’: Konpyūuttaa de sīryō(¬) o
sēri suru (to iu-+ katei de matigāi o mituketa ‘We dis-
covered the mistake by a process of checking data
by computer’.

s  N  N  V-ru  [Q]  kāti (ga āru) ‘(is) worth V-ing’: Yōmu kāti ga/ no āru
hon da ‘It is a book worth reading’.

s  N  N  V-ru  [Q]  katudoo ‘activity, movement’: Kyooikū no kikāi(“) o
kintoo ni suru (to iu-+ katudoo ga takamātte kita ‘Actions
for the equalizing of educational opportunity have been
mounting’.

t  N  N  Pl  *Q  kawakami ‘upstream (of where ... )’: see kawasimo.

t  N  Adv,  ?*Q  kawari (ni+) (1) ‘to make up for, making up for, off-
setting, as compensation for; but (to offset that)’;
(2) ‘instead of’ (cf.  “gawari’): (1) Kīnōo asonde simatta
kawari (ni+), kyōo wa hutuka ‘bun hataraku ‘To make up
for taking yesterday off I’ll do two days’ work today’; Sono sigoto wa syuuunyyu ga
ōoi kawari (ni+), turai sigoto da ‘The job brings in a large income, but it is hard work’.
(2) Nīkō o tabēru kawari (ni+), yasū sakana o tabēta ‘Instead of eating meat, I ate
cheap fish’; Nīkō no kawari ni sakana o tabeyō ‘Let’s have fish instead of meat’;
... seito san-nin ga hān-suto(¬) o yattā ga, kyōōin(¬) wa seito o settoku suru kawari
ni kuruma de oyā o yobī-yōseta ‘three students went on a hunger strike but the
teachers instead of arguing with the students summoned their parents by taxi’ (SA
2665.23d).

t  N  N  Pl  *Q  kawasimo ‘downstream (of where ... )’: Atarasi
kagaku-kōōyōo ga tātta kawasimo wa koogai ga hidōi
si, [kōōyōo(¬)] ga tatt[a] kawakami mo sidai ni koogai ga
hūete iku sóo da ‘Downstream of where the new chemical works went up the pol-
lution is dreadful, and they say that upstream [of where it went up], too, it is
gradually getting more polluted’. (Except for the context these could be taken as
extruded locatives ‘upstream [which is] where the works went up’ etc.)

t  N  N  Pl  *Q  kazakami ‘upwind (of where ... )’: see kazasimo.

t  N  N  Pl  *Q  kazasimo ‘downwind (of where ... )’: Íma moete iru
kazasimo wa kiken dā ga, [moete iru] kazakami wa
anzen dā ‘It is dangerous downwind of where it is

33. Also V-ru hodo/da ke no, V-ru  “bēki.
burning now but it is safe upwind [of where it is burning];

N N [Q] keesu 'a case, an example' (cf. rei).

N N [Q] kehâi("), [old-fashioned] kewâi(")'signs, indications';
∼ ga suru/âru, ∼ dâ 'there are signs (that)'; ∼ ga kôi/usui 'indications are strong/weak (that)'; ∼ o miséru (misénai) 'shows (no) signs': Ārasî ga ki-sôo na kehâi(") ga suru/âru 'There are indications that a storm is approaching'; Kanâsimi("), no kehâi(") sae misénai 'He doesn't show the least indication of grief'; Këizai akka no kehâi("), ga kôi 'There are strong indications of a worsening of the economy'; Kôe wa kikoënai ga, dâre ka ga tikazuite kûru kehâi("), ni/de migamâeta 'I couldn't hear a voice but I braced myself at signs that someone was approaching'; Naite iru keiwâi(−) o Shōnosuke wa, sitte ita ‘Shōnosuke well knew the signs of her tears’ (V 1972.162). Cf. kësiki.

N N V [Q] ikuto keika 'the course of (doing)'; Byooki ga kaihuku site
VN no iku keika o mîru 'We watch the course of recovery from the illness'; Žîken no kônôni made tadôta keika wa...
'The course that the affair has taken up till today...';
Myûûzikarî no tukurârete iku keika o, mûnasiku(−) kàngâete kudasâî 'Think of the course of a musical’s getting composed as empty' (SA 2664.36a).

N ?N V−ru [Q] keikaku 'the plan to (do)'; ∼ dâ 'the plan is to do; plans to do': Yoorôppa e iku keikaku da 'I plan to go to Europe'.

N N V−ta [Q] keiken 'experience'; ∼ ga âru/nâi 'has/lacks the experience of having V-ed' (cf. V−ta koto ga âru/nâi):
... mãdâ zyoosya-kyôhi o sa reta keiken ga nai... 'I’ve never been refused a lift (= ride)' (SA 2793.61c).

N N [Q] keikoo 'tendency': V−ru (VN no) ∼ ga âru 'has a tendency to V'.

N N [Q] këîryaku(")'ruse, scheme; plot' : Kanemô(−) no kodomo o yuukai suru {to iu} këîryaku("), ni sippai sita
'They failed in a scheme to kidnap a rich man’s child'.

N N [Q] keisei 'a situation (of, where... )': Këizai ga akka suru
{to iu} keisei ni óo-ûite(−) taisaku o tateîru 'We will set up policies in response to the situation of the economy’s worsening'.

N N [Q] keiseki 'traces of (where... ), indications (that... )':
Nigeta (Dasso sita) keiseki ga âru 'There are indications that they have fled (escaped)'; Dasso (Hooka) no keiseki
gâ âru 'There are indications of escape (of arson)'; Hito
ga sûnde iru keiseki wa nai 'There are no traces of people living there'.

N N [Q] keiyaku 'a contract, an agreement': Is-syuukan ni
yonzyuu-ûikan hatarâite hyakû-dorû morâ {to iu}
keiyaku de sigoto o hazimeta 'I started work with a contract
to work a hundred hours a week and receive a hundred dollars'.
13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

r, N N, Adv kekka 'result': Inhure o syuu sokisu suru tamé no seisakun de atta ga kãette inhure o sokuisu suru (to iu) kekka ni natta 'It was a policy for the purpose of controlling inflation but it only resulted in spurring inflation on'; Mé ga wáruku nátte kara wa sizen rázio(\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdagger}}) ni sitasimú to iu kekka ni nátta ga, ... 'After my eyeswent bad, it naturally resulted in my forming an attachment to radio, ...' (Gengo-Seikatsu 94.40). But quotationalization (... to iu kekkka) is rejected for Watasig a kankei-tóokyoku ni kiite mita kekka ni yoru to, ... 'According to the result of my inquiries of the relevant authorities, ...' (SA 2673.43d). Is the difference that the perfect is resultative and the imperfect summational? As a transitional adverbialization, kekka is normally preceded by VN (or N) no(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}). Hanketu no kekka, zen'in mûzai to nátta 'All were acquitted as a result of judicial decision' (MJW). But VN no(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}) kekka has other uses: Kenkyuu no kekka o séiri suru 'We will consolidate the results of our research' (MJW). Cf. seika.

s N N [Q] kén 'matter, affair' (cf. ikken): Kokkai de mondai ni náttat' gokuhi-syörüi o happyoo sita' (to iu) kén ni tâte o-hanasi o uketamawari-tái no desu ga 'I should like to ask you to talk about the affair of the “publishing of secret documents” that became an issue in Congress'.

s N N [Q] késsin 'determination, resolution (to do)'; V-ru ña da 'is resolved to do'; N no ño o suru 'makes a resolution of N': Sinu máde tataku késsin da 'We are resolved to fight till death'; Sinu késsin da 'I am determined to die'; Kin'ën no késsin o sita 'I have resolved (have made the resolution) to give up smoking'.

s N N [Q] ketten(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}) 'the fault (shortcoming) of ...': ... ano otokó no géi no ritugi-sugiru ketten(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}) wa ... 'his fault of being overmeticulous in his art' (Kb 269a); Ano otokó ni wa sake o nomi-sugiru (to iu) ketten(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}) ga áru 'He has the fault of drinking too much'. Cf. tânyo.

r,s N N [Q] ketumatu 'issue, outcome, upshot, conclusion': Kátute no dai-zyôyuu mo suramú-gai no issoitu(\textsuperscript{\textdagger}) de íkio o hiki-tóru (to iu) ketumatu o mukæta 'Though once a great actress she faced an end of dragging her life along in a room in the slums'.

s N N [Q] ki₁ 'inclination, intention': V-ru ki ga áru/nái 'has a (has no) mind to V'; V-ru ki ni nárú/náránai 'comes (comes not) to feel like doing, is inclined/disinclined to V'; V-ru ki ga suru/sinai 'feels like/unlike V-ing'. Examples will be found in the dictionaries and textbooks.

s N N [Q] ki₂ 'the feeling that': ña ga suru/sinai, ña da 'has/lacks the feeling that': Konna sukôsi de wa, tabéta jyoo na+ ki ga sinai 'With such a little bit I hardly feel I have eaten anything at all'; ... Kensaku wa nan-to-náku
§13.2. Postadnominals

Ógata ga i-soo na ki ga sita ‘Kensaku had the feeling that Ógata somehow seemed to be present’ (V 132).

s N N V-ru VN no kiboo ‘the hope to (V)’; Seisi-ka ni naru kiboo de (kiboo o motte) kono daigaku e kita ‘I have come to this university with the hope of becoming a statesman’; Tobei no (Tobei suru to iu) kiboo o sutenai ‘I will not give up my hope of going to America’.

s N N [Q] kïen(−) (1) V-ru (VN no) ~ ‘the chance, opportunity, occasion (to/for ...’; (2) V-ta (VN no) ~ ‘the occasion, consequence of ...’; (1) Hanasi-au kïen(−) ga nai no de, hanasi-atta kotô wa nai ‘Lacking an opportunity [to discuss it], we have not discussed it’. (2) Tonari ni suwatta to iu kïen(−) de, kekkon sita ‘As a consequence of sharing neighboring seats, we got married’ (= Tonari ni suwattâ no ga kïen(−) de ...).

r N N [Q] kïetu(−) ‘joy, delight, rapture’: Sono atarashii tíizin(−) o mituketa kïetu(−) ... ‘His joy at finding a new friend’ (Takahashi 177).

s,r N N [Q] kigu ‘fear (that/of)’ (=osore): Oo-ziin ga okôru kigu de ... ‘Out of fear that a big earthquake might occur ...’. kigüroo ‘worry, fear (that/of)’ = sinpai, osore.

s N N [Q] kihûu(−) ‘character, disposition, temper’: Sigoto-hônî no syûkugyô-kan wa, zibun no sigoto daké ni sennen suru kihûu(−) o umu ‘The vocational view that is based on the job gives rise to a disposition to pay attention only to one’s own job’ (Aonuma Yoshimitsu, NHK Shimin-Daiyaku 9.28).

s N N [Q] kikái(−) ‘opportunity, occasion’, V-ru (VN no) ~ ga áru/nai ‘has/lacks an opportunity to V’; ~ o éru ‘gets the opportunity’; ~ o múto (mâto) ‘has (awaits) the opportunity’: S ~ ni ‘on the occasion that S, at the opportunity presented by S’: Eigo o tukau kikái(−) ga nai ‘I have no opportunity to use my English’; Ryugaku no kikái(−) ga âttara ... ‘If I should have the opportunity to go abroad to study ...’; Kâre ni âtta kikái(−) ni tanomimasita ‘I took the opportunity of encountering him to make my request’; Nihôn e iku (ikeru) to iu kikái(−) ga âttara nogasimasen ‘If there should be an opportunity to go (to be able to go) to Japan I won’t pass it up’; Natu-yâsumi wa dôkusyo(−) o suru yói kikái(−) nai no de ... ‘Summer vacation is a good opportunity to do some reading ...’ (Nagano 1966.134).

s N N V-ru VN no kikaku ‘a plan (to V)’: kankô-son o tukurú kikaku ‘a plan to build a sightseeing boat’.

s,r N N [Q] kiken ‘danger’: ... O-tôki san no sono ziyûu ga nûni ka no hoozyuu no irô o niowasete i ru kiken o, watasi wa O-tôki san no kao to mé to kôe to, karada no konasi to ni tîra-to kan-zîta ‘In her face and eyes and voice and the carriage of her body I sensed for a moment the danger that that freedom of O-toki’s might take on a dissolute tinge’ (V 130).

s (N) N [Q] kikkake: (1) V-ru (VN no) ~ ‘the opportunity to V’; (2) V-ta (VN no) ~ ‘the occasion that led to (V-ing)’:
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

(1) Hanasi-kakeru (Hanasi no) kikkake ga naka’attaa ‘There was no opportunity to speak to him’. (2) Yuuzin ni natta kikkake wa, ... ‘The occasion that led to our becoming friends ...’.

s,?r N N [Q] kimi ‘a feeling; a touch, a tinge’: Ikubun ka ane-sama ya okasasen ni appaku sareta kimi mo atta ka ree ‘Perhaps there was a touch of having been somewhat oppressed by elder sister and mother’ (Takahashi 176).

s N N [Q] kimoti ‘a feeling that’; ... sin-zirarenai (-) to iu kimoti ‘a feeling that you can’t believe it’ (SA 2678.38b)—without the quotationalization, this could be taken as an extruded epitheme ‘a feeling you can’t trust’; Kaire wa hayaaku Tookyoo e hairo-tai kimoti de ippai ni natta ‘He was filled with a feeling of wanting to get into Tökyö quickly’ (V 132). See also ki1.

?s,?r N N [Q] kinen (ni) ‘(as a) commemoration of, (in) memory of’: Koko de hutari ga kekkon sita to iu kinen ni tisa na kii o ueta ‘Here we planted a little tree in honor of the couple’s having wed’; Tiyomi ga yuki no huri-kakata hi ni Tookyoo e kita kinen ni Yúkiko to siyóo ka ‘Shall we name her [= the newborn child] Yukiko in memory of Chiyomi’s coming to Tökyö on a snowy day?’ (V 137)—the ni is apparently mutative ‘so as (for it) to be’.

s N N [Q] kioku ‘a memory (of/that)’ (cf. obōe): Doko ko de mita yūō na kioku ga āru ‘I have a memory of having seen him somewhere’.

s ?N N V-ru N no Q kirai ga āru ‘can be faulted for, is open to the charge of, has a tinge/touch of ...’; kirai ga nai de mo nai ‘is not wholly free of, is not without a tinge of’: Takken da ga, ki ga āku no ga yaya osokatta kirai ga āru ‘A splendid idea, but it seems to have come to their attention a bit late’ (SA 2830.130e).


t (N) Npl N no *Q kitā(-) ‘north of (where ...)'.

s N N V-ru [Q] kiteit ‘provision, stipulation, rule (that ...)’: V-ru kiteit ni nāte iru ‘it is the rule that one will V’; V-ru ‘bēki (V-anākereba naranai) to iu kiteit ‘a stipulation that one must V’.

t (N) N ?[Q] kiwā ‘the final moment/time (when); (= māgiwa) ‘the brink (of)’.

s N N [Q] kizasi ‘a sign/omen/indication that ...’: ... Betonamu-kāiketu mo tikai kizasi to iu ‘... is said to be a sign that a Vietnam solution is near ...’ (SA 2688.4); Iyōiyo inhureesyon no kizasi ga arawārete kita ‘Signs of inflation are finally beginning to appear’; Sensoo no owaru kizasi wa makkū miēnai ‘There is not a sign in sight that the war will end’.

s,r N N [Q] kizukai ‘fear, anxiety; likelihood (that/of)’ = sinpai, osorē.
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

kkiri = kiri.

s  N  N  [Q]  kokoró 'heart, mind, intention, desire'; V-ru ̃ da (ga āru) 'has a mind to V': Si-tai kokoró mo āru rassii 'He seems to be of a mind to do it, all right': Isya ni nāru kokoró da 'I have it in my heart to become a doctor'.

s  N  N  V-ru  VN no  [Q]  kokorogumi(̈) 'intention'.

s  N  N  [Q]  kokoromotî (̈) 'feeling, frame of mind'; ~ ni nāru 'gets in the mood (to V)'; ~ ga suru 'has a feeling (of/that)'; Bōku(̈) wa tyōt-to bu-kīmi ni nāri, nāri ka mae ni kiita yūurei no hanasī o Tī kun ni hanasi-tāi kokoromotî (̈) o kan-zīta 'I became a bit uneasy and felt somehow an inclination to tell Chii the ghost story I had heard earlier' (V 132).

s  N  N  [Q]  kokorozasī(̈) 'intention; purpose; kindness': Watakusi o sinpai site kudasāru ̃ to iu̇ o-kokorozasi wa makoto ni arigatāi to omoimāsu 'I feel truly grateful for your kindness in worrying about me'.

s  N  N  [Q]  kokorozukai 'solicitude, consideration': Ōtu mo aite no tatibā ni nāte kangaēru ̃ to iu̇ kokorozukai ga tarimasēn 'There is lacking the consideration of always thinking about things from the other fellow's standpoint'.

s  N  N  [Q]  kokorozūmori 'plan, intention': Syōōrai wa dokuritu suru ̃ to iu̇ kokorozūmori de gozaimāsu 'It is my plan to establish myself independently at some later time'.

s  N  N  V-ru  VN no  [Q]  kokorozunbi (mental) preparation (to do)'; Isya ga huzai nāra sūgu 119'ban o mawasite kyuukyūu-sya o yobu kokorozunbi mo ātta no da ga, ... 'If the doctor were out I was prepared at once to dial 119 and call an ambulance' (Ariyoshi 247).

s  N  N  V-ru  VN no  [Q]  kontān 'a plot (to V); a secret design, a scheme, an intrigue'; Soori-dāizin o ansatu suru ̃ to iu̇ kontān ga ātta 'There was a plot to assassinate the prime minister'; Ansatu no kontān datta 'It was a design for assassination'. Synonym takurami(̈).

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t  (N)  Npl  *Q  koohoo 'behind (where ...), in back of (where ...)': Atarasīku koozyōō(') o tāteta koohoo nī wa màda akiti ga ōōi 'There is still a lot of vacant land behind where they put up a factory recently'.

r  N  N  *Q  koohun 'excitement, stimulation': Kono sakuhin o yōnda syoogeki to koohun wa ... 'The impact and stimulation from reading this work' (Takahashi 172). Okutsu 341: [Q] kōoi 'behavior, conduct, deed(s), act(s)': Hito ni sinsetu o tukusũ ̃ to iu̇ kōoi wa utukusii monō da 'It is a beautiful thing to do all you can to be nice to people'.

s  N  N  [Q]  kōokei(̈) 'scene, view, spectacle': Atarasī Tokkōo no bokkōo site iku kōokei(̈) ... 'The sight of a new Tōkyō starting to rise ...' (Takahashi 172).
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

koosan ‘the probability that’; \( - \) dá ‘it is probable that’; \( - \) ga ooki; \( \{ - \} \) da dai aru ‘it is highly probable that’; Dóo-mo suráreta koosan ga ooki ‘It is highly probable that he had had it (= his purse) swept’ (Shibata 1961.180); Makeru koosan mo sukunaká nái ‘The probability is not1 inconsiderable that we will lose’.

kooro ‘the approximate time (that/when)’; \( \{ \} \) koro \( \{ \} \) made ni wa ‘by the time that ... ’; V-anai/anakatá koro ni wa ‘before (the time that) V’; Watasi ga wakakatta koro ... ‘When I was young ... ’; Atatákakku náró koro \( \{ \} \) made ni wa gënki ni náró desyoo ‘By the time it gets warm you will be well again’; Sóro-soro kuraku nar-hazimeta koro \( \{ \} \) ni káette kita ‘We came back (at the time) when it had started to get dark’; Móo tegata ga todóita koro da ‘It’s time the letter should have been delivered’; Máda hahaoya ni nánakatá koro ni wa, ... ‘Before I had become a mother ... ’; Cf. ‘góró (§ 2.4).

koto ‘fact; experience; statement; ... ’; see § 14.1; § 15.13.

kudari ‘the passage/part/place/bit (where ...)’; Ano syoo setó de wa hutari ga wakarérú kudari ga itiban suki da ‘In that novel I like best the passage where the two people separate’; Ano sibai no, onná ga naité kudóita kudari ‘igo wa tumaranakatá ‘The rest of the play after where the woman put on her tearful wiles was dull’; Hanasi no wakarérú no kudari de naitá ‘I wept at the (place where there was a) separation in the story’.

kuhuu ‘device, scheme’ (cf. sikata, sikumi, syúdan).

kuírai = gúrai.

kuraimakkusu ‘the climax (which is when ..., of ...)’; Ryokak-kí o notótte hooseki o ubáu tégtú mo igai-sei ga ári, oogátá-ki o koosoku-dóóro ni tyakurikusu saseru kuraimakkusu wa sûráru ga áru ‘The very trick of hijacking a passenger plane to steal jewels has an unexpectedness about it, and the climax of landing the big plane on an express highway has a thrill to it (= is thrilling)’ (SA 2679.118b).

kúroo ‘hardship(s), troubles; anxieties (resulting from ...)’; ... bínboo no kúroo ... ‘the hardships/suffering of (= brought about by) poverty’ (Tk 2.63a); Onna-de hitótu de kodomo o sado-téru 4to i jusú kúroo o kasana ‘I suffered much hardship in raising a child as a woman alone’.

kurúsúmi(” ‘the hardship (of ..., that results from ...)’; Otto o usinátta kurúsúmi(”) no ámari túma mo zisatu sita ‘Overwhelmed by the hardship of losing her husband the wife committed suicide herself’; ... geri bákari site ita kurúsúmi(”) kará mo kahhó sarete simáttarí daróo ‘apparently he had been freed, too, from the diarrhoea that had been plaguing him’ (Ariyoshi 232); ... sánti e dée ... siti-hatinénkán, ki-no-mi ya né o tabéru kurúsúmi(”) o site ... ‘he went to the battle area [in New Guinea] and ... underwent the hardship of eating berries and roots for seven or eight years ... ’ (SA 2665.117e).
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

kusé 'bad habit, fault, foible (of)'; ... mé o kosúru
kusé ga ári, ... 'has the habit of rubbing his eyes' (Takeda 1970:82); ... kono ári wa tokiori, o-nésyo o suru kusé ga átta 'this older brother of mine was apt to wet the bed every now and then' (Endô 208).

kusé (ni)³⁴ 'although, despite the fact that; deceptively in view of the fact that': Eigo ga wakáru kusé ni wakarañai hurí o sita 'Despite the fact that he understands English he pretended that he didn’t'; Sitte ita kusé ni sirán-kao
sité 'ta 'He knew all about it but he put on an innocent face'; Kodomo no kusé ni namaiki da 'He is cheeky for a child'; Ookii kusé ni karui monó da 'It is light in weight to be so (deceptively) big'; Sukí de mo nái kusé ni takusah tabemášita 'He ate a lot as if he found it more to his taste than it was'.

kuuki 'air, tendency, attitude'.

kuwadaté(-) 'scheme, plan; venture; plot': Ansatu siyoo to suru/iu kuwadaté(−) dé wa, ni-sannen mo mae kara átta 'There had been a plan to assassinate him for several years'; Ansatu no kuwadaté(−) o sita otóko wa dàre daroo 'Who is the man who planned the assassination, I wonder'.

kyokumén(-) 'tactical situation': Teki ni kakomárete korit su ru to iu Kyokumén(−) ni o-ti-ittá 'I fell into a situation where I stood alone surrounded by the enemy'.

kyoóboo 'plot (to V)': Ansatu suru to iu Kyooobo ga átta = Ansatu no Kyooobo ga átta 'There was a plot of assassination'.

kyuuzyoo 'the plight/distress of ...': Kodomo ni gimu-kyuóiku o ukesasérú koto mo dekinai Kyuuzyoo da 'The plight is that we can not provide compulsory education for the children'; Syokuzi ni sae kotó-kákú(−) Kyuuzyoo o mite damátte wa irarenai 'We can hardly stand by silently in the face of the distress of lacking even food'; Taberarénai to iu Kyuuzyoo ... 'The distress of not being able to eat ...'.

ma 'time (while)'; V-ru (V-te iru, VN no) ma ni 'while V-ing': Rúsu no ma ni ... 'In one’s absence ...'; Miru (Mite iru) ma ni zénbu tábetyatta 'He ate the whole thing up right before my very eyes'; Oni ni inai ma ni asobimáyó 'While the devil’s away let’s have our play'; Kisyá o mátu (máte iru) ma ni ránti o tabemáyó ka 'Shall we have lunch while we wait for the train?'. In Isogásukute o-tyá o nómu ma mo nái 'I’m so busy I haven’t a moment to drink tea' the epitheme is extruded (from Sono ma ni o-tyá o nómu 'I drink tea in that time'). As a noun ma means 'time' or 'space' (or 'room'); cf. ma ni áu 'is in time', ma mo nái 'it is before long' (whence ma-mó-naku 'soon'). It also means 'luck': ma gi/ñari 'is fortunate/unfortunate'.

ma de: (1) 'to the point where/that/of'; (2) 'to the extent of, as far as'; (3) 'no more than, just, only'

³⁴. But the ni is usually present. In downtown Tókó you will also hear kusé site: O-sake nomérú kusé site geiko mitái na kao site 'ru yó 'He puts on the face of a teetotaller hiding the fact that he's really quite a drinker'.

³⁵. Or focus particle; see §2.3.3. Also an allative marker; see §3.7, §3.7a.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

(= daké): (1) ... gánko na māde no zirītu-sei ... ‘autonomy (self-reliance) to the point of being obstinate’ (SA 2680.104b); Sikā-si ryōokun ‘tomoto zibun no ryōoti no dōko de nāni ga turerū ka to iu koto ni tūite wa, seirō na māde ni nāhi mo siranākatta ‘But the two gentlemen knew nothing to the point of anything clear about what [fish] could be caught where in their territories’ (SA 2681.95b); ... osorōi māde no syūunen(‘) ... ‘an obsession that bordered on the terrifying’ (SA 2665.116b); Pikā-pika hikāru made, kutū o migaita ‘I brushed my shoes till they were shiny’. (2) ... toden ni notta māde wa yōkatta ga, ... ‘it was all right as far as managing to get on the streetcar, but (then) ...’ (Shibata 1961.180). (3) Sōo itta māde/dakē ‘no koto ni ‘That’s all I said’; Nën no tamē ni tazūnete mīta māde/dakē ‘I just inquired to be sure’; Mān-iti no baai wa bōku(‘) ga sekinin o oō(‘) māde da = Mān-iti no baai dakē wa bōku(‘) ga sekinin o oō(‘) ‘Only in a pinch will I take the responsibility’; V-ru māde mo nāi ‘there is no need to V’.

(N) Npl *(O) ‘māe (in) front of where’: ... umā ga ... tōo-san no mīte iru māe to orīmasu ‘the horses pass by in front of where father is watching’ (Kholodovich 128).

(N) Ntm VN no (t) māe {ni} ‘before V-ing’: Neru māe ni hā o migaku ‘I brush my teeth before going to bed’; Benkyōo no māe ni syoku-zi siyōo ka ‘Shall we eat before we study?’.

(N) Ntm *[Q] māe no TIME ‘the TIME before’; Sōhū no sankā-ki no hoozi no āru māe no ban, ... ‘The evening before the ceremonies commemorating the third anniversary of the grandfather’s death ...’ (V 141); ... iyōiyo o-wakare to iu māe no ban ni, ... ‘on the evening before finally parting’ (Tanigawa 197).

(N) N *(O) maezirase (= zentōo) ‘hunch, premonition, signs, omen (that ...)’: Zisin ga okōru {to iu} maezirase ga arīmasu ka ‘Are there signs we will have an earthquake?’ As a synonym of yokoku, quotationization is required: zisin ga okōru to iu yokoku/maezirase ‘prior notice (forewarning) that an earthquake will occur’.

(N) VN no *(Q) māgire {ni} ‘under the influence of (having V-ed)’: Yotta māgire ni uzūkāri himitu o morasita ‘Under the influence of being drunk I let the secret out unwittingly’; ...

(N) VN no *(Q) māgiwa {ni} ‘(on) the verge of, just before’: Sinu ...

(N) VN no māgiwa ‘On the brink of death ...’; Syuppatsu suru/no
majiga ‘On the verge of departing’ = Syupputa ‘On the verge of departure’; Dekakeru majiga made sigoto ga atta ‘There was work to be done right up to the moment of departure’; Iyo’iyo syupputo to iu majiga ni kuruuma no kosyoo o hakken sita ‘Just before we were finally to depart I discovered the car needed fixing’; Sono majiga ni natte ‘At the last minute ..., At the final (eleventh) hour ...’.


PeN

s N Nact *Q mane ‘imitation, simulation (of ...); pretending to (be/do)’: Ano doobutu wa kiken na toki ni wa sinda mane o suru ‘That animal when endangered pretends to be dead’; ... masumusasu tyoo si ni notte, umá no inanaku(‘) mane máde site míseta ‘getting jollier and jollier he even showed how he could imitate a horse whinnying’ (V 137); Anna rippa na hitó no mane wa dekimasen ‘I can’t emulate such as splendid person as that’.

(Adv) N no *Q mánimani(‘) ‘at the mercy of (wind/waves/fate/...).’

Derived from an iterated version of mamá ni, this is limited to a few clichés: kaze no ~ hukarete iku ‘is blown at the mercy of the wind’, nam(‘) no ~ todayóu ‘drifts with the waves’, nagare(‘) no ~ (únmei no ~) uitari/ukanári szindzündári suru ‘floats and sinks at the mercy of the current (of destiny).’

(N) Npl *Q mannaka ‘the very middle of (where ...):’ Gakusei-tati ga atumátte ita mannaka ni hitóri no kyóo si ga tátte ita ‘In the very middle of where the students were gathered there stood a teacher’.

(Q) manzoku ‘satisfaction (at/that ...):’ Katayamá-si wa naki-dásita Tosie o, zibun no doosatu ga atatta mánzoku to, kizu-tuíte iru káno-zyo ni tai-síru airen to, hutató no kokóró o toobun ni mázete, míte ita ‘Mr Katayama looked at the suddenly tearful Toshie with equally mixed feelings of satisfaction that his insight had been right and of compassion for the injured girl’ (V 133); Umarete hazimétte dokuryóko de monó o kansei sita {to iu} mánzoku o azíwáttá(‘) ‘1 tasted the satisfaction of having completed something on my own for the first time in my life’.

(N) Npl *Q masitá ‘directly under (where ...):’ Sinkan-sen ga zyuugó-hun ‘ókí(‘) ni tóoru {tòkoró no} masitá no apáato ni sünde iru kara, tamarimasén ‘It’s unbearable living in an apartment right below where the bullet trains whiz by every fifteen minutes’.

mas-sáityuu = sáityuu (midst).

matigái ‘mistake (that consists of ...):’ Zyósi o otósu {to iu} matigái ga óo ‘There are a lot of mistakes that consist of dropping particles’.

maue ‘directly over (where ...):’ Atarásiku tiká ni tosyó-kan o tukútté iru mae de kodomo ga huttóbóoru o site iru ‘Children are playing football right over where they have newly built a library underground’.

(N) Npl V-te iru *Q mawari ‘around (where ...):’ Haahoaya ga sigoto o site iru mawari de kodomó-táti ga asonda ‘The children played
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

where the mother was working'; Kuti no mawari ni tyokoreto ga tuite iru yo
‘You’ve got chocolate all around your mouth'; Teeburu no mawari ni isu o naraberu
‘I will arrange the chairs around the table' [ni is mutative-locative].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>Npl</th>
<th>&quot;Q</th>
<th>mayokoko(') ‘right beside (where ...), directly parallel (to where ...)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>&quot;mazi ‘should not': see §8.6.</td>
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<tr>
<td>?s</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>&quot;me ‘experience, treatment’ (=keiken): Sini-soo na me' o mita 'I underwent an ordeal where I nearly died'; Hukuro-datoki ni sareru me ni atta ‘I encountered the unpleasant experience of getting beaten up'; Donna me ni atte mo ‘Whatever (sort of thing) I undergo ...’.</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>[Q]</td>
<td>medo ‘prospect, hope’; V-ru (VN no) ~ ga nai ‘there is no prospect of (hope that)’.</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>[Q]</td>
<td>mien ‘aspect, phase, side’; Itte hosii mien mo aru kedo ... ‘In some ways they WANT to have us go, but ...’ (R).</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>[Q]</td>
<td>miiburi(') ‘gesture, motion’; Yoku gaizin ga suru yoo na kato o sukumeru(') miiburi(') de, ‘Noo’ to itta ‘With a gesture of shrugging his shoulders the way foreigners often do, he said “No”’.</td>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>&quot;Q</td>
<td>miigi ‘the right of (where ...). Cf. miigi ‘the preceding’.</td>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>&quot;Q</td>
<td>migidonari ‘next on the right to (where ...).’</td>
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<td>t</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>Npl</td>
<td>&quot;Q</td>
<td>migigawa ‘the right of (where ...).’</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>[Q]</td>
<td>mikomi ‘the likelihood/prospect that ...; ~ ga aru/nai ‘there is a (is no) likelihood that ...’; ~ da ‘it is likely that ...’: Naoru (Kaihuku no) mikomi no nai byooki da ‘It is an illness with no prospect of recovery’; Kat eru (Katu kotog dakeru) mikomi da ‘We are likely to be able to win’; Kati wa kongo masumasu agaru mikomi desu ‘We face the prospect of ever rising prices from now on’; ... tenni wai Nishi-Nihon kara kuzureru mikomi desu ‘(and) the prospect is for the weather to deteriorate in western Japan’ (R).</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>N</td>
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<td>[Q]</td>
<td>miryoku(') ‘the attraction/charm (that results from ...): Maa, kai gai e derareru miryoku(') mo ookii n desyou ‘1 guess (it’s that) the lure of being able to go abroad must be great’ (SA 2688.20c).</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>[Q]</td>
<td>mitoosi ‘the prospect (that ...), the outlook (for ...); ~ da ‘the prospect is that ...’: Kono mondai wa ni-sanniti tyuu ni wa kaiketu suru ‘ito u’ mitoosi da ‘The prospect is that this problem will be settled within the next few days’; ... ma-mo-naku, otto ga kaette kuru ni tigai nai mitoosi kara, sinken ni narai no daroo ‘she couldn’t take it very seriously, in view of the prospect that surely her husband would be back shortly’ (V 131).</td>
</tr>
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mitai (da/na/ni): see §2.12.

36. Can be modified by an adnominalized adjective: hidoi/omosiroi me (ni atta, o mita) ‘(underwent) an awful/interesting experience’. Also by konna, sonna, and anna, but not by kono, sono, or ano.
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

s N N V-ru [Q] miti ‘way (to do)’ (= súbê); Sakoku-zyóótaí no kuni dé wa gaikoku-bûnka o siru {to ii;} miti ga nái ‘In a country under isolation (from foreigners) there is no way to learn foreign culture’.

s N N [Q] mokuromî(’) ‘plan, scheme; intention’; Ansatsu suru {to ii;} (Ansatsu no) mokuromî(’) ga áta ‘There was a plan to assassinate him’.

s N N [Q] mokuteki1 ‘the purpose of (doing)’; V-ru (VN no) ~ de ‘with/for the purpose of V-ing’; Gengô-gaku o kenkyuu suru mokuteki de tobei sita ‘I went/came to America for the purpose of studying linguistics’; Hito ni miséru mokuteki de káta monó de wa nái ‘It is not something I wrote with the idea of showing it to people’.

t N N ?[Q] mokuteki2 ‘the purpose/object in (doing), the reason for (doing)’; Amerika e iku mokuteki wa ... ‘My purpose in going to America’; Koko e kita mokuteki wa ... ‘My object in coming here ...’; Zíten(’) o hiku mokuteki wa iiro de áru ‘There are various purposes for which one consults a dictionary’ (Nagano 1966.164).

e (N) N ?*Q monó ‘the one(s)/thing(s)/person(s) which ...’. monó, món: see § 13.2.1.

r,s N N [Q] monoóôto ‘the sound of ...’; Nání ka ga wareta (Nání ka o waru, Nání ka o watte iru) monoóôto ga sita ‘There was the sound of something breaking (of someone breaking something)’; Uzura wa hito no törü monoóôto ni odoróîte, tokidoki kusá no náka kara tobi-táçu ‘The quail startled at the sound of the people passing by, fly out of the grass from time to time’ (V 134).

t (N) N N no *Q móîó ‘(being) under ...’ (usually figurative): Sátoo senséi no [sidoo/kantoku no] móîó de yatte imásita ‘I was doing it under [the guidance/direction of] Dr Satô’; Nenpoo nanzyûuman-en to iu yakusoku/keiyaku no móîó ni tutómète iru ‘I am employed under an agreement/contract with (= that calls for) a salary of ¥700 000 a year’.

s (N) N *Q moyoo ‘appearance, likelihood, looks’; ~ dá ‘it appears/looks as though, it seems likely that’; ~ ga nái/miëînai ‘it does not appear likely that’; Bukka wa iyóîyo agaru (tákaku náru) moyoo da ‘Prices look to keep going up and up’; Móîó nomi-ta-sóö na moyoo da ‘They appear to want to drink more’; Kéízai antéi no moyoo wa mattyaku(nái/miëînai ‘There is not the least sign (or: likelihood) of the economy stabilizing’; Antéi si-soö na moyoo da ‘It looks about to settle down’.

t (N) N N no ?*Q moyoosi ‘the auspices of ...’; ~ de ‘under the auspices of ..., at the instance/urging of ...’.

e N [Q] muki ‘some (so-inclined) people; those who ... ’; Nihôn-tyoo o o-konomi no muki ni wa, yonzóô-han mo gozaimasu ‘For those who enjoy the Japanese style, we also have four-and-a-half-mat size rooms’; Watakusi-dômó no íkén ni go-sandoo (go-sansei) no muki ga óöi no de, yorokónde iru ‘We are pleased that there are so many who are in agreement with our view’; Haikara-gõónomi no muki ni wa Eikoku
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

- "huu no baa ga yokaróo 'For those who like the stylish, an English sort of bar would be good/better'; Hakurái-hin(・) o arigata-gáru muki ni wa tyooood ïi sina da 'For those who welcome foreign goods, this is just the right piece of merchandise'; Tokaku kaimono no yuuwaku ni make-yasú muki ni wa, toku ni o-susume si-tai tenbiktóokin desu 'For those too easily tempted to buy things, we have a paycheck-deduction savings plan that we especially recommend';Honba no "Héaa" o mite kíta muki wa ... 'Those who saw the original [production of] "Hair" ... ' (SA 2657.117d).

s (N) N,Adv [Q] muné 'the effect that, with the purport of; in effect saying' that': Koosyoo ga hutyoo ni owatta muné sirase ga átta 'There was a report to the effect that the negotiations had ended in failure'; Tikáku tobei suru muné 澧tutatet(・) morai-tai 'I want you to convey the message that I am leaving shortly for America'; ... izon ga áru muné o akiráka ni sita 'revealed that there are objections'; ... gozitó(・) kaitoo suru muné o tutateta(・) 'said they would answer at a later date'; ... zibun no sekinin de syóri suru muné no yakusoku o site okéba ... 'if there is an agreement to the effect that he will take care of it all on his own responsibility' (SA 2664.107c). Cf. yósi.

s,t N N [Q] muzyun 'the contradiction, the inconsistency': Kono yóó na tezika na kotó o káette siranai muzyun ya, okáisia o hyoogén(・) sitári, ... 'expressing the anomaly and absurdity of not knowing this sort of familiar thing [while knowing exotic things]' (Kotoba no yurai 122).

nádo: see §2.9.
nágára: see §9.1.3.

náka: see §9.1.3.
nánté: see §9.1.3.

N N [O] narawasi(・) 'custom, practice': Patto-Búun ni kiita hanasi da ga, mukóo(・) no geiño-zin wa, soo iu hwán kara no purézento wa massúgu sišetu(・) e kihú(・) suru narawasi(・) ni nátte iru to iu 'According to what I heard Pat Boone say, performers over there make it a practice to donate such presents from fans to institutions as soon as they get them' (SM 2791.43d).

s (N) N [Q] nari 'the shape/form/appearance of'. See also §15.19; p. 955 (V-ru nari 'as soon as V').
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

r, s N N [Q] nariyuki 'consequences, outcome': Are wa mattaku yotta ikioi no nariyuki de, 'That was the result of being thoroughly drunk' (SA 2793.97c).

r, s N N [Q] nayami 'the distress of (that results from ...)': Tomodati ni somukareta nayami ... 'The distress of having a friend turn against you ...'; Otto ni suterareta nayami ... 'The distress of being rejected by your husband ...'.

s N N [Q] nerai 'aim, purpose': Bukka o sagéru to no nerai ga atta 'We had the aim of lowering prices'; Bukka o sageyoo to suru nerai de atarasii seisaku o happyoo sita 'They made public new policies with the aim of trying to lower prices'; Sekinin keigen no nerai de atarasii sëido o tukûtta 'We devised a new system with the aim of limiting responsibility'.

s N N V-ru *Q VN no neuti (ga áru/nái) '(is, is not) worth V-ing': Kono hôno wa itidoku suru [daké no] (itidoku no) neuti ga áru 'This book is worth a reading'; Kono ronbu no yakusuru [bédó no] neuti ga nái 'This treatise is not worth translating'.

s N N V-ru [Q] ninmu 'duty, service, mission': Sáigo made tataku (tataku -békí, tatakanákereba naranái) ninmu ga áru 'We have the duty to fight to the very end'.

r N N [Q] niói 'the smell of (resulting from ...)'.

t N N [Q] no 'the one(s) which ...; the fact that ...': see § 14.2.

t N N [Q] no 'the one(s) which ...; the fact that ...': see § 14.2.

s N N V-ru [Q] noiti (-) '(later) after ...': Setumei o íketo noiti(-) ni sigoto o házimeta 'I began the task after I had received instructions'; Sindá noiti(-) no kotó made sinpai sité mo si-yoo ga nái 'There’s no point in worrying about what will happen after you’re dead'; ... einen-kinzoku-hyóosyo o úketa ni-syúukan noiti(-) ni ... 'two weeks after receiving a medal for long service ...' (SA 2664.19a); Sotugyoo no noiti(-) ni kekkon sita 'I got married after graduating'; Sono no noiti(-) ni ... 'Afterward ...; Later on ...'.

s N N V-ru [Q] nozomí(-) 'hope/prospect to V': Seikoo no nozomí(-) ga áru 'There is hope/chance of success'; O-kane o morau nozomí(-) ga nái 'I have no prospect of getting the money'; Senséi ni náru/naréru nozomí(-) ga nái 'I have no hope of becoming a teacher'; Moo hutatabi Tookýoo e ikú nozomí(-) mo nákú ... 'With no prospect of going to Tókyô again ...' (R).

s N N [Q] nyúusu 'the news (that ...)': Sóodoo ga okótta [to iu] nyúusu ni odoróita 'I was surprised at the news that there had been a riot'.

s N N [Q] oboé 'the memory/recollection of ...': Sikaraureta oboé wa ... 'The memory of having been scolded ...'; Soo iwaretá oboé ga áru 'I recall having that said to me'; Sore o mita
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

obōe wa nai ‘I have no recollection of having seen it’; Ore n tōkō zyaa unagi nanka kūta obōe wa née [= nái] zō ‘I don’t recall eating any eel at MY place’ (Okitsu 1.177).

r N N N [Q] odorōki ‘the surprise (at ..., that ...)’; Hyakuman-en atatta îto iuâ odorōki de monō mo ienakkatta ‘I was speech­less with surprise at having won a million yen’.

s,?t (N) N N [Q] o-kage (de) ‘owing/thanks to ...’; ... minnā ga ganbatte hatarai o-kage de, ... ‘thanks to everyone’s having worked hard’ (SA 2651.65c); Osiete moratta o-kage de ... ‘Thanks to having it explained to me ...’; Keizai antei no o-kage de ... ‘Owing to the stabilizing of the economy ...’; Bukka ga sagatta îto iuâ o-kage de seikatsu ga raku ni nattā ‘Thanks to prices having lowered life has become easier’. Cf. tame.

s,?r N N N [Q] okāsi-sa ‘the oddity, incongruity, absurdity, ridiculous­ness’: (An example will be found under muzyun.)

s N N N [Q] *oku ‘way in the back (of where ...)’; Osire no huton ga tunde aru ōku ni gōkūhī(‘) no bünso o kōkūsita ‘I hid the secret documents way in the back of where the quilts are piled up in the cupboard’.

s N N N [Q] okusoku ‘conjecture, speculation, guess (that ...)’; Dōru ga sagāru okusoku kara mondai ga aru ‘There are problems as a result of speculation that the dollar will fall in value’.

s (N) N N [Q] omōi (= ki) ‘a feeling that/of ...’; ña, ña suru37 ‘feels that ...’: ... hādā ni āwa ga syoo-zūru(‘) omōi ga suru ‘(has the feeling of millet seeds arising on one’s skin =) feels one’s flesh crawl, feels goose-­flesh’ (SA 2685.118a); Masūnaga wa sinzoo ga kooru omōi de aru ‘Masunaga feels his heart freeze’ (Ig 1962.89).

s N N N [Q] omoiyari ‘consideration, thoughtfulness, sympathy, compassion’: Byoonin ni yasasii kōtōbā no kakeru îto iuî omoiyari ga hosii ‘Wanted is the thoughtfulness to use kind words when speaking to the ill’. But quotationalization is often obligatory: Komatte iru hitō o tasuke-tāi to iu omoiyari ... ‘The compassion to want to help people in trouble ...’.

s N N [Q] omōmoti(‘) ‘a look of ...’ (= hyoozyōō(‘), kaotuki): Kessin si-kāneta omōmoti(‘) de ... ‘With a look of indeci­sion ...’; Ikitu-tak na-soo na omōmoti(‘) ... ‘A look of seeming not to want to go ...’; Kotowari-kaneta omōmoti(‘) ‘A look of reluctance to refuse ...’.

s (N) N [Q] omomukī(‘) (1) ‘aspect, appearance, looks’; ... aru ‘it appears as though’; (2) ‘hearsay, gist’ (= yōsi, munē); ña narī ‘they say, the report is that’ (= sō do); ña o mötte ‘on the grounds that/of’: (1) Kōnniti no Nihon ni ōte wa ippan-teki ni gunkokusyugi-teki ni nāte iru îto iuî omomukī(‘) ga āri wa sinai daroo ka ‘Doesn’t it appear

37. As a synonym of ... ki ga suru; but as an extruded epitheme only omōi o suru: Iyā na omōi o sita ‘I had a disagreeable feeling’; Kurusii/Hazukasii omōi o surēba ... ‘If one should feel pained/ashamed ...’.
as though there was a general drift toward militarism in the Japan of today?’. 
(2) Ziki syoosoo no omomuki("") o motte hu-kyoka to kettei [sita] ‘It has been decided not to grant permission on the grounds that the timing is premature’. 

r N N [Q] òn, go-ôn ‘obligation (resulting from ...’) : O-sewa ni natta (to iu) go-ôn wa wasuremasen ‘I can not forget my indebtedness to you for taking trouble on my behalf’. 

r N N V-ta O-rei (ni) ‘as a reward for, (in) recognition/consideration of; (as) a return courtesy/present for (=henrei(-))’ : Kano-zyo wa, kinô uti(−) made okutte moratta o-rei ni, Narita ni nani ka purezentou ga si-takkatta ‘She wanted to give Narita some sort of present in appreciation for seeing her home the day before’ (V 137); Osiete itadaita o-rei o dôo simasyôo ‘What can I do to express my appreciation for the favor of being taught?’.

s,?t N N [Q] ori ‘time, occasion, opportunity’: Sotira no hoo e iku ori ga aittara, o-yori simasu ‘If I have the opportunity to get in your area, I will drop around’; Gakkai ni syusseki sita ori (-ni) anô-hito ni âtta ‘I met him when I was attending the (scholarly) meetings’; Utiyama ga ... zuihitu-syuu o syuppan sita ori ni wa, ... Rô-Zin wa sôn zyobun no hude o tòri, ... ‘When Uchiyama published a collection of essays ... Lu Hsin authored the introduction ...’ (SA 2792.94d).

s N N [Q] osore ‘the fear/danger that ...’: Kàigai ni nîgeta osore mo âru ‘There is also the fear that he may have fled abroad’; Kane ga nâku nárû osore ga âru kara ‘... There is a danger of running out of (or: losing) money ...’; Sippai suru osore wa nai ‘There’s no danger of my failing’; Taihû ga kûru osore ga âru sóo da ‘They say there is danger of a typhoon coming’; Kono mamâ de wa, tatakai ni itâru(−) osore ga âru ‘With things as they are, there is fear we will come to war’ (MJW); Zisatu no/suru osore ga âreba ... ‘If there is danger of (his committing) suicide ...’. Cf. sinpai.

r N N [Q] otô ‘the sound of (resulting from ...)’ : Okutsu 191: *Q owarî ‘the end (when ...)’: Hûtari ga sinzyuu site simatta owarî mâde naki-nagârô mîte ita ‘I watched in tears to the end where they committed a love suicide’.

s N N V-ru VN no [Q] purân ‘a plan (to V)’.

r N N [Q] réi1 ‘an example, an instance of (of ...) (=itâi); a precedent (=senrei)’ : Nihon-zin de koko de gâûi o totta {to iu} réi wa nài sóo da ‘They say there has never been a case of a Japanese taking a degree here’. Cf. këësu.

r N N V-ta O-rei N no réi2 = o-rei: Naganâga(−) o-sewa ni natta réi to ... ‘In appreciation of all the trouble you’ve gone to ...’ (Takahashi 172).

s, N N V-ru VN no rensyuu ‘dril, practice (in doing)’ : Kanzi o hâyaku yômû {to iu} rensyuu ga hituyoo da ‘Practice is needed in reading Chinese characters rapidly’.
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

- renzyuu 'group, set, crowd (of people)': Ryokoo no sukī na renzyuu ga atumätte zyettó-ki o tyáataa sita 'A group of travel lovers got together and chartered a jet plane'. Younger version réntyuu(−), says MKZ5.

- rikutu 'reason (why/that) ...': Tikyuu ni āsa to ýôru ga āru to iuy+ rikutu wa dâre ni de mo nattoke dekíru daroo 'Surely anyone can grasp the reason why the earth has morning and evening'.

- rímen(−) 'back of; behind (the fact that ...)': Káre ga zisatu sinákereba naránakaatā rímen(−) ni wa doonna mondai ga āta no daróo 'I wonder what may have been behind his having to commit suicide?'.

- niriyuu '(for) the reason that ...': Watasi ga huta tabi kore o ooyake ni siyoo to suru tikará(−) o éta ríyyu mo, mata mättaku[1] no ten ni āru 'The very reason that I had the strength to try to make this public once again lies in that aspect' (V 139); Kenkoo ga sugürénaí ríyyu ni, ... 'I resigned because my health was none too good' (R).

- rusu '(the time of) absence (ensuing from having V-ed); VN V-te iru after ...': Wata kusi ga dekaketa rúsu ni denpoo ga kita 'While I was out a telegram came'; Okusan ga kaimo no ni itta rúsu ni kodomo ga kegá o sita 'While the lady of the house was away shopping one of the children injured himself'; Nyóobo[0] ... ga abura "dárake ni nátte kasegi-mawatte irú rúsu ni, ... téisyu [wa] mappirúma kara sake o nónde iru ... 'While you are out getting greasy from going around earning a living, your husband is [home] drinking in broad daylight' (Okitsu 1.115).

- ryóoken 'notion, idea, decision, intention (to V)': Hukuzyuu sinai ryóoken nara, kubi dá 'Any thought of disobeying and you're out'; Náze zisatu suru to iuy+ ryóoken ni nátta no ka = Náze zisatu suru to iu yóo na (siyoo to iu yóo na) ryóoken ni nátta no ka 'I wonder why he took it into his head to commit suicide'; Ansatu no ryóoken ga āru 'He has assassination in mind'; ... zibun no udé ni sakura no horímônó o suru ryóoken ni nattari ... 'he took it into his head to wear a tattoo of cherry blossoms on his own arm' (Kb 111a).

- sáhi 'occasion, time (when)': Go-ryokoo no sáhi datta kara ... 'Owing to the circumstances of the journey ...'; Hituyoo na/no sáhi ni wa ... 'In time of necessity ...; On occasions when necessary ...'; Átta sáhi ni ... 'On the occasion of our encounter ...'; Syuppata no sáhi wa ... 'The occasion of the departure ...'; Sono (Anna) sáhi ga/o ... 'That (Such an) occasion ...'.

- sáigo 'at the very end when ...': cf. owari.

- saisyo 'at the very first (at the start) when ...': Keiba
ni itta saisyo ni mookatte, nettyuu suru yō o ni nāru mitai na mōn desu 'It's like getting enthusiastic from winning when you've first gone to the races' (Tk 2.170b); Omae no sitt'oru saisyo kara sóo datta no ka 'Was it that way from the very beginning of your knowing about it?' (V 139); Osoraku, Sendāi no Rezaya-sentā na nado ga, tuktatta saisyo dē wa nakarōo ka 'Likely the “Sendai City Leisure Center”, perhaps, was the first time it [the word “leisure”] was used' (Kotoba no yurai 171).

t (N) Ntm V-te *Q sāityuu (at) the height of; (in) the very midst of V-ing': Kōoijī(−) o site iru sāityuu ʹninii totozen taoreta 'In the midst of his lecture he suddenly toppled over';

Syokūji [no] sāityuu no hitō ... 'A person in the midst of a meal'; Atū (Ātu-sa no) sāityuu da 'It is in the height of the heat'; Nyūgakusūken [no] sāityuu datta 'It was in the very middle of the entrance exams'. Cf. sānaka, VN "tyuu (§14.4).

Adv *Q sākai 'because' [DIALECT]: see p. 973 (§ 17.1).

N Ntm, *Q saki 'what is) ahead, beyond (where ...); place ahead, destination': Rokuson desu to, hoosoo sareru no wa huki-konda is-syūukan ka toooka saki dēsū kara nē 'With recorded programs, the broadcast is a week or ten days beyond when it was recorded' (Tk 2.180b); San-nin no hāha o mōto yō o ni narimāsita —umī no hāha to, sodāte no hāha to, sore kara katsūūtā saki no, o-syuuoto-san dēsū 'I came to have three mothers—the mother who bore me and the mother who raised me and then the mother-in-law after I got married' (R); Sikā mo, kono oohuku no bīza wa, Hurasanu ni, han-tosī 'izyoo taizai suru monō de nākereba moraenai no de, sóo de nā hitō wa, itta saki no kuni de Hurasanu ni kāeru kyōka o moraū no ni, bai ni yorēba hutuka mo mikka mo tubusu no desu 'Moreover, this return visa can not be obtained unless you are someone who will stay in France for over half a year, and other persons sometimes waste two or three days in the country to which they have gone getting permission to return to France' (R); Syuuosoku suru saki wa mada hakkīri kimatte imasēn 'It's not yet certain just where I will be taking a job'.

N Npl *Q sakizaki ‘places (one goes to), destinations’: Iku sakīzaki ni tomodati ga iru ‘Wherever I go I have friends’; Hūne no tomatatā sakizaki de/o kēnbutu sita ‘I saw the sights wherever the ship stopped’.

N N V-ru [Q] sakubōo ‘scheme, stratagem (to V)’: Ansatsu suru ʹto iu ʹso sakubōo = Ansatsu no sakubōo = Ansatsu siyō to suru sakubōo ‘A scheme of assassination’.

s N N [Q] samā = arīsama(−) ‘condition, situation, the sight of (how ...), scene’: Konran no samā o ma-no-ātari mitā ‘I saw (a scene of) chaos before my very eyes’; Gunzin ʹdōsi ga uti-au samā de, makkatu ʹmetakutya da ‘What with fellow soldiers hitting each other (and all) it’s a real mess’; Wakaī hitōbito ga, katte no kotō o site iru samā o mite, nāmida o nagāsita ‘I shed tears seeing how the young folks do just what they want’. 38. Also VN no, A-i, A-sa no.
Adnominal and Adverbial Words

3. Adnominalization: Adnominal and Adverbial Words

(N) Ntm V-te iru\(^{39}\) sanaka 'in the midst of ...': Tābete iru sānaka ni, kyuume no tati-agatta 'In the midst of eating I suddenly sprang to my feet'; Tābete iru sānaka o neratte tażūneta 'They aimed their visit to be right in the middle of our meal'.

Tābete iru sānaka ga itiban sīzuka datta 'The quietest time was while we were in the midst of eating'; Syokuzi (Toogi) no sānaka \((ni)\) dēnki ga kietyatta 'In the midst of the meal (the debate) the electricity went off'; Oo-sāwagi no sānaka datta 'It was in the midst of a great fuss'; Atūi (Atu-so na) sānaka \((ni)\) kīta 'I came at the height of the heat'. Cf. (mas-)sāityuu.

N N (Q) sanzyoo 'the miserable scene (horrible spectacle) of ...': Ōoku no ningen ga sinde iru sanzyoo o mita 'I looked on a scene of masses of men dying'; Kāzi (Senso) no sanzyoo wa ... 'The horrors presented by the fire (by the war) ...'; Zīgokū no yō na (no gōtoki) sanzyoo o tēi-sita 'It presented a scene out of hell'.

N N (Q) sawagi 'fuss, bustle, stir; noise; affair, story, incident': Sue ni wa odori-dasu sawagi datta 'In the end there was the bustle of starting to dance'; Naki-dasita to iu\(^{39}\) sawagi ni natta 'It turne black into an incident of tears'; Ura-niwa de seinēn-tāti ga maki o waru sawagi wa syōogo sugī made kikoete ika 'The noise of the young men splitting firewood in the back yard could be heard till past noon' (V 143). For dōkoro no sawagi, see §15.6.

(N) (Q) sei '(in) consequence of, (as) a result of, owing to ...': Ōoku no ningen ga sinde iru sanzyoo o mita 'I looked on a scene of masses of men dying'; Nāki-dasita to iu\(^{39}\) sei mo aru no dāru, ... 'Perhaps partly because I was a bit keyed up, ...' (CK); ... sōto ga yatararī to i o-tēnki de akarūkatta sei mo ătte, rōbīi ga tote-mo kuraku utūtta '... in part because the outside was bright with extravagantly good weather, the lobby shone very dark' (CK 985.371); ... igākū-bu wa hunsoo no himotō datta sei mo ătte, ... 'in part because the medical faculty was the source of the conflict' (CK 985.377); Too-hoku no nōoka wa heinkin site yūtaka da ga, Kyūusyuu wa tikei no sei mo ătte, soo yūtaka de nāi 'The farm families of the northeast are on the average well to do, but Kyūshū with its land configuration is not so wealthy' (SA 2642.41b); Byooki (Nenrei) no sei ka, ... 'Perhaps because of illness (of age), ...'. More examples of sei ka in §15.6.

(N) (Q) seibu '(the part to the) west (of where ...)': Yamā ga sobiete iru seibu wa kyuu ni heiya ni nātte iru 'West of where the mountains soar it suddenly becomes a plain'.

N N (Q) seido 'the system (that consists) of ...': Nāikaku o mookēru to iu\(^{39}\) seido wa ... 'The system of establishing a cabinet ...'; Zyuuhā-sai kara senkyō-ken o ataru to iu\(^{39}\) seido ni kaeta 'They changed to the system of giving the vote at the age of 18'. Cf. sisutemu, taisei, sōsiki\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\)\(\).

39. Also VN no, A-i, A-sa no.
§13.2 Postadnominals

？r N N [Q]  seika 'result, outcome': Kōnniti no seikō wa nagai aida dōryoku(〜) o tuzuketa 〜 to iu〜 seika de aru 'Today’s success is the result of maintaining our efforts over a long period'. Cf. kekka.

s N N [Q] seikaku 'character (trait), personality': Kāre wa sūgu hito o utagau 〜 to iu〜 seikaku da 'He has the trait of being suspicious of people'.

s N N [Q] seisu tu 'nature, character, property': ... doo-syokūbutu ga gaikai no sigeki o ūkete muisiti-teki ni itte no hookoo ni mukau seistu o toropizumu to iu 'The property of living things turning involuntarily in a set direction under the influence of external stimuli is called tropism' (Kotoba no yurai 194); Kyokutān kara kyokutān e tonde itte simau zibun no seistu o 〜 'one’s own tendency to end up flying from one extreme to the other' (Takahashi 174).

s N N [Q] sekinin 'responsibility': Kāre wa sukezuyūuru o tukūtāri sikēn o sitāri suru 〜 to iu〜 sekinin ga aru 'He has the responsibility for setting up schedules and giving examinations'.

t (N) ?Npl Ntm [Q] sekizyoo 'at, (while) in attendance at': ... konaida Yosikawa Ėīzi san ga Asahi-sībnun no hitō-tati o yonde kāi o yarareta sekizyoo, ... kengyōo(〜) ga biwa o yarimāsita ‘recently at a gathering put on for Asahi newspaper people by Yoshikawa Ėiji, a blind maestro ... played the lute' (Tk 2.183a);

s N N [Q] sengén(〜) 'a declaration/pronouncement (of ..., that ...)': Daitōoryoo-sēnkyō ni dēnai 〜 to iu〜 sengēn(〜) o sita 'He declared he would not stand in the presidential election'; Ākū-made arasō 〜 to iu〜 sengēn(〜) o sita 'They declared a struggle to the bitter end'.

s N N [Q] senrei 'a prior instance, a precedent': Kokuzin ga daitōoryoo ni erabāreta 〜 to iu〜 senrei wa nakarōo 'There would be no precedent of a black being elected president'.

s,t (N) ?Ntm Ntm [Q] sētu 'time, occasion': O-hima no sētu 〜 ni wa zē-hi o-ide kudasai 'Please come when you have the time'; Go-kikoku no sētu 〜 ni wa 〜 'On the occasion of your return to your homeland ...'; Kotira no hōo e o-dekake ni nāta sētu wa, zē-hi go-renraku kudasai 'Should you come to these parts, please be sure to get in touch with me'; Ano sētu wa sitūrei simai drēsa ’Excuse my discourtesy on that earlier occasion'; Kono sētu wa o-ātu hi ga tuzukimāsu ga, 〜 'At this time we have one hot day after another, but ...'.

t (N) Ntm [Q] sētuna 'moment, instant': Kao o mīta sētuna 〜 ni ... 'The moment I saw his face ...'; To o akeyoo to sā sētuna 〜 ni ... 'The moment I went to open the door ...'; Taimen no sētuna datta 'It was (It happened) the moment we confronted each other'.
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

s N N V-ru VN no [Q] sian ‘tentative plan’: Kaitei o kaihatu siyoo to suru sian ga ’aru ‘There is a tentative plan to develop the bottom of the sea’.

s R,N N [Q] sidai ‘circumstances, reasons; order; situation, matter’: Kore [= Kono enzetu] o mótte go-áisatu ni/to suru sidai désu ‘we are greeting you with this [speech]’; Koo iu sidai désu ‘This is how matters stand’.

s N N [Q] sigi = sidai ‘circumstances etc.’: Ríkon(−) suru {to iu+ sigi (Ríkon(−) no sigi) ni náta}/[tati-]ítáta ‘It (became =) came to a matter of divorce’.

s N N [Q] sigoto ‘job, work, task’: Kaki-naosu {to iu+ sigoto de isogasii ‘I am busy with the task of rewriting’.

s N N [Q] sigusa ‘act, gesture’: Otto no kubi o simérú sigusa rasii ‘She made as if to strangle her husband’; sákusya(−) no na-huda o kakúsu sigusa wa ... ‘the gesture of concealing the author’s name’ (Nagano 1966.91).

s N N [Q] sín ‘the scene (of/where ...)’: Hazímete katari-áu {to iu+ sín de ... ‘In the scene where they first tell each other ...’; Kao o útúsiti {to iu+ = Kao ga úttute iru {to iu+ sín ‘The scene where the face is shown’.

sikakē = siku-mi: ,,..., ni natte iru ‘it is so contrived that ...

s N N V-ru VN no [Q] sikitari ‘the customary practice to V’; ,,..., da ‘it is customary to V’; ,,..., ga aru ‘has the custom of V-ing’:

Sóba o tabéru sikitari da ‘It is customary to eat buckwheat noodles’.

s N N V-ru [Q] sikumi ‘an arrangement whereby ...; a device that ...; a contrivance to ...; ~ ni nátte iru ‘it is contrived (arranged, devised) so that ...’: Sono mise wa káuntaa de kane o haráwazu, zaseki de tyúmon(−) to dóózi(−) ni shíhari o suru sikumi ni nátte imásita ‘That teahouse had the arrangement that you paid at your seat when you ordered, rather than paying at the counter’ (Tsujimura 68-9); Bótan(−) o osite zénbu kikai ni sigoto o saseru sikumi ni nátte iru ‘It is so contrived that you push a button and let a machine do all the work’.

s,r N N [Q] símatu ‘circumstances, situation; settlement, disposal’: Koziki made suru {to iu+ símatu ni náta ‘I was reduced to a state of begging’; ... róoba wa Gōtarō o nedarareta simatu o hanásite, ... ‘the old woman told (the circumstances) of how she had been importuned by Gōtarō’ (V 138).
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

sinpai 'worry (that/lest ...), anxiety (over ...), fear (of/that ...)': Kane ni komaru sinpai wa nai 'We have no worry about running out of money'; Koré-ra no byooki no sinpai ga sukósi de mo areba ... 'Should there be the least fear (= suspicion) of these diseases ...' (SA 2668.106e); liyàh, hutóru sinpai o site 'rú n desu yó 'Oh, she's afraid of getting fat!' (V 137); Teki ni sirareta sinpai ga óói 'There is much concern (= fear) that we have been found out by the enemy'. Cf. osoró.

sirí 'mentality, mental state, psychology': Hito o netámé utoi sirí da 'It is the sort of mentality that envies others'.

sirū 'actual facts, the real situation': Káre ga korosareta utoi sirú wa imada ni hume da 'The true facts of murder are still untold'.

sinte ('), sindée 'the (underlying) intention, motive': Zissai ni wa anó-hito o nikünde iru utoi sirú wa hoka no hitó ni wa soozoo mo dekinakatta 'What actually lay behind hating him could never be imagined by others'.

sinzyoo, 'feelings, what is in one's heart': Káre o aí-site utoi sirú sinzyoo wa ... 'The feelings of loving him ...'.

sinzyoo z 'genuine (true) feelings'.

sirusi 'a sign, token, symbol, proof, memento, souvenir; symptoms': Nikkoo e itta sirusi ni, ... 'As a memento of a visit to Nikkó ...'; kánshá (')/ái no sirusi to site 'as a token of one's appreciation/love'.

sisái (') 'reasons, circumstances; details, particulars; meaning': Anó-hito ga syatýoo ni erabareta utoi siru sisái ('') wa konetu no zassi ni déte iru 'The story of how he got elected head of the company appears in this month's magazine(s)'.

sisai 'posture, pose, position'; suwatta (táatta) 'a seated (standing) position'.

sisutemu 'system' = séido.

sitá (') 'under (where ...)'; V-ru ~ kara (= sóba) 'as soon as': Tukúru sitá ('') kara, uri-kíréu (uri-kíreta) 'We sell them out as soon as we make them (We sold them out as soon as we made them)'; ... kabe-góyomi no hadde áru sitá ('') ni kogomatte [= kogonde] ... 'I crouched under where there was a wall calendar spread' (Kholodo­vich 128).

sitagawa 'the underside (of where ...)': Káapéotto o
siita sitagawa wa sügū konkurūito no yuka ni nätte iru
‘On the bottom of where the carpet is laid there is only the concrete floor’.

sitagōsirae ‘preparations, spadework’: Tenpura no
*Q koromo o tukūrō to iu* sitagōsirae wa dēkite iru ‘The
preparation [that consists] of making the coating for the
tempura has been done’; Tenpura o tukūrō *tamē no*
sitagōsirae wa ‘Preparations for making tempura ...’.

sitaku ‘preparation(s), arrangements’ (= yōoi): Ryokooyōohin o suutukēesu ni tumēru {to iu} sitaku/yōoi ni wa
zikan ga kakāru ‘It takes time for the preparations [that
consist] of packing the suitcases’; Ryoko no/suru {tamē
no} sitaku wa ‘Preparation for a trip ...’.

sōba ‘(by) the side of (where ...), beside (where ...),
the vicinity of (where ...); V-ru/-ta ~ kara ‘as soon as V’:
Osowara sōba kara wasurete simai ‘I forget as soon as I
am taught’; Syuuunyuu ga huēru sōba kara bukka mo agaru ‘Prices go up as fast as
income rises’; Si-īreta sōba kara urikire ni nāru ‘As soon as we have laid in a supply
it gets sold out’; Hahaoya ga suwatta sōba ni kodomo o suwaraseta ‘The mother had
the child sit beside where she was sitting’; Sore wa sāikin ga watāši-tāti no syoku zu
suru sōba e kīte no hanashi datta ‘That was said by the wife who had come up beside
where we were eating’ (Kholodovich 128).

sōburī(−) ‘manner, looks; (attitudinal) signs’: Kāre o
kiratte iru {to iu} (or: {yōo na}) sōburī(−) o site iru ‘(She)
shows signs of hating him’; Kāre o kiratte iru {to iu} (or:
{yōo na}) sōburī(−) o site inai ‘(She) shows no signs of hating him’; Tabe-ta-soō na
sōburī(−) o miseta ‘(He) showed signs of wanting to eat’.

sonzai ‘a being; a figure, a person’.
soō da: see §18.

soodan ‘agreement, arrangement (as a result of dis cus-
sion)’: Issyō ni soko e iku {to iu} soodan o sita ‘We
reached an agreement (made an arrangement) to go there
together’.

soōdo ‘disturbance, dispute, trouble, riot’: Kēikan to
gakusei ga tagai ni naguri-āu {to iu} soōdo ga okōtta
‘There was a riot in which police and students were beat ing
each other up’.

soosoo {ni} ‘as soon as’ (= V-te, soosoo ...): Kāru
soosoo ... ‘As soon as we leave (for home) ...’; Puuroyakyyuu ga kaimaku sita soosoo ...
‘As soon as the professional baseball season opened ...’; Kyōōsi ni nätta soosoo,
kinari kyooikū:kai no iyā na mēn o mise-tukerareru to dōōzī(−) ni, yo-nō:naka no
muzyun ni tyokumen simāsīte nē ‘Right after I became a teacher I suddenly had
the ugly side of educators thrust before my eyes and at the same time came into direct
§13.2. Postadnominals

contact with the contradictions of society, (so ...), you see’ (SA 2674.62d). The usual pattern with verbal nouns is to use soosoō \{ni\} adverbially after choosing to omit the gerund, VN [sit\{\} soosoō \{ni\}], as in Tokorōga, zyooriku soosoō ni “hoorudo-āppu” o kūttyatta ‘But as soon as we disembarked we faced a “holdup”’ (Tk 3.125b).

s N N [Q] sósiki(-) ‘organization, structure, system’: Kono daigaku wa zyūū-nin no daihyoo-in ga sóotyoo o kimeru \{to iu\} sósiki(-) ni nätte iru ‘This university is so structured that ten trustees select the president’. Cf. seido, taisei, sisutemu.

t N N\{\}VP N\{\}VP *Q sóto ‘outside (of where ...’): Sibai no āru sóto de ... ‘Outside of where they are having a play ...’ (or, with extruded locative, ‘Outside where they are having a play’).

t N N\{\}VP N\{\}VP *Q soto-gawa ‘outside (of where ...’): Kakime de kuigitta soto-gawa wa hosōi miti de, uti-gawa wa kīrei na kādan da ‘Outside of where it is marked off by a fence there is a narrow path, and inside there is a nice flower garden’.

s (N) N V-ru [Q] sūbe ‘means, measure(s); way, method (to V)’ (= syūdan, miti): Sikāsi, dōko e iku sūbe mo naku, kātte ikanēba naranai ‘But with no means to go anywhere I must return home’ (SA 2685.101c); Hodokōsu sūbe o siranai = Hodokōsu sūbe mo nai ‘I am at a loss as to what to do’.

t (N) N\{\}TM V-Ta [Q] vest_sue \{\}ni\{\} j ‘at the end, at last’ after ..., at the end of ...’: Toogi no sue, ... ‘At the end of their deliberations ...’; ... zimu-kākari ni kiita sue, ... ‘finally after I asked the business manager ...’ (Tk 2.115b); ... oku basyo iiroo kangaeta sue, ... daidokoro ga erabāreta ‘After thinking of various places to put it ... at last the kitchen was selected’ (SA 2660.24a); Kubi o hinētta sue ni, gyōosya wa yat-tō ki ga tūta ‘After wracking his brain, the dealer finally caught on’ (SA 2668.38b); Kikoku suru toki, “Nihō no insyoo wa?” to tażunetara, kuti o mógo-mogo saseta sue, “Kita-Hūzi, Sanri-zuka” to kotāeta ‘When asked [what he would say to the question] “Your impressions of Japan?” upon returning to his homeland, he mumbled and finally answered “Sanri-zuka in Kita-Fuji” [site of a protest]’ (SA 2648.23). Cf. agekū.

s N,R N [Q] sugata ‘shape, form, appearance, looks, guise, posture’: Konō-goro(-) wa geisyaa ga suso o hii te arūku sugata ga mirarenaku natta ‘Lately the sight of geisha walking along trailing their skirts has practically vanished’; Kodomō-taāi ga múzyaki ni asonde iru sugata wa tēnsi no yōo desu ne ‘The children innocently playing are like little angels, aren’t they’.

t (N) N\{\}TM V-ru [Q] sunzēn(-) ‘a moment (immediately) before ...’: Syoototu no/suru sunzēn(-) \{ni\} ... ‘A moment before the collision ...’.

s N N [Q] sutāiru ‘style’: Onnā no yōo ni hadē na kakko o suru \{to iu\} sutāiru ga hayatte irū kara ... ‘The style of
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

looking gaudy like a woman is all the rage, you see ...'

s N N [Q] suōorii 'story': Hutarī ga sinzyuu suru  to iu- suōorii no éiga(‘) da ‘It is a movie with a story about a couple’s love suicide’.

s N N [Q] suzagakī(‘) ‘plot’: Hutarī ga sinzyuu suru  to iu- suzagakī(‘) da ‘It is a plot about a couple’s love suicide’.

s N N [Q] syōōbun(‘) ‘disposition, temperament’: Nání o surú no mo mendookusa-gárū syōōbun(‘) dáta ‘He was of a temperament to find it too much of a nuisance to do anything’ (Takeda 1970.95).

s N N [Q] syūdoo ‘impulse; urge’: Ani o koros-tai  to iu- syūdoo o kan-zita ‘He felt an urge to kill his (older) brother’.

r N N [Q] syōgeki ‘shock, impact’: Kon o sakuhin o yonda syōgeki to koohun wa ... ‘The impact and stimulation from reading this work ...’ (Takahashi 172).

s N N [Q] syōo ko ‘proof (evidence) that ...’: Nihón ga máda hontoo ni minsyú-ka(‘) sarete inai syōo ko désu na, ... ‘It is proof that Japan is still not democratized, I guess, ...

...’ (Tk); Warúi kotó o sita syōo ko ... ‘Proof that one did something wrong’; Akubi wa nemúi syōo ko da ‘Yawning is a sign of sleepiness’ (Kenkyusha); Kimi wa ano zíken ni wa makkō kankei ga nái  to iu- syōo ko o miset morai-tai ‘I’d like to see some evidence that you have no connection at all with that incident’.

t N N [Q] syōomén ‘directly in front (of where ... )’.

s N N [Q] syōzon(‘) ‘(what one has in) one’s mind, idea, thought’ (= kangaé): Akú-máde mo arásou  to iu- syōzon(‘) de gozaimasü ‘We have it in mind to struggle to the very end’; Kotowari-tai  to iu- syōzon(‘) de gozaimasü ‘I am inclined to refuse’.

s (N) N V-ru VN no syúdan ‘means/measures to V’ (= súbë): Róotin o kisei site inhe o osáérü  to iu- syúdan o tóru ‘We will take measures to control inflation by regulating wages’. Cf. yōśi2, yari-kata, si-kata.

s N N [Q] syúgan(‘) ‘the prime aim (of ...), the first consideration (which is to ... )’: Kyoooyoo o takaméru  to iu- syúgan(‘) o wasurerü na ‘Do not forget our prime aim of elevating (the people’s) education’.

s N N [Q] syukudai ‘open/(long)standing question, pending matter’: Bukka o sagerü  to iu- syukudai wa imada ni kaiketu sarete inai ‘The standing question of lowering the prices of goods continues unresolved’.
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

s,?r N N [Q] syukuen 'fate, karma': ... senso o "māe no onnā ni saikai sita syukuen {dej}, ... 'with the fortune of reen- counter ing the woman known before the war' (Kawabata: Saikai).

s N N [Q] syūmi 'a taste for, an interest in': Watasi ni wa tinsyo ya syohan-bon, kikoo-bon o atumēru syūmi wa makkaku nai ga 'I haven't the least interest in collecting rare books, first editions, or incunabula' (Endō 168).

t N N [Q] *Q syūkan 'at the moment/instance that ...': Anō hito ni āta syūkan ni hiyoo ni īi hitō da to omōtta 'The moment I met him I felt he was a very nice person'; Dé wa dekigoto no āta syūkan ni wa dōtī ka to omōtta no ka 'Well at the moment the incident happened, which did you think it was?' (V 138); Tyakuriku no syūkan, ziko ga okotta 'The instant it landed, an accident happened'.

s N N [Q] syūukan 'the habit/custom (of ...)': Syoogatu ni wa moti o tabēru syūukan ga āru 'We have the custom of eating rice cakes at New Year's'; Hāyaku okūru syūukan desu 'I make it a habit to rise early'.

s N N [Q] syuusei 'habit(u de), second nature': ... zoori-musī wa hikari o sākete kurai tokorō ni nī-ko mu syuusei ga āru 'it is the nature of paramecia to avoid light and flee into dark places' (Kotoba no yurai 194); ... sūgū tobi-dāsite simāu syuusei ga āru '[birds] habitually fly off immediately ...' (Kotoba no yurai 62).

s N N [Q] syūzyutu 'medical operation': Zyuugō-hari no nū {to iu} dai-syūzyutu o ūketa 'I had a major operation with 15 stitches'; Sinzyu no tāne o ireru syūzyutu o misete moratta 'I was shown the operation where they insert the pearl seed [into the oyster]' (Tk 3.303).

t (N) Ntm, V-ru Adv (V-ta) VN no *Q tabi, tanbi 'every time that ...': Āu tabi ni issyo ni syokuzi suru 'Every time we see each other we have a meal together'; Kono tihōo e kūru (kīta) tabi {ni}, uti(−) e kīte kudasāta monō desu 'Whenever he would come (he came) to this area, he used to favor us with a visit'; Sīkēn no tabi {ni} rakudai sita 'I failed every exam'. Cf. tudo.

s N N [Q] tāido 'an attitude (of ...)': Ākū-made arasōu {to iu} tāido o tōta 'We took an attitude of fighting to the bitter end'.

s,?r N N [Q] taiken 'the (personal) experience (of ...)': Hitōri de kaigai-ryōkoo o sita {to iu} taiken kara ryokōō-sya ni go-tyūūī si-tai to omoimāsu 'I would like to advise travelers on the basis of my experience of having traveled abroad by myself'.

s N N [Q] taisei 'system, structure, order': Zinsyu-sābetu o naku-su {to iu} taisei ga nozomasii 'What we would like to see is a system in which they do away with racial
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

discrimination’. Cf. séido, sósiki(−), sisutemu.

[N] [Q] taisei2 ‘attitude (of readiness); arrangements; set-up’:
Rainen wa daitooryoo-senkyo ni syutubara suru [to iu] taisei de zyunbi o hazimete iru ‘He is beginning preparations to be ready to become a candidate in the presidential election next year’.

[N] [Q] takurami(−) ‘a plot, a scheme, a secret design’ (= kóntán):
Ansatu suru [to iu] (Ansatu no) takurami(−) da ‘It is a plot of assassination’.

(N) PcN, Adv *Q tamé ‘sake, benefit; purpose, aim; owing to, as a result/ consequence’; see §13.2.9.

[N] tamesi (ga nai) ‘(lacks) a precedent, an instance’: Ano hito wa zikan no yakusoku o mamotta [to iu] tamesi ga nai hito datta ‘He was a person who was never known to be on time for anything’; Ano otokó wa hito o okora-seta tamesi ga nai ‘He has never angered a soul’; Ano uti(−) wa(?) ittē mo rūsu datta tamesi ga nai ‘Whenever I’ve gone to that house they’ve always been home’; Asoko no susi wa iti-do d’atte ūmakatta tamesi ga nai ‘I’ve never once found their sushi good’; Sonna tamesi ga atta ka dō ka siranai ‘I don’t know whether there is a precedent for (a prior example of) that or not’.

[N] [Q] tanosimi(−), tanósi-sa ‘the joy (delight) of ...’: Hón o yómu tanosimi(−) ... ‘The pleasure(s) of reading ...’; Ikíru tanosimi(−) ... ‘The joy of living ...’.

[N] [Q] tάnsyo ‘drawback, shortcoming, weak point’: Ano zibiki ni wa reibun ga sukunai [to iu] tάnsyo ga áru ‘That dictionary has the drawback of not giving many example sentences’.

[N] tatemae ‘principle, policy, rule; position, stance’:
Kono mise wa genkín de torihiki suru [to iu] tatemae desu ‘This store makes it a principle to do business on a cash basis’. Cf. hoosin.

[N] táti ‘(one’s) nature, stamp, temperament (such that)’: Bóku(−) wa humin zya naku, hizyoo ni yóku nemuru táti na no de, kakusei-zai yatte ‘tā ‘It’s my nature to sleep quite well, with no insomnia, so I was on stimulants [rather than sleeping pills]’ (SA 2792.29c).

(N) N [Q] té-ái(−) ‘fellow, guy (= yátu); crowd, gang (= yátu-ra, renzyuu)’.

[N] [Q] teema ‘theme’: Mazusii onná ga tama-nó-kósii(−) ni noru [to iu] teema no syoosetu dā ‘It is a novel with the theme of a poor girl marrying into riches’.

[N] [Q] tehái ‘arrangement, plan (to do)’: Hannin no tuiseki suru tamé ni zenkoku-teki ni kao-zyásin o háihu(−) suru [to iu] tehái o totonōetā ‘They set up a plan to distribute pictures of the culprit’s face all over the country in order to catch him’; Hannin no tuiseki suru [to iu] tehái o
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

totonòeta 'They set up plans to pursue the culprit'.

te’hazu ‘arrangement, plan (to do)’: ... aizu o suru
te’hazu de atta ‘it was an arrangement to give a signal’
(Takeda 1970.42).

tei ‘appearance, signs; pretense; air; condition, state’:
Siranai tei de toori-sugita ‘He passed by with an air of
not knowing us’; Rippuku no tei datta ‘He showed signs
of anger’; Nikoyon no tei no otokó ga kita ‘There’s a man here (at the door) who
looks like a day laborer’; Sinsetu-sôo na tei o site (or: tei de) hidói kotó o suru yâtu
da ‘He is a rascal who does awful things while pretending to kindness’; Gesyoku no
tei ni site zitû wa doosei site iru ‘He pretends to be boarding there but they’re really
living together’.

teitâraku ‘predicament, plight, mess, sorry state’:
Mukasi no oogánémoti mo ima wa seikatu-hôgo o úkete
iru teto têitâraku da ‘Even those who were wealthy in
the old days are now in the sorry state of receiving wel-
fare’.

?tehazu ‘preparations, arrangements’.

*Q ten ‘point, respect, viewpoint, aspect’.

*Q tezymun ‘routine, procedure, program’: Yasasii monó
kara muzukasi(*) monó ni susumu teto tezymun(*) de
hazimeta sigoto désu ‘It is a job I began with the procedure
of advancing from the easier things to the more difficult’.

*Q tié ‘the wisdom (of ...)’: Téru ga soko o erán-da tié ni
Síngó wa kansi sita ‘Shingo admired Teru’s wisdom in
having chosen that place’ (V 139).
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

s
N
N
V-ru
VN no
[N] tikāī("") 'oath, vow': Komātta tokī ni wa tagai ni tasukē-
au {to iū'} tikāī("") o tāteta 'We took an oath to help each
other in time of trouble'.

t
(N)
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tīkāku 'nearby where ...
' Watakusi ga móto yōku itta
\ tokorō no tikāku ni, ii sakanaya ga ātta 'Near where I
used to go a lot there was a good fish market'. Cf. sóba.

\:t:s
(N)
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tokī 'time (when); occasion (that)': see §13.2.3.
\:t:s
(N)
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tōkō, tokorō 'place; situation; point': see §13.2.2.

\ t
N
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tōnari 'next (door) to where ...; neighboring (where ...
') Kāre ga ima sūnde iru tōnari wa akiya da 'The house
next to where he is living now is vacant'.

\ t
N
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tōobu '(the part to the) east (of where ... )': cf. seibū.

\ s,t
Adv, Pcn

Q
\ tōōri 'just as, (faithfully) like\ ': Watasi no hanašū
\ tōōri \ ni' mane o site kudasāi 'Do just as I say'; li-
tukērātē tōōri \ ni' suru 'I will do just as I have been
told to'; Omōtā tōōri no kekkō o etā 'We achieved a
result that was just as I thought it would be'; Osyārū tōōri desu 'It\'s just as you say = You're quite right' (Tanigawa 30).
Yakusoku no tōōri \ ni' ... 'As promised ...'; Go-syōoti (Go-zōnzi) no tōōri, ... \ 'As you are well aware ..., As you know ...'; Sono
\ tōōri datta 'It was just like that'. Cf. -dōōri, §2.4; yōo ni (gōtoku) §13.2.4.

\ t
(N)
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tōūtsyo 'when first, at the beginning when/aft er':
Ni hon e kōtā tōūtsyo ... 'When first I came to Japan ...';
Kikoku sita tōūtsyo, ... 'At the beginning after returning
from abroad ...'.

\ t
(N)
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tōūtsaw 'for a (short) while after': Šin'yaku("") ga dēta
\ tōūtsaw wa kūkū ga, ma-mō-naku kikanaku naru 'When a
new drug comes out it works for a while, but before long
it becomes ineffective ...' (Toki 4.2b); Kekkon no tōoza
\ wa oya to dookyō sita 'For a while after marriage we lived with my parents'; Kekkon
\ sita tōoza wa kenka mo sīnākatta ga ... 'After we were married at first we didn't have
any quarrels, but ...'; Amerika e kita tōoza wa Eigo ga zenzen wakaranakatta 'When\nI came to America it was a while before I understood any English'.

\ t
N
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ tōōzi 'that time when ...': Senso ga owatta {to iū'} tōōzi wa hīdō seikatu desīta 'At that time when the
war had just ended the living was terrible'.

\ s
N
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ torikime 'an agreement (arrangement, understanding)
\ to V': Kono sigoto o suru {to iū'} torikime o sita 'I have
made an agreement to do this work'.

\ t
N
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ torizatā("") 'rumor (= uwasā)'—but Q is usual.
\ t
(N)
N
N
N
VN
no

Q
\ totan 'the (very) instant/moment when': Nigēru totan
\ ni, hando-bagū o otōsē simatta 'Just as I ran away I
dropped my hand bag'; Īppō sōto e dēta totan ni, pisutoru
de utāreta 'The moment I took a step outside I was hit by a pistol shot'; Ano geisyā
\ wa tati-agaru totan no sūgata ga utukusī 'That geisha has a beautiful figure the very
moment she stands up'; Kaidan o oriyō to sita totan \ ni', humi-hazusite sita māde
ōtite simatta 'The moment I started to go down the stairs I slipped and fell to the
§13.2. Postadnominals

bottom'; Hikóo-ki ga tyakuriku no totan {ni}, éinzin kara hí ga húita ‘The moment the plane landed fire spouted from the motor’.

t,s (N) Ntm *Q totyuu 'while in the midst of . . .': Kaimono ni iku totyuu de, tízin(-) ni átta ‘In the midst of (going) shopping I ran into an acquaintance’; Hanásitte iru totyuu de, kyuü ni okori-dasita ‘In the midst of talking, he flew into a rage’; Tábete iru totyuu de, taboko o nónde wa ikenai ‘You shouldn’t smoke while eating’; O-hanasi no totyuu, šítréi desu ga . . . ‘Excuse me for interrupting, but . . .’; Sanpo no totyuu kara káette kita ‘I came back in the middle of my walk’; Kenkyuu no totyuu de yamete simatta ‘I stopped in the middle of the research’.

t (N) Ntm *Q tóodo 'every time' (= tabi) – largely limited to sono tóodo {ni} ‘on each occasion’ (as in Daikin wa sono tóodo ni itadakimásu ‘Payment is expected at the time of each purchase’), and VN no tóodo {ni} (as in rippuku/kaimono no tóodo ‘every time one angers/shops’), but occasionally other uses are found: Rippuku sita (Okóta) tóodo ni monó o nágré ‘Whenever angry he throws things’; Tookyoo e kita tóodo ni utí(-) e yoru ‘When(ever) he is in Tókyó he drops in at our house’.

s,t N,N,Ntm ?*Q tuide ‘occasion’; ~ ga áru ‘has occasion (to V)’; ~ tuide {ni} ‘incidental to (doing), while, on the occasion of’: Dépáato e iku tuide ni (tuide ga áttara, tuide dá kara) ginkoo é mo yorimasyóó ‘As long as we’re out we may as well do all our errands [before returning home]’; . . . no hanasi ga dëta tuide ni íebra, . . . ‘While we are on the subject of . . .’ (SA 2685.62e).

r N N V-ta *Q tukaré ‘weariness (from V)’: Sono utí(-) ni Susánno wa yuube nenakatta tukaré ga déte, wáre-sirazú(-) ni úto-uto nemuri ni háitta ‘Meanwhile, beset by a weariness from not having slept the night before, Susanó dozed off in spite of himself’ (V 133).

s N N *Q tûmi ‘the crime/offense/sin of . . .’: Hito o korosita {to iu} tûmi da ‘It is the crime of having murdered’; Settoo no tûmi o okásita ‘He committed the offense of theft (larceny)’.

s N N [Q] tumori ‘intention’: see §13.2.8.

r N N [Q] turá-sa(-) ‘pain, sorrow, strain’: . . . zibun no musumé ga izimeraréru turá-sa(-) ni tae-nágara . . . ‘while suffering the pain of seeing her own daughter being mistreated’ (SA 2792.93). [H has túra-sa(-).]

s N N [Q] tutóme ‘duty, service; job’: Osieru {to iu} tutóme o mótte iru ‘I have a job teaching’. Cf. sigoto.
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

tyánsu ‘the chance that’: Kaén-bin ga tonde kúru tyánsu wa huéta wáke da kara ná ‘The chance has increased that a Molotov cocktail will come flying one’s way, that’s why’ (Tk 3.144b).

Nyuuuyoku sita tyókúgo(−) datta ‘It was right after I had entered the bath’; Hatubyo o sita tyókúgo(−) ni ‘Right after ...’ (V 141).

Kono ku suri wa neru tyókúzen(−) ni nōmu kotō ‘This medicine to be taken right before bedtime’; Kisyá ga dérú to iu tyókúzen(−) datta ‘It was right before the train left’.

Ore wa, onná o miru to hará no heru umaretuki de náa, ... ‘Me, I’m of the character that when I see a woman I get hungry ...’ (Okitsu 1.84).

Kusá [ga] booboo ni nátte iru urá ni wa, dāfe mo ikanai ‘Nobody goes back behind

Zyo sei o kai ho o suru fto iu un doo ga sa kan ni natta ‘The movement to liberate women is thriving’.

... Nihón e kaerenai unmei o ... ‘The fate of being unable to return to Japan’ (Y 183).
where the weeds are thick'. But both these examples could be taken, perhaps more readily, with urā as an extruded locative; the following could not: Kīrei na kādan o tukūtta [tokorō no] urā wa máda kusā ga booboo dā 'Back of where I put in a nice flowerbed it is still overrun with weeds'.

\(?s,?r\) N N [Q] urami 'regret (that ...)'; \(\sim\) ga áru 'regrets (that ...)'; Ippoo-teki nī sika kangaēnakatta \(\{\) to iu\(\}\) urami ga áru 'I regret that I have considered matters only from one side'.

\(t\) N Npl \(\sim\) Q usiro 'behind (where ...)': Tookū no mukōo\(\sim\) ni samu-sōō na ki gā tātte iru usiro ni hūtātū no tīsā na kakutoog ga ōtō mo nāku yura-mēite mieta 'Far beyond, behind where there stood a cheerless-looking tree two little lanterns could be seen bobbing silently' (Kholodovich 128).

\(s\) N N [Q] utagai 'the suspicion (that/of)'; kaku-mondai o gību e morāsita utagai de ... kaiheitai no ... yo-nin ga tāiho sare ... 'four marines were arrested on suspicion of having leaked nuclear information' (SM 2801.30c); inkān\(\sim\) gozī-ko nūsūnda utagai dēsu 'are suspected of stealing fifty impression seals' (R); tanseki-syoo no utagai ga áru 'there is a suspicion of gallstones' (Nagano 1968.132).

\(t\) N N tm \(\sim\) [Q] uti\(\sim\) (1) 'while; within, during'; (2) 'among, between;

\(Npl\) (in) the midst of': (1) ikite iru uti\(\sim\) ga hanā da 'Life is a treasure'; (2) Supōoto no uti\(\sim\) o nozoite ... 'Except during holidays ...'; Wakāi (Kīrei na) uti\(\sim\) ni sini-tai 'I want to die while still young (still pretty)'; Sigoto ga sumānai uti\(\sim\) wa yamenai 'I will not stop while the job is unfinished (= until the job is done)'; Mātte iru uti\(\sim\) ni naōsite kureta 'They fixed (= repaired) it for me while I waited'; ikite ita uti\(\sim\) ni kono seikū o mise-tākatta 'All my life I've wanted to show this success'. (2) Supōoto no uti\(\sim\) de suki na monō wa yakyuū dēsu 'Among the sports I like is baseball'; Hutarī no uti\(\sim\) kara erānda 'I chose between the two'; Sonna tēido\(\sim\) dē wa kanji ga yomēru uti\(\sim\) ni wa hairānai 'At that level you can hardly be said to be able to read characters'; Hatizyū-tenika de wa sīkēn ga yōku dekīta \(\{\) to iu\(\}\) uti\(\sim\) ni wa hairēnai yō 'You can hardly be said to have done very well on the test if your grade was below 80'; Sonna mizikāi monō wa ryokō no uti\(\sim\) ni irenai 'You can hardly put such a short thing in the category of "trip"'. For \(V_{1}-\)rū ka \(V_{1}-\)nai uti\(\sim\) \{\ni\}ō, see §15.6.

ACCENT: Some speakers use the atonic version everywhere, some use the oxytonic version when there is adnominal modification (as here); a few use the tonic version everywhere.

\(t\) N Npl \(\sim\) Q uti-gawa 'inside (of where ...)': see soto-gawa.

\(?t\) N N \(\sim\) Q ukawakara, uwakkawa 'the top side (of where ...)': Āanko ga ippai ni tumātte iru uwakkawa de deku-tate de hūwā-hūwa dā 'Being freshly done, the top [of the steamed bun] is all spongy over where the beanjelly is stuffed'.

\(s\) N N [Q] usawa 'rumor (that ...)'; \(\sim\) dā 'It is rumored (that ...)'; Kotosi zyuū ni inazuke no kāigun heisō-tyoo to kekkon suru usawa dā 'It was rumored that she would marry the naval petty officer she is engaged to within the
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year’ (V 132). In conversation it is more common to use quotation ... to iu uwasa då.

s, t N N [Q] wàke ‘reason; circumstance, case; meaning, sense’: see § 13.2.5.

s N N [Q] wàri jñi ‘in proportion to; for; considering that, given that’: Manatu no wàri nì wa suzu sì ‘It is unusually cool for midsummer’; Nìhon-jìì no wàri nì Eigo ga umaì ‘His English is good for a Japanese’; Rippa na wàri nì wa yàsù ‘It’s cheap for being so nice’; Yóku tèberu wàri nì wà yasete irù ‘Considering how much I eat I am thin’; Yasete irù wàri nì wa yasobù ‘You are sturdy to be so skinny’; Atùi wàri nì wa âse ga dènai ‘I’m not sweating much in spite of (= given) the heat’.

s N N V-ru VN no [Q] yàkara ‘gang’ (= renzu yu): Sensoo o hazimeta yàkarà ga sên go sàiban o ukèru no wa toozen då ‘It is only right that the gang who started the war should stand trial after it’s over’.

s N N V-ru VN no [Q] yàkusoku ‘promise, agreement (to V)’; ò sòru ‘promises (to V)’; ò då ‘is under promise/contract (to V), has agreed (to V)’; ò ga àru ‘has an agreement/appointment (to V)’; Nìhyà-yàku-en ‘gùrai no o katte kureru yàkusoku dàtta no yò ‘He promised to buy me a 200-yen one, I tell you’ (V 131).

s N N V-ru VN no [Q] yari-kàta ‘way (to do), procedure, means’: Kodomo ni tabesàseru yari-kàta ni tûite wa ... ‘With respect to ways to get children to eat ...’; Wakari-yàsùku osite kureru ò to iu yari-kàta wa hoki ni kangaeraremâsen ka ‘Can’t they think of a way to teach so as to make it easy to understand?’ ... tò, bûka no kàta o tatàku yari-kàta de àru ‘it is his way to slap underlings on the shoulders, saying ...’ (Kotoba no yürai 194-5). Cf. sùyûdàn, si-kàta.

t N N Ntm [Q] yàsàkî ‘the very moment (point/verge) of, right when’: Tobi-kômôo to sòru yàsàkî(”) ga itiban kintyoo sità toki da ‘Right when we were on the point of jumping in was the tensest time’; Tobi-kômôo to iu yàsàkî(”) o nêratte daki-tûita ‘I chose the very moment when he was about to jump in to put my arms around him’; Syokuzii o hazimeyoo to sòru/sita yàsàkî(”) ni hito ni kórâeta ‘We had people arrive just as we were about to begin eating’; ... bizinesu-hôteru to site ninkii o atûmete iu yàsàkî(”) “daké ni “kanban ni kizù ga tûku”’ ... just when they are (barely on the verge of) garnering popularity as a businessman’s hotel their ‘name sign gets marred’ (= their reputation gets sullied)’ (SA 2663.127c); ... hanâsite ita yàsàkî(”) dësìta ‘It was right at the moment when I had been saying ...’ (SA 2678.126b).

e N N [Q] yàtu ‘damn one (= thing/person)’ (abusive word for monó).

s N N [Q] yókan ‘premonition, hunch’: Zisin ga okûru ò to iu j (or: yóo na) yókan ga sita (yókan o móta) ‘I had a premonition that an earthquake would occur’.

t N N [Q] yoko ‘(to) the side (of where ...), alongside (where ...): Émî ga dôkusyo(”) site iuru sùgu yoko de, Sìgezoo ga
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

útura-útura site iru ‘Right alongside of where Emi was reading (= beside Emi who was reading) Shigezô dozed’ (Ariyoshi 296).

\[
t_{(N)} N_{tm} \ ?^Q \ yokuasa ‘the morning after ...’ = yokutyoo, akuru ása.
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{tm} \ ?^Q \ yokuban ‘the evening after ...’ = akuru ban.
\]

\[
s_{N\ N\ V-ru} [Q] \ yokuboo ‘a desire (to V)’: Ikírú {to iu} yokuboo ga tuyó’/yowái ‘The desire to live is strong/weak (= has a strong/weak desire to live); ... utí(”) e motte káéte kabe e káéte oki-tai to iu yokuboo o ... ‘the desire to take it home and hang it on the wall’ (Tk 3.257b).
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{t} \ ?^Q \ yokugetu ‘the next month after ...’ (= akuru tuki): Rensai ga kanketu sita yokugetu ‘the next month after the serial was completed ...’ (SA 2678.100a).
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{t} \ ?^Q \ yokunen ‘the year after ...’ (= yokutosi, akuru-tosí): Kityoo no yokunen {ni} ... ‘The year after my return to Japan ...’; Hááha ni sinareta yokunen ni yookoyúkkyoo sita ‘I came to Tókyô the year after I lost my mother’.
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{tm} \ ?^Q \ yokutyoo = yokunen ‘the year after ...’: Watakusí ga heitai kara káéte kíla yokutosi mo ... ‘The year following my return from military service ...’ (R).
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{tm} \ ?^Q \ yokutyoo = yokuasa ‘the morning after ...’.
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{tm} \ ?[Q] \ yokuyokú-nen(”) ‘the year after the year after ...’.
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{tm} \ ?[Q] \ yokuyokú-zitu(”) ‘the day after the day after ...’:
\]

\[
Sono yokuyoku-zitu(”) désita ka ‘Was it two days after that?’ (Tk 3.7b).
\]

\[
t_{(N)} N_{tm} \ ?[Q] \ yokuasa ‘the morning after ...’.
\]

\[
te{s\ N\ N\ V-ru} [Q\ VN\ no\ \ yóoi ‘preparation, provision’ (= sitaku, zyúnbí); ~ ga áru/nái ‘is/isn’t prepared (ready) to V’: Gaikoo-kánkei o zyuritsu suru yóoi ga áru ‘We are ready to establish diplomatic relations’; Sikén o ukérú yóoi ga áru ‘I am prepared (ready) to take the examination’; Ban no títí o hataitu suru yóoi ga ... ‘preparations to deliver the evening milk’ (Takahashi 177); Húzi no sainán ni sónaérú {to iu} yóói ga hituyoo da ‘Provision is necessary to prepare for unexpected disasters’.
\]

\[
s_{N\ N\ \ yoo ‘aspect, phase, condition’: Bukka ga hi-goto(”) ni tóoki suru {to iu} yooosó wa kíken da ‘It is a dangerous condition for commodity prices to rise day after day’.
\]

\[
s_{N\ N\ \ yoo ‘situation, circumstance; appearance, signs, indication, likelihood’: Kowagáru yooosó mo náku ... ‘Without the least sign of fear ...’; Móo syoyuku zí wa sumáseta yooosó dátta ‘Apparently the meal was over’; Sitte iru yooosó de ... ‘Apparently knowing (aware) ...’; Yúki ga huri-sóo na yooosó da ‘It looks as if it would snow’; Wáruku náttá yooosó ga miete iru ‘There are indications it has worsened’.
\]
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

\( r,s \) N N [Q] yorokobi\(^{-}\) 'joy, delight in/that ... (resulting from ...)' : Sigoto o nashi-togeta yorokobi\(^{-}\) 'One's delight at achieving the project ...'; Ikiru (Ikitte iru) yorokobi\(^{-}\) ... 'the joy of living ...'; ningen ni umareta yorokobi\(^{-}\) o ... 'the joy of having been born a human being' (V 133).

\( s \) N [Q] yosi\(_1\) 'the report that ...'; 'it is said that, the report is that ...'; 'conveys the message that ...': Satoo san wa ryokoo-tyuu no yosi de, awan akatta 'As Mr Satō was reported to be away on a trip I did not see him'; Kōnai yosi no kotowāri\(^{-}\) no denwa ga kita 'There was a phoned turn-down, saying he would not come'.

\( s \) N [Q] yosi\(_2\) = syûdan 'means': Dōko ni iru ka [wa]\( \) siru yosi mo nai 'There is no way of knowing where he is'.

\( s \) N N V-ru VN no [Q] yosoku 'estimate, forecast, prediction': Tokorô-ga, sonna boodai na kane no atumāru yosoku ga yumê to wakatta 'But I realized that the prediction of such a huge sum of money accumulating was a dream' (V 131): Keizai ga kooten suru fûkō yosoku de, atarasi sigoto o hazimeta 'With the forecast of the economy taking a favorable turn, I began a new job'.

\( s \) N N [Q] yosoo 'expectation': Kane ga atumāru fûkō yosoo de, sigoto o hazimeta 'I began the job with the expectation of money piling up'.

\( s \) N N V-ru VN no [Q] yotei 'plan, rearrangement, schedule': 'the plan is (to V), I plan (to VI) ': Gogo yō-zi ni syûppatu suru/no yotei da 'I plan (am scheduled) to depart at 4 p.m.'; Kāre ga kāette sima'ebā Nōboku wa hitōri de i-nokorù yotei de âtta 'Nobuiko planned to stay on alone once he left' (V 131).

\( ?s \) N N [Q] yōtī\( (\) 'room, margin, scope (to ...)': yōtī = yoyuu.

\( t \) Adv [*] yōtte ni 'because of' [DIALECT]: see p. 973.

\( ?s \) N N [Q] yoyuu 'room, margin, scope (to ...)': Kane o tukau yoyuu wa nai 'I can't afford to spend money'. Cf. yōtī, yutori.

\( t \) (N) N,Adv [Q] yūe {ni} = (for) the reason that, owing to ...': see §2.4a.

\( s \) N N [Q] yuen 'the reason that ... ([literary]): Kāre no zisatu sita yuen wa ... 'The reason he committed suicide ...'; Imada-ni dokusin de iru yuen wa ... 'The reason I am still single ...'.

\( s \) N N [Q] yukaute [dialect?] = ikisatu 'details (intricacies, circumstances) about ...': Asakusa e korāeta yukaute ... 'The circumstances of his coming to Asakusa ...' (Kb).

\( s \) N N [Q] yumē 'a dream that ..., a hope that ...': Nihon e kāetta yumē o mita 'I had a dream that I had returned to Japan'; Anō-hito ga kita yumē datta 'The dream was that
he had come’; Taihei-yoo o hitori de kooka suru (to iu) yumé datta ‘It was a dream (= a hope) of sailing the Pacific all alone’.

?s N N [Q] yutori ‘leeway to ..., room/margin for ... , latitude in ... ’: Sono hakuryoku wa kare-ra ga ūketa sáika (= saínân) o soozoo suru yutori o atenakkata ‘Their intensity did not give one much latitude in imagining the calamity they had undergone’ (SA 2647.89b); ... itu de mo neage dekíro yutori o móto ... ’at any time has leeway to (be able to) raise prices’ (SA 2684.136b). Cf. yoyuu.

?s N N [O] yutori ‘leeway to ... , room/margin for ... , latitude in ... ’: So no haku ryoku wa kare-ra ga uke ta sai ka (= saí nan) o soozoo suru yutori o atenakkata ‘Their intensity did not give one much latitude in imagining the calamity they had undergone’ (SA 2647.89b); ... itu de mo neage dekíro yutori o móto ... ’at any time has leeway to (be able to) raise prices’ (SA 2684.136b). Cf. yoyuu.

The temptation of wanting to drag Isaku into fisticuffs’ (V 132); Tabe-tái (to iu) yuuwaku ni wa katemasén ‘I can’t resist the temptation to eat’.

In the year before [the year when] there was the big earthquake in Tókyō ... ’; Tookyoo dai-kúusuyuu no zennen ... ‘The year before the great Tókyō air raids ... ’.

The evening before we left Tsumagome ... they put on a farewell party’ (V 141).

‘The week before graduation ... ’; Sotugyóo-siki no áru/átta zensyuu ... ‘The week before they have/had the graduation ceremonies ... ’.

The night before, the eve of ... ’: Iyóiyó dekakeru (to iu) zén’ya wa, hito ga atumátta ‘The night before we were at last to depart, people gathered’; Maturi[1] (Syuppatsu) no zén’ya o neratte ... ‘Timing it for the eve of the festival (of the departure) ... ’.

The day before an exam I am busy with study’.

The day before the day before ... ’:
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sinu zenzen-zitum(‘) ni ‘two days before dying’ (Tk 3.7a).

\text{t} (-) N, [Q] zibun(‘) ‘time when ...’: Amerika ni ita zibun(‘) ni wa tabiemono ni komatta ‘While I was in America the food was a problem’; Wakakatta/Wakai zibun(‘) ni wa yoku asonda mon desu yo ‘When I was young I really played around a lot, I tell you!’; Omae mo yome o morau zibun(‘) ni natta no ni ‘ ‘Though the time has come for you to take a bride ...’ (Takeda 1970.56); Hanagama makanai no zibun(‘) da ‘It is the time when the flowers are in full blossom’; Musumem ga mada gakko e ikanai zibun(‘), kinyu no otokono-ko to asobi-hazimeta ‘Before my daughter was yet old enough to go to school she started playing with the boys in the neighborhood’ (Tk 3.37a). Cf. quasi-restrictive ‘zibun.

\text{s} N N [Q] zigyoo ‘enterprise, project, business’: Kajigai ni NIHON no bunka o syookai suru ftoiu z[gyoo ga hituuyo da ‘There is a need for projects to introduce Japanese culture overseas’.

\text{s} N, N VN [Q] zikaku ‘self-awareness that ...’: Titi ni natta ftoiu zikaku wa mada nai ‘I still have no feeling of having become a father’; Amerikazin de aru (or: no, to iu) zikaku o motu hito ... ‘A person who feels an awareness of being an American ...’

\text{?t} N N_{tm} [Q] zikan ‘the hour when, the time that ...; time to ...’: Isogasikute taberu zikan mo nai ‘I am so busy I have no time to eat, even’; Moyo syokuzi suru zikan da ‘It is time to eat’.

\text{s} N, R N [Q] ziken ‘the incident (of ...; when/where ...): Daitooryo ga ansatu sareru/saretu ftoiu ziken ga atta no wa 1960-nendai datta ‘The incident of the president being assassinated was in the 1960s’; Kodomo ga anai ni oti-konda ftoiu ziken ga sime o nigiwawaseta (nigiwasa ‘The incident of the child falling in a hole was all over the newspapers’.

\text{?t} N N_{tm} [Q] ziki1 ‘the time (period, season) of ...’: Kekkon ga ooi ziki ni natta ‘It became the season when there are many marriages’; Umi ga abareru ziki ... ‘The period when the sea is rough ...’

\text{?s} N N [Q] ziki2 ‘the opportunity (chance) to ...’.
\text{s} N N [Q] zikken ‘experiment’: Doroko hinnenyo o tukuru ftoiu zikken o okonatte iru ‘They are conducting an experiment to make (or: that consists of making) fuel out of mud’.

\text{s} N N [Q] zirei ‘instance, example; (=senrei) precedent’: Sibain ni maketa ftoiu zirei ga aru ‘There are instances of being defeated in the court’.

\text{s} N N [Q] zisei(‘) ‘the trend (tendency) of the day, the present state, (the drift of) the times’; Otokomono onnma mo onai yano na kakko o site iru ftoiu zisei(‘) ni narimaisha ne ‘We’ve reached the state where (The times are such that) both men and women dress alike, I see’.

\text{f} - ftoiu [O] zibun(-) ‘time’; zibun(-) ni wa tabemono ni komatta ‘While I was in America the food was a problem’; zibun(-) ni wa yoku asonda mon desu yo ‘When I was young I really played around a lot, I tell you!’; zibun(-) ni natta no ni ‘ ‘Though the time has come for you to take a bride ...’ (Takeda 1970.56).
§ 13.2. Postadnominals

Postadnominals

| t | N | N | [Q] | zisetu ‘the season, the times’: Sakura no hanā ga saku {to iu} zisetu ni, Nihón e ikimasýōo ‘Let us go to Japan in the season of the cherry blossoms’.

| s | N | N | [Q] | zisin ‘(self-)confidence that ...’: Kátu (Syóori no) zisin ga áru ‘I have confidence that I will win’; Hitó ýóri sugúrête iru {to iu} zisin wa ná ‘I have no confidence of being better than other people’.

| s | N | N | [Q] | zítai ‘situation, state of things’ [somewhat literary]: Senkyokú ga akka sítutu áru {to iu} zítai ni tâi-site taisaku o kóoryo ̄-tyuu dá ‘We are in the midst of considering measures to cope with the deteriorating military situation’.

| t | N | Ntm | [Q] | ziten(‘) ‘a point in time (when ...)’ [literary]: Kyôosoo o hazimeta ziten(‘) de wa, yuu-too ga nákatta ‘At the time when we started competing we were about equal’; Ryóosya ga heiwa-kóosyoo o site iru {to iu} ziten(‘) ni áru ‘We are at a point where both parties are engaged in peace negotiations’; Dakyoo sú beki ziten(‘) ni tootatu sita ‘We have arrived at a point where compromise is in order’.

| s | N | N | [Q] | zítai ‘actual condition, realities (of the situation)’: Kéîzai ga akka sítutu áru {to iu} zítai ni tûite kenkyuu no hituyoo ga áru ‘There is a need for study of the realities of the worsening economy’.

| s | N, N | AN | [Q] | ziyuu ‘freedom (to do)’: Zibun no kangaé o happyoo suru ziyuu ga áru hazu da ‘We expect to have the freedom to publish our own thoughts’; Génron(‘) no ziyuu ‘Freedom of speech ...’.

| s | N | N | [Q] | zítai ‘fact (that ...)’; Ôkabe ya Mórīta o koonin sita zítai wa mitometé ga, sono riyyu mo iwanakereba itu syakuhoo suru tó mo iwanakatta ‘He acknowledged the fact that Okabe and Morita had been arrested but neither told the reason nor said when they would be released’ (V 130).

| s | N | N | [Q] | zizyoo ‘circumstances; condition(s); situation’: Sono-hi no seikatsu ni mo komátte iru {to iu} zizyoo o hanásita ‘He spoke of the situation of being hard pressed for daily livelihood’.

| s | N | N | [Q] | zu ‘plan, arrangement; diagram’: Kodomo o máe ni noseté iru zu nádo wa ... ‘The arrangement of having the children ride in front ...’ (Tsukagoshi 205).

| t | Adv | | | zyóó: ... tó wa iú ō ̄ yóó ‘although’ = ... tó wa ié-do ōmo. See also ... tó wa ii-zyoo (§ 9.1.7), V-i sooróo zyoo (§ 22.3).

| s | N | N | [Q] | zyoohoo ‘the report (that ...)’: ~ ga áru ‘it is reported that ...’: Sensoo o hazimeta {to iu} zyoohoo o kyááttí simásita ‘I caught (= heard) a report that they’ve started war’.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

zyookei (‘scene, sight’): ... āru kibun ga yoku arawarete iru zyookei o, mūdo ga āru nado to ittäri suru ‘a scene where a certain feeling is well evidenced is sometimes described as “having a (certain) mood to it”, say’ (Kotoban no yurai 164).

zyookēn (“) ‘condition, proviso, stipulation’: Maisuuyu ituka hataraku (hatarakanakereba narändai) {to iu} zyookēn (“) de syuusyoku sita ‘I was employed with the stipulation that I work five days a week’; Kimi ga tetudau to iu zyookēn (“) no moton hiki-ukeyō o ‘I will undertake it under/with the understanding that you will assist (me)’.

zyookyo o (‘conditions, state (of things), circumstance, situation’): ... iti-niti [i] gurai sika monō o taberārenai zyookyo ni [i] nārea ... ‘when it got to a state where we were able to eat only once a day’ (R); ... mattakku is-sen mo nai yō no zyookyo dātta n desu ga ... ‘we were in such straits that we didn’t have a red cent to our names’ (R); ... o-tagai masūmasu kiken na rōōhi (“) o suru to iu zyookyo ... ‘both sides making more and more dangerous extravagances’ (Tanigawa 24).

zyoosēi (‘fluid situation, condition, state (of things)’): Keizai wa masūmasu akka suru {to iu}; yōō na-z zyoosēi dā ‘The economy is in a state of increasing deterioration’; Keizai akka no zyoosēi ni kagāmīte, ... ‘In view of the worsening state of the economy ...’

zyoooseki (‘rules, formula’): Sentyaku-zyun ni hito o ieru {to iu} zyoosēki “dōori ni kōnkai mo soo sita ‘This time, too, we did it according to the formula of letting people in by order of arrival’.

zyootai (‘static situation, condition, state of things, aspect’): Māiniti (“) sensi-sya no deru zyootai de, nayande iru ‘We are suffering under a situation of daily (war) casualties’; Arasōtte iru zyootai dātta ryōō-gōoku wa kyuusen no zyootai (= kyuusen-zyootai) ni nātte iru ‘At present the two countries, which were in conflict, are in a state of armistice’.

zyun ‘one’s turn (to V)’: ... yome o morau zyun no watasi ga, ... ‘I whose turn it was to receive a bride (= get married) ...’ (SA 2684.138c). Cf. bán, zyunbán.

zyunbi (‘preparation, arrangements (to V)’): Tuki-ryōōko “yoo ni roketto nādo o tukuīru {to iu} zyūnbī ni wa bakudai na o-kane ga kakāru sóo da ‘I understand they are spending an enormous amount of money to build the rocket and all for the moon shot’ . Cf. sitaku, yōōi.

zyūnzyo (‘the order (of doing)’): kuruma ni nori-kōmu zyūnzyo ‘the order of getting into a car’ (Tsukagoshi 126).
§13.2.1. Monó.

The noun monó means 'thing', typically an object, a commodity, or a possession. Like English "something" it can also refer to the substance of an abstraction: monó o iu 'says something, talks'. And, like English "something" or "somebody", it can refer to a person of substance—a success: monó ni náru 'amounts to something, becomes somebody, makes a success, proves successful'; this often appears in the negative (monó ni nará 'does/will not amount to anything') and it can refer to actions, plans, works of art, and so on, as well as to people. One more meaning is 'reason' as in monó ga wakárú 'understands (the reasons for) things, has good sense'; cf. the use of S monó da = S kárá da 'because' (§17.1). Monó will often substitute for a noun extruded as an epitheme; in this use, it is sometimes equivalent to the use of nó as a general pronoun 'the one (that ...)', referring to a thing or a person.

In this section we are concerned with monó as a summational epitheme with meanings that center on "the regular (natural, to-be-expected) thing that ...'"; in these uses the word is often shortened to món. Some types of sentence to consider:

(1) Imperfect S + monó da 'It is only natural (appropriate) that ...', 'It is in the nature of things that ...', 'It stands to reason that (naturally) ...', 'You can expect that ...', 'All ...', '... always ...': Áka-yan wa | naku monó da 'You have to expect babies to cry'; Yású | monó nara, il situ ga yóku | nái món da to | omoé 'If it's cheap stuff, be aware that it's likely to be of poor quality'; Inú wa yóku | hoéru | món desu 'Dogs (just naturally) do a lot of barking'; Dáre ni mo, il it-tyoo it-tan wa | áru monó da 'Everybody has strong points and weak points' (MJW); Tiísa na kodomo wa | tokaku | byooki si-gati na món desu | né 'Young children are always getting sick, you know'.

(2) Imperfect S + monó da 'really S, terribly S': Dóo-site, il nakanaka (1) rippa na món desu 'How very splendid' (Hayashi 156); Dóo-mo, il kágaku no | sinpó wa | erái món da | yó 'Why, I tell you the progress of science is really something' (Tk 3.308b); Suppon no súúpu | to iú no wall | umái món desu | né 'How delicious turtle soup is!'; Mi-tái món da il 'I'm terribly eager to see it'.

(3) V-ru monó da 'The thing to do is V, I urge you to V (as a regular thing), you should make it a practice to V': Toshiyórí no i iu kóto wa | kíte oku monó da 'You should pay attention to what an old person says' (Hayashi 136); Hitó no benkyóo no yóma wall sinai monó desu 'You shouldn't bother me when I'm working' (Hayashi 136).

(4) V-ru monó de wa nái 'It is not the thing to do to V, It is not proper to V, You should not (make it a practice to) V': Dénysia(−) no | naka de | tabaku o suu món de wa | nái 'People shouldn't smoke on the train'.

(5) Perfect S + monó da 'It used to be that ..., It would often happen that ...': Syatyyoo wa | minná (1) otkó datta | món desu ga, il konó-goro(−) wa | onná ga | syatyyoo ni náru il kóto mo | áru n desu 'It used to be that companies were headed by men, but lately women sometimes become heads of companies, too'; Inaka ni súnde ita il tokí ni wa, il mài-asa | zúubun hil háyaku l okita | món desu 'When I was living in the country I used to get up very early every morning'; Kodomo no kóro wa | amai mónó ga | dáí-sukí datta | món desu ga, il ima wa | hotónó il tabé-tai il omowánai 'When I was a child I was very fond of sweets, but now I hardly ever have the urge to eat them'; Móto wa | anmari il térebi o | mínakatta il món desu ga, il koko sibáráku wa | màiiban(−) no yóó ni | mite imasu 'I didn't use to watch television very much, but for some time now I've been watching it practically every night'.
(6) Potential + mono'nara 'If it's the case that (one can) then (of course) ...': Kantan
ni ikareru mono'nara II konna ni sinpai Sinai 'If it's easy to go, then I'll not worry so much
about it'; Dekiru mono'nara, II ima II sugu II site age-tai keredo ... 'If it's possible, I want to
do it for you right away, but ...'. (See also Alfonso 1024.)
(7) V-[y]oo mono'nara: see §13.3.
(8) S mono 'because S', S mono da kara 'It is because (of the reason that)': see
§17.1.
(9) S1 + mono'ka S2 'I guess it must be because S1 is the case that S2'—very close to
the meaning of S1 no ka S2 'perhaps it's that/because S1 that S2; I wonder if it isn't be-
cause of S1 that S2', p. 928.
(10) S + mono'ka how can it be (the case) that ...?!' = 'surely it isn't (the case) that
...!': see p. 926 (§15.6).
(11) TIME + to iu mono: see §21.1.(4b).
For mono-no (+ NUMBER), see p. 746 (§13.5). For S + mono-no, mono[-o], see
§17.4.
As a prefix attached to a few adjectives and adjectival nouns mono- functions as an
intensifier: mono-sabisii 'dreary, lonely'; mono-sugoii 'swell', mono-sugoku 'very'; mono-
sizuka 'quiet, serene'; ... . As a suffix, usually written in hiragana, -mono attaches freely
to make nouns meaning 'stuff, things, goods', as in kaityuu-mono 'what you have in your
pocket(s)' and the expressions kokunai-mono 'domestic goods', yasui yunyuu-mono 'cheap
import goods', Kankoku-mono 'Korean goods' (all three SA 2687.140e), ... . It is also used
in categorizing a type of creative work, such as a novel, a film, or a song: kaizyuu-mono
'films about monsters', hunpan-mono 'bellysplappers (= film comedies)' (SA 2793.44c),
bururu-su-mono 'a blues piece', Kurosawa-mono 'a Kurosawa film (= a film directed by
Kurosawa)', zidai-mono 'a period piece (historical play)', ... . Also: ... sibai de, Meizi-mono
nado o yarimasu toki ni wa ... 'when I do plays about the Meiji era ...' (R). And even
Edozidai-mono o kaku 'writes Edo period pieces' (Tk 3.185a), though that is unusual.
Saihoei-mono(') 'a rerun (of a TV film)' from the verbal noun sai-hoei 'rerunning (a
film)' is an example of the more general use mentioned above.
There are more literal uses of the suffix to mean: (1) PERSON—inaka-mono 'a rustic',
gankou-mono 'a stubborn person', ranboo-mono 'a roughneck', rikoo-mono 'a clever person',
dokusin-mono = hitori-mono(') 'an unmarried person'; (2) THING—nomi-mono 'beverage',
gohan-mono 'rice dishes', nori-mono 'vehicle', ki-mono 'garment'; and (3) ACT—kai-mono
'shopping', ari-mono 'washing'. In some words the meaning is 'merchandising items (for
...)' or, more specifically, 'things (= garments) for': otoko-mono 'menswear', kodomo-
momo 'children's things/clothing', ... . And sometimes the suffix resembles English -er in
making nouns that mean 'one characterized by ... or the like: sanzippando-mono 'a thirty-
pounder (= thirty-pound fish)' (SA 2669.91b). With the exception of certain fixed lexical
items, the suffix usually creates atonic nouns, regardless of the accent of the noun to which
it attaches: gaikoku-bungaku 'foreign literature(s)' but gaikokubungaku-mono 'items
(= books etc.) on foreign literature(s)'. However, there is considerable fluctuation in the
accent of compounds made with the suffix -mono when it is attached to tonic verb infinitive,
as in nomi-mono 'beverage', motii-mono 'possessions', tabe-mono 'food', taté-mono
'building', kange-mono(') 'puzzle(r), question', ... . For 'something dropped; dropping
something' NHK has otosi-mono(') with three accentuations, and to Hamako Chaplin a
fourth version otosii-mono also sounds natural. Yet all sources agree that wasure-mono
something forgotten; forgetting something' is atonic; apparently every compound that results from attaching -mono to the infinitive of an atonic verb will also be atonic: nori-mono, uri-mono, kai-mono, arai-mono, ...

13.2.2. Tokoro. The noun tokoro (which has the short form tóko\(^{41}\)) means 'place' but this meaning is often extended to 'situation', 'stage', 'point (in time)', 'moment', or 'occasion'—as in tokoro mo aró ni 'of all occasions'; the final accent is present only when tokoro is modified by an adnominal element. Sometimes the meaning is very close to that of the nominalizers koto and nó: kiku tokoro ni yoru to 'from what I hear' (SA 2674.107b); ... ikkoo mitomeyoo to sainai tokoró ga omosiró 'It is an interesting feature = interesting that he is quite unwilling to recognize ...' (SA 2685.105b). There are idiomatic uses with quotationization in Kiki\(^{1}\) ippatu to iu tokoró de l tasukete moratta 'I got saved by a hair' and Moo íp-pun tte l tóko de l nori-okúreta 'I missed the train by a bare minute'. From uses as a summational epitheme ('the situation such that ..., the point where ...') there come a number of uses to show a transition 'when; whereupon' and to mark loose conjunction between sentences 'but; and'.

For S-ta tokoró ga 'but (nonetheless)', see §17.5. In that meaning ('but') the ga can not drop. But there is another use of S-ta tokoró with OPTIONAL ga:\(^{42}\) the meaning is roughly equivalent to S-tára 'when; if' or S-ru to 'whereupon': Zibiki de l sirábeta (\(\text{I}\)) tokoró \(\text{gà}\) l dète ita 'When I looked in the dictionary there it was'. The interpretation 'I looked in the dictionary but there it was' would seem odd; on the other hand, Zibiki de sirábeta tokoró ga, dète inákatta can be interpreted either as 'I looked in the dictionary but it wasn't there' or (= Zibiki de sirábeta tokoró\(\text{I}\) dète inákatta) 'When I looked in the dictionary it wasn't there'. Examples of the optional ga: Súgu l uti\(\text{(})\) e (\(\text{I}\)) kàetta tokoró \(\text{gà}\) l oo-sawagi ga l moti-agatte ita 'I came home right away, where I found much astir'; Motása\(\text{t}\) tokoró \(\text{gà}\) l taihen yorokónda 'I let him have it and he was delighted'; Tyokusetu hanásita tokoró \(\text{gà}\) kantan ni (\(\text{I}\)) matomatta 'I talked to them directly, whereupon we reached an agreement easily'.

A perfect sentence (S-ta) + tokoró de means 'even though', roughly the same as S-té mo, anticipating some disagreeable consequence or frustration (Alfonso 1004): Íma l dekaketa tokoró de, \(\text{í}\) ma ni awánnai desyoo 'Even if you left now, I'm afraid you'd be too late'; \(\text{I}\) kura densi-keisániki no l yusyutu wall l kinshi sarete iro to itte l yamete mita l tokoró de, l Amerika-kei no Huransu no kaisya ga l Huransu to Sóren no l yuukoo-kânkei o l motó ni l yusyutu o kyóka site l irú no de l áreba l \(\text{í}\) n to iu kóto l wa ná 'However much they may try stopping the export of electronic computers [to the Soviet Union] by saying it is prohibited, so long as the American-affiliated French company is permitted to export them on the basis of friendly relations between France and the Soviet Union, it doesn't mean a thing' (SA 2664.44c). Although the meaning of the copula gerund in such

\(^{41}\) Usable in most situations where tokoró is appropriate; tóko must be modified, however, and there is no *Tóko-ga = Tokoró-ga 'But' or *Tóko-de = Tokoró-de 'Well; Then'. And tokoró-dókoro 'sporadically' is a fixed form. The abbreviation has an accent (optionally on either syllable): this will permit the distinction of Ore n [a] tóko da 'It's my place' from Ore n [o] tóko da 'It's my bed', though the latter expression is not in use.

\(^{42}\) When ga is omitted, the juncture before tokoró will usually be suppressed: S-ta tokoró, ...
expressions is ‘even its being (the situation that)’, it sounds unnatural to add mó (cf. Alfonso 1005). More examples will be found in KKK 3.122, Terase 117a, Alfonso 1003. From the examples in textbooks, one might assume that the perfect sentence adnominalized to tokoro de must be verbal, but that is untrue, as the following examples attest:

Dōna ni tākakatta tokorō de širete ‘ru ‘It’s certainly not much, to be so terribly expensive!’; Suugaku ni mutyyuu datta tokorō de nagatūzuki sinai ‘He may be enthusiastic about mathematics, but it won’t last’; Sitūrei (na i kotō) datta tokorō de tai-sita mondai ni wa l nāru ‘māi ‘Rude though it may be, it’s no big issue’; Tatōe(−) supāi da to sita tokorō de šikei(−) ni wa l narānaI daroo ‘Even as a spy you won’t be sentenced to death’. Intended with this meaning, an adjectival or nominal sentence in the imperfect should be converted to the perfect. But imperficts can occur before tokorō + de in various other meanings.

According to Tsuruoka 1972 tokoro ga began to be used in the 1770s to express a conjunctive or adversative established condition, being extended to cover an adversative hypothetical condition in the 1810s; in the latter meaning tokorō ga came to be used with introductory adverbs tatōe(−), ikura, etc., in the 1830s, but this usage declined after the 1920s; tokorō de came to express a hypothetical condition in the 1880s, and at the same time started being used with tatōe(−) etc., this usage having survived down to the present day.

As an impersonal nominal sentence, S + tokorō da can be used to set the relative time in a piece of discourse:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Impersonal Nominal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suru tokorō da</td>
<td>‘is about to (just going to) do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suru tokorō datta</td>
<td>‘was about to (just going to) do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>site iru tokorō da</td>
<td>‘is just doing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>site iru tokorō datta</td>
<td>‘was just doing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sita tokorō da</td>
<td>‘has just done’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sita tokorō datta</td>
<td>‘had just done’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>site iru tokorō da</td>
<td>‘has just been doing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>site ita tokorō datta</td>
<td>‘had just been doing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyoo to site iru tokorō da</td>
<td>‘is just about to do, is just on the point of doing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyoo to site iru tokorō datta</td>
<td>‘was just about to do, was just on the point of doing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This device permits more precise timing than what is made available by the simple dichotomy of perfect vs. imperfect. It also permits a punctual verb to be considered as if durative; though käette iru normally means only ‘is back’, käette iru tokorō da means ‘is just returning’; cf. BJ 2.204. With ...(a)nākattara, V-ru tokorō datta can translate ‘if it hadn’t been for/that ...(I) would have done V’: Ane ga itte kurenākattara, I wasureru tokorō desita ‘If my (older) sister hadn’t told me I would have forgotten’; Kimi ga kōnakattara I denwa o kakēru I tokorō datta ‘If you hadn’t come I was going to call you (would have called you)’. And moo sukōsi de V-ru tokorō datta is a good way to translate ‘(I) almost did V’.

By dropping the da and marking the nominal with e or nī you can use the expression to state the point of time at which an event (expressed by the following predicate) occurs, often interrupting or frustrating the situation expressed by tokorō: Syawaa o abiyoo to site iru tokorō e I denwa ga atta ‘Just as I was about to step into the shower there was a phone call’; Ŭto-uto site ita I tokorō e I hēn na I otō ga šita ‘Just as I had dozed off, there was an odd sound’. Another use of S tokorō e is to mean ‘S and in addition to that’ or ‘S and what is more (and on top of that)’, suggesting further misfortune or disaster (adding to
the distress implied by the first S). Alfonso 1003-4 gives some lively examples of this and observes that the second misfortune is sometimes introduced by sára ni ‘furthermore’ or motté-kite ‘bringing it along {to that situation}; he says these double-disaster expressions are usually parts of a larger context (’... and therefore’) or left dangling, with the larger context implied. Here is a nice example from Tanizaki: Kyóó wa hi ga yó ni no de kekkon ga óói tokoró e motté-kite, totu-zen no áme de, kuruma ga nakanaka kité kurenákatta món desu kara ‘You see, there were a lot of weddings today because the day was propitious and on top of that there was a sudden rain, so that it took a long time before a taxi would come’ (Y 545). Another example: Tono-sama wa, umarete hâzîmte sanma o meseagarîmásita ga, kuuhuku no tokoró e motté-kite, syú-n no sanma désu kara, taisoo gyó-i(−) ni kanátte, ... ‘The lord was eating mackerel for the first time in his life, and not only was he hungry but it was mackerel at the height of its season, so it pleased him very much ...’ (Okitsu 1.373); the “disasters” here are hyperbolic.

An imperfect sentence + tokoró can be used as the object of a verb of perception, discovery, or seizure (cf. §14.2.3): Kánó-zyó ga kooen o sanpo site iru tokoró o mita ‘I saw her (just as she was) walking in the park; ... óyázì(−) ga ire-ba o aratte iru tokoró o mita kóto ga áru ka i ‘have you ever seen father wash(ing) his false teeth?’ (Ariyoshi 111); Ákiko wa kán no tátta amári ni isya ga ansitü kara déte kíta tokoró o tukamáete, ikínári kíta ‘Ákiko, overwrought, caught the doctor just as he emerged from the darkroom, and asked him’ (id. 65). And sometimes this can be the object of other kinds of verbs (Kenkyusha gives yake-sinu tokoró o tasukéru ‘rescues someone from the flames’ and abunái tokoró o tasukéru ‘delivers one from danger’) or of an ellipsis: O-isogasii tokoró o ( ) arígato gozaimásita ‘Thank you for taking time for me (from your busy schedule)’. Notice that tokoró as an extruded epitheme can represent an actual location; O-kási o tukütte iru tokoró e kímásita can mean ‘I came to a place where they were making sweets’ as well as ‘I came just as they were making sweets’.

In formal written Japanese, tokoró sometimes functions like an English semicolon to show major breaks within a long passage; see LF 94. See §13.1.1 for the use of tokoró no to link a verb to an extruded epitheme, sometimes forming a quasi passive, as in kónniti iru tokoró no teinei-go ‘what is called polite language today’ (Tsujimura 102).

The restrictive −dókoro (§2.4) is derived from tokoró; for its use as a postadnominal, see §15.6. As a suffix −dókoro attaches to several verb infinitives to yield atonic nouns with somewhat specialized meanings:

kíki-dókoro ‘(the part) worth listening to, deserving to be heard’.

mi-dókoro ‘something to be looked at or to’ (Koko ga sono sibai no mi-dókoro désu ‘This is the best part of the play’); ‘merit, promise’ (Mi-dókoro no áru sákka(−) da ‘He is a writer of promise’).

iki-dókoro (ga náï) ‘(lacks) a place to go’.

motte-iki-dókoro (ga náï) ‘(lacks) a place to take it = an outlet’: ikári no motte-iki-dókoro ga náï ‘has no outlet for one’s anger’.

de-dókoro ‘source’: Sonna o-kane no de-dókoro wa arimasen ‘We don’t have any place to get such a sum of money’; Sono zyoohoo no de-dókoro wa de mo siranai ‘No one knows who supplies the information’.

yorï-dókoro ‘something to rely upon, support, evidence’.

si-dókoro ‘what ought to be done’—apparently limited to sian no(−) : ... kore kácá ga sian no si-dókoro [da] ‘what happens next is the thing to be thought about’ (SA 2663.117a).
Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

§13. i-dokoro ‘one’s whereabouts, location, address’.\[43\]

Notice also tāt-dōkoro(‘) ni ‘instantly, on the spot’, an adverb of time. A number of the adverbs listed in § 13.7 (ima-no-tokoro, mōkka-no-tokoro, ...) derive from phrases with ... nō tokorō.

13.2.3. Toki.'

The noun toki ‘time’ has several uses. It can serve as the equivalent of zikan ‘(amount/interval) of time’ as in toki ga tāt ‘time passes/elapses’;\[44\] it can substitute for hima ‘unoccupied time, leisure’ as in toki ga āru/nāi ‘has/lacks the time’; it can mean ‘opportunity, chance’ (= kikai(‘)) as in toki o māt ‘bides one’s time, awaits one’s chance’; it can refer to ‘the contemporary period’ (= tōoji) as in toki no hītō/mondai ‘the man/question of the hour’ and toki no wadai ‘topics of the day’.

As a postadnominal, toki\[45\] means either ‘the occasion (when ... )’ as a SUMMATIONAL epithe me or ‘(at) the time (that ... ), when ... ’ as a TRANSITIONAL epitheme. In the summational usage, toki may be used like kotō ‘experience’ (Hayaku kāru tokii/kotō mo āru ‘I sometimes leave early’) or like baai ‘situation’, which—either directly adverbialized or marked with ni—often means ‘in the event/case that = if’ (cf. § 9.3): Mōsi II sunpoo ga ooki-sugiru tokī wa II hasami de I kireba I yoī ‘In the event that the measurements should be too large, you can cut it with scissors’ (SA 2650.98b); Mōsill soo’on no I onryoo-sōkutei o site I morai-tai tokī, I ‘In the event that you wish to have a volume measurement on the noise, ... ’ (SA 2687.119c). Sometimes the implication is ‘whenever, on every occasion that ... ’: Taikin o kasu tokii ni wa II syoomon o kakaset ха gb ga II fi ‘When lending large sums of money, one had best have a note signed’ (MJW); Kōkka o I utau toki ni wa II kiriitu simāsū ‘We stand up when we sing the national anthem’.

When toki is used as a transitional epitheme, the connection with the embedding sentence—marked either by direct adverbialization or by ni—is fairly tight, and the choice of perfect or imperfect for the adnominalized sentence is determined by the relative timing of the two sentences involved, taking into account the inherent aspect of the verb. There are a number of subtleties, especially when the second sentence is perfect; see § 11 and Josephs 1972.118-9, 125.

The basic final accent of toki, like other final accents, will be heard only when there is a particle or copula following; under direct adverbialization the accent will vanish: Rokusyuū no (1\[46\] tokii) 11 tyoonan ni II hażime te no I magō ga I umareta ‘When he was sixty

43. Tokoro by itself sometimes translates as ‘address’: Tokoro ga kāte arimāsu ka ‘Is the address written?’—cf. Tokorō-ga, kāte arimāsu ka ‘But, is it written?’—and even Tokorō-ga, tokoro ga kāte arimāsu ka ‘But, is the address written?’; O-tokoro wa? ‘The address?’ A written address is tokoro-gaki or (with name) atena; zyuusu yo means ‘(place of) residence’, todoke-saki means ‘receiver’s address, address to which it is to be delivered’, and atesaki means ‘destination’. What is written on the outside of an envelope (etc.) is called uwagaki, and that is often the equivalent of ‘address’.

44. But (despite Kenkyusha’s example) toki is awkward as a substitute for zikan in zikan ga kakāru ‘it takes time’.

45. Or toki. As a postadnominal the word is frequently accentuated tōki; in the examples of this book I have usually given only the conservative accentuation (tōki). Regardless of the accentuation chosen, tōki often loses its juncture (and thus its accent) after a tonic phrase: ... go-tugoo no II toki ni ‘when it is convenient for you’ (BJ 2.159.4).

46. Speakers closely following the rules will unvoice the final vowel of tōki when this juncture is suppressed; if the vowel is voiced, the juncture is probably present. Both versions have been recorded.
§ 13.2.4. Yóo

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years old his first grandchild was born to his eldest son' (MJW). But some speakers prefer to accentuate the FIRST syllable whenever the word is preceded by modification, saying sono toki ni rather than sono toki ni ‘at that time’ (but only toki ga tătu for ‘time passes’), and that is what accounts for the accentuation in these examples: Kodomo no toki, il yóku ikagaku-hakubutukan e l̄̄ āta ‘When I was a child I often went to the Science Museum’ (MJW); Anpo-zyóoyaku ikaito ni aike ni toki, il Kisi san ga I syuysyoo dāatta ‘Mr Kishi was Prime Minister at the time of the revision of the Security Treaty’ (MJW).

Like other nouns and adverbs of time, toki can be marked as a temporal allative (‘up to when, until the time that’) with máde and as a temporal ablative (‘from/since the time when’) with kará: Kodomo ga (1) sotuyoo shuru toki madé gakkoo no tikaku ni I surunde ita ‘Up till the time my child graduated we lived near the school’; Kodomo no toki kará kiite imasu ga l̄̄ ... ‘I’ve heard it since (the time when) I was a child, but ...’ (R).

13.2.4. Yóo.

The word yóo is an adjectival noun that is always used as a summational epitheme with the basic meaning of ‘appearance’ or ‘likeness’. The morpheme, which comes from the Chinese word yang = yângzi (borrowed into Japanese as yóosu ‘appearance’), also attaches to verb infinitives to make abstract nominalizations, as explained in § 14.8.

A sentence + yóo da makes an impersonal sentence with the meaning ‘It appears/looks/seems that S’: Densya(−) ga (1) okureru yóo datta ‘It appeared that the train would be late’; Mada l̄̄ da le mo kónai yóo desu ga .... ‘It appears that no one has come yet, but ...’; Iroiro l̄̄ o-honeori datta yóo desu ga, .... ‘You seem to have gone to a lot of trouble, ...’ (Tk 3.209a); Ème ga l̄̄ yanda yóo desu l̄̄ n é ‘It looks as though the rain has let up’; Kodomo ga líki-tai yóo desu kedo ‘My boy seems to want to go, (but) ....’. The subject can be epithematized: okureru yóo na densya(−) ‘a train that it appears will be late’, iki-tai yóo na kodomo ‘a child who seems to want to go’. And the sentence can be adnominalized to other epithemes: kodomo ga/no iki-tai yóo na tokoró ‘a place that children seem to want to go to’, etc. Examples of adnominalized yóo: Syasín no yóo na l̄̄ syazitu-teki na é nara l̄̄ wakarimásu ga .... ‘I can understand realistic paintings that are like photographs, but ...’ (MJW); Daimyóo no l̄̄ yóo na l̄̄ seikatu o site iru ‘He is living like a feudal lord’ (MJW); Sin-zirarenái yóo na l̄̄ hanásu desu ga l̄̄ zitua da sóo desu ‘It may be hard to believe, but I hear it is a true story’ (MJW). As the last example illustrates, yóo will optionally lose its accent after a tonic phrase; in rapid speech, the intervening juncture is frequently dropped, especially in short phrases, and that is what cancels the accent on yóo when there is an earlier accent in the resulting phrase.

S yóo ni (including N no yóo ni) can have three somewhat different interpretations:
(1) ‘in a way as if S is/were so’ (‘ś miéru ‘it seems as if ...’, § 9.1.11); (2) ‘in a way so that S will be so’; and (3) ‘in a way which agrees with or corresponds to S’. The third meaning is found in Suki ni yóo ni l̄̄ sset’ oku I só ‘We’ll let ‘em do as they like’ (SA 2684.119c), Saki-hodo itta yóo ni .... ‘As was said a while ago ...’, Go-syooti no yóo ni .... ‘As you know ....’, and Koko ni käite āru yóo ni ni site kudasái ‘Do as is written here’. V-ru yóo ni suru (V-anai yóo ni suru) means ‘arranges it so that V will (will not) happen’, ‘sees to it that ...’;

47. Or preceded by certain of the adnouns: kono yóo na monó ‘a thing of this sort’, onazi yóo na monó ‘one of the same sort’, ....
48. Also read as Daimyóo no yóo na l̄̄ seikatu o site iru.
sometimes the best translation is ‘tries to (not to) V’: Okurenai yōo ni l site kudasai ‘Try not to fall behind’; Kaze o hikanai yōo ni l ki o tuke-nasai ‘Take care not to catch a cold’; Kuni ga sakae, l kokumin no seikatu ga l yūtaka ni l nāru yōo ni l dōryoku suru ‘We work so that the country may flourish and the livelihood of the people will be enriched’ (MJW). The meaning ‘so that’ can also appear with the adnominalized form yōo na: Saisan ga torérū yōo na l keiei o sinakereba l narānai ‘One must operate a business so that it makes a profit’ (MJW); Hito no kokorō o l moyowāsū yōo na l hoosoo o sitē wa l ikennai ‘One must not make broadcasts which mislead public sentiment’ (MJW); ... zyū-nin ‘izyoo mo l tukau yōo ni l mise o l tukurō ‘Let’s set up a shop that will (be so large as to) employ over ten people’ (SA 2793.105b); Kore wa l mi-ageru yōo na l looki l tatémono da ‘This is a towering building (a building so large you look up at it)’ (SM 2796.128a).

This is the source of the warning O-wasuremono no nai yōo [ni] l go-tyūui kudasai ‘Please do not leave any of your belongings behind’. Wasurenai yōo ni + V means either ‘does so as not to forget’ or ‘does not forget to do’ (from the notion ‘does in a way that shows one has not forgotten’); Wasurenai yōo ni kāite oite kudasai means either ‘Write it down so you won’t forget it’ or ‘Please don’t forget to write it down’, though the latter meaning is usually said as Wasurenai de kāite oite kudasai.

See p. 998 ( § 21 ) for the use of V-ru yōo [ni [tō]] in the indirect quotation of commands. V-ru (or V-anai) yōo ni nāru means ‘gets so that ... , reaches the point where ... ’, as in Zyyoou ni dekirū yōo ni nātta ‘I got to the point where I could do it quite well’ and Arukēnai yōo ni nātta ‘I got to the point where I couldn’t walk’. Instead of V-(a)nai yōo ni nāru you can use the option V-(a)naku nāru ( § 9.1.11) with much the same meaning: Arukēnaku nātta ‘I got so I couldn’t walk’.

A noun phrase + no yōo da means ‘(it) looks to be N’ or ‘looks like N’, and N1 no yōo na N2 often translates as ‘an N2 that is like N1’; the pattern is used for exemplification: Tookyoo no yōo na l dai-tōkai de mo ... ‘Even in great metropolises like (such as) Tōkyō ... ’; Kyōo no yōo na l lakibare no hī wa l kimoti ga l mono da ‘You are bound to feel good on such a fine autumn day as today’ (MJW); Niti-yōobi ka l saizitū no yōo na l hī ni wa ... ‘On days like Sunday or a holiday ... ’. To make the comparison explicit you can use the pattern N1 to onazi yōo no N2 an N2 that is just like N1: oyazī(-) to onazi yōo na hitō ‘a person who is just like my father’, kore to onazi yōo na kimono ‘a kimono that is just like this one’.

When adverbialized (with ni, or directly—by ellipsis of ni) the word yōo often translates as ‘like’: Meizī i sanzyu-nēndai l suisei no yōo ni l arawāreta l tensai-gaka no l geizyutu to l syōoagai o l tuzurimāsū ‘It tells the art and life of a talented artist who appeared like a comet in the third decade of the Meiji period’ (R).

S kā no yōo ni nī means ‘as if S (were true)’: ... Zen wa, Nihon-būnka no daiyūoo de āru ka no yōo ni kangaerēte iru rasi ‘Zen appears to be thought of as if it were representative of Japanese culture’ (ISJ 2.8.76, 2.7.75). In 1912 Mori Ōgai published a story called ‘Kā no yōo ni’ about a young man whose thoughts are constantly cast in the frame of ‘As If’. Cf. Y. 328-9, 393.

Comparisons of equality ‘is as A as N’ can be said with N no yōo ni A or N to onazi yōo ni A, as well as with N ‘gūrai A: Kono kodomo wa sono kodomo no yōo ni (sono kodomo to onazi yōo ni, sono kodomo ‘gūrai) sé ga takāi ‘This child is as tall as that child’. The predicate need not be an adjective: Kono kodomo wa sono kodomo no yōo ni (sono kodomo to onazi yōo ni, sono kodomo ‘gūrai) benkyoo suru ‘This child studies as much as that child’.
Just as the English word 'like' may get thrust into a sentence with very little meaning, Japanese will often attenuate a noun with yōo: māiniti(-) no yōo ni ‘nearly every day’ means practically the same thing as māiniti(−) ‘every day’ and renzitu no yōo ni ‘for days on end’ says little more than renzitu by itself. In expressions such as watakusi no yōo na monō ‘a person like me’, yōo is a way of expressing modesty or humility; cf. Y 330. In such expressions as て ひそし ... yōo na kotō ga あれば ‘if by any chance it should happen that’ the yōo merely attenuates the condition. And in the example ... to iu yōo na zyootai de ね ... ‘under a situation where, you see, ...’ (R) both the quotation and the yōo na may be semantically vacuous. It seems to be particularly common to attenuate a statement of feelings with yōo: Sore o iwaretokī wa ならい tāi no yōo ni ひ (も) 237 ga sita ‘When told that, I felt like crying’; ... hiz yōo ni (I) natukasii yōo na, elloworld de wa I arimasen ‘It looks as though it were useless, but it’s not (useless) at all’. Introductory adverbs such as maru-de ‘quite’, tyoodo ‘just’, and atākam-o ‘as it were’, sometimes anticipate yōo da.

Notice that the following expressions all mean virtually the same thing: sono yōo na koto, sonna yōo na koto, soo iu yōo na kotō, soo iu kotō, sonna koto. See p. 1005 (§21.1) for ... to iu yōo ni, ... [t]e yōo na, ... [t]e[e] na and ... to iu yōo ni, [t]e yōo na. Notice also the various uses of mītai (§2.12).

The postadnominal toōri is used as a virtual synonym of yōo (Y 350), but it adnominalizes as a precopular noun: ... kesa l mītai l toōri no 1i kō ‘a color like that seen this morning’ (= mīta yōo na iro). The postadnominal huu is similar in meaning; here is an example with S yōo na huu: Maru-de byooki o 1i irō (-) no koozitu to sitē l tanosinde i ru l yōo na l huu de あた ‘It was (for) all the world like enjoying the illness as an excuse for divorce’ (Y 338). Yoshida says the use of huu dates from Edo times; in Y 347-8 there are a number of examples. Literary equivalents of yōo are gōtosi = yōo da, gōtoki = yōo na, gōtoku {ni} = yōo {ni}; cf. §14.4. Neither S huu da nor S yōo da will be comfortably used in the tentative (*S huu/yōo daroo); cf. Y 347-8. But you may find S yōo/huu l desyō[o] ? ‘It appears that S, don’t you think?’

Adnominalized or adverbialized yōo-sentences are much more frequent than the unconverted predicates. In one novel, Yoshida found the frequency to be .50 yōo na, and .45 yōo ni, with less than .06 for yōo da/datta/de (Y 336). An example of S yōo de: Kāhuu wa byoozyaku no [= na] yōo de zitū wa karada mo ganken desu ‘[Nagai] Kafū may look sickly, yet he’s really in ruddy good health’ (Endō 88).

13.2.5. Wake.

The noun wāke has a number of meanings: ‘sense, meaning; reason, cause; circumstance, case’. It usually occurs as a summational epitheme: ... kāre no l naku wāke o l tazuneta
'they asked why he was crying' (V 139). The question Dōo iu wāke desu ka asks ‘What do you mean (by that, by what you are saying)?’, and explanations frequently end with ... to iu wāke desu, which may add as little to the sentence as a final ‘I mean’ adds in English. The rather empty use of S wāke da ‘It’s [the case] that S’ (virtually equivalent to S nō da) is particularly common in the speech of the Kantō area (Zhs 2.19), and you will hear it a lot in Tōkyō: Iroiro wākatta kēsī mo, go ran ni nātta wāke desyou I nē ‘I guess you must have seen all sorts of unusual scenery, too?’ (Tk 3.317a); Inzei wāl pēezi ‘wari de kureru wāke da ga, ‘Sibāraku mätte kudasā!’ tte iu n desu I nē ‘They [are supposed to] pay royalties by the page, but they tell you “Please wait a bit”, you see’ (Tk 3.97a); Tūmari III anō bangumi(’w) wā, ‘syōohin(’w) no mēekaa no! sēnpei na wāke I yō ‘After all, you see, that program is [supposed to be] the spearhead for the maker of the product (tied in by promotion)’ (SA 2793.46a).

S wāke de wa/mo nāi ‘I don’t (exactly) mean that S’ is a way to disclaim an assertion and NEGATIVE + wāke de wa/mo nāi ‘I don’t mean that not S’ or ‘It isn’t the case that not S’ is a way of admitting a possibility: Kono yōo na l kangē-kāta wa, II nādo ni mol ukagaenai wāke de wa l arimasē ga, II ‘It isn’t that we can’t (= We can, of course,) study this sort of thinking in ... and other works, but ...’ (Tsujimura 101).

S wāke ga/wa [hitōto mo] nāi means ‘It doesn’t stand to reason that ...’ or ‘There is no reason (to think) that ...’ or ‘I can’t think/believe that ...’: Íma lātte I hanašīta l bākari da kara l byooki na wāke wa l nāi ‘He can’t be sick, for I have just seen and talked with him’; Hitōri de l mit’atte, omosiroi l wāke ga l nāi ‘I can’t think it would be any fun to see it all alone’ (Hayashi 141); Watasi ga (l) ayamāru l wāke wa l nāi ‘I have no reason to apologize’.

V-ru wāke ni fwa/mo tinkai (or, to be more polite, mairimašēn) means ‘there is no cause/justification for V-ing’ or ‘circumstances prevent V = can hardly V, cannot (very well) V’ as in Soo kantan ni setumei suru wāke ni wa l ikanāi n desu ‘One can not so easily explain it’, and V-(a)nai wāke ni fwa/moš ikanāi (or mairimašēn) means ‘there is no cause/justification not to V’ or ‘circumstances force V = cannot very well not V, must V’, approaching the meaning of V-(a)nākereba narānai, V-(a)nākute wa ikenai, and other expressions of obligation: Okorānai l wāke ni wa l ikanai ‘I can’t help getting angry’.

In most uses you have the option of quotationalizing the sentence in front of wāke: S to iu wāke .... Nominal sentences change da to nā when adnominalized to wāke, but nō can be used when there is no ambiguity: Soo iu kōto wa l heiki no = na wāke desu l yō ‘Such things matter not, you see’ (Tanigawa 43). In Tōkyō speech you may not hear the initial w- when the preceding juncture is dropped: .... ikenai [w]āke desu ‘it won’t do, I mean’ (R). Many Tōkyō speakers use -w- nondistinctively before the vowel a when a vowel precedes (cf. bawa = baa ‘situation’), maintaining no distinction between underlying Va and Vwa, so that you can not be sure from spoken forms whether -w- is called for historically or not: O-ari desu ka ‘Have you got it?’ may be pronounced the same as Owari desu ka ‘Is it the end?’ What is more, after a front vowel (i or e) an epenthetic -y- is often nondistinguishably intruded before a49 (cf. ki[y]āmete = kiwāmete ‘extremely’) so that you may think you have heard .... ikenai [y]āke desu, as if the noun before desu were yāke ‘despair’; cf. the common pronunciation ni[y]aka-ame for niwaka-ame ‘sudden shower’.

A passage with three examples of wāke: Syosai ni komōte hōn o hirogerū ga, kanarazū-
§13.2.6. Mamá, manmá.

The noun mamá, with its lively variant manmá, normally appears as a summational epitheme or after certain adnouns such as sono 'that', as in Dó-zo | sono mamá 'Please stay as you are (don't disturb yourself, don't bother to move over, etc.)' and Sono mamá o-mati kudasaì 'Hang on (for a minute), Hold the line' (on the telephone), or kono 'this' in kono mamá ikéba 'if it goes on (continues) like this'. In idiomatic expressions, mamá may appear without adnominal modification: ýukiyo(-) ga mamá ni naru nara-ba 'If I had my wishes'; Mamá no kawa = Mamá no kawa-zaihu 'Let's let nature take its course' [rare?]; Mamá yó 'I'll have to leave that to fate!'.

The usual meaning of mamá is '(continuing in) the same state' and the translation will sometimes be 'unchanged, untouched, undisturbed, intact; as [it] is (or was, or has/had been), as things are (or have/had been) ': Genkoo mo kaki-kake no mamá tukue no ué ni lokarete ita 'And a manuscript was there on his desk half-written' (SA 2792.26);

... okusan nill gekkyu u olikukuro no mamá watasite siman desu 'turns his salary over to his wife with the envelope unopened' (IS 8.3b.104); Yoko o muita mamá hito-koto mo hanasánakatta 'With his head turned aside, he spoke not a word' (MJW); Omó mamá asonda 'We played as we liked'; Isogú mamá, áisatu mo sezu ni kitaku sita 'In a hurry as I was, I went home without saying good-bye'; Mata sû nihon de wa, sû kuruma ni notta mamá mito o kiku no ga sitürei na koto da to sareté iru no desu ga, ... 'And in Japan it is thought discourteous to ask directions without getting out of your vehicle, but ...' (Tsukagoshi 210).

Most often you will find S mamá used as a direct adverbial (automatically losing its final accent), but the expression can be marked by ní or dé; Alfonso 1076 says that dé is an option if the preceding act is voluntary (subject to the actor's control), and ní is an option if it is not: Dé na i, ní oí, ní kuti ni yoozi o ireta mamá dé syabérú na yó 'What-here, don't talk with a toothpick in your mouth!' (Okitsu 1.55); Suwatta mamá dé yorosii desyo ka 'May I stay seated [while speaking] ?'; Kutú o l haita mamá dé uti(-) ni agatta 'He came into the house without removing his shoes'; Óobaa o l kita mamá dé l iru 'He's leaving his overcoat on'; Húdán-gi no l mamá dé l iku 'I'll go in my everyday clothes (without dressing up)'; Nání mo siranai mamá ni ... 'Ignorant as I was ...' (R); Yo-nó-naka wa l kokôrõ no (l) mamá ni l ikanai monó da 'The world is not at one's command'.

In addition to the adverbializations with dé and ní, the finite forms of the copula can be used to predicate mamá: Kono heyá wa l tukawanaku natta l mamá desu 'This room is no longer used (= continues in disuse)'; Waisyatu wa l yogoreta mamá desita 'The shirt remained soiled (= had not been laundered)'; Sigezoo wa l mé o l tózita l mamá datta ga ... 'Shigezô's eyes remained closed ...' (Ariyoshi 307). The predicated S mamá da can be adnominalized: ... kitanáí l reikóoto o l kite, l l oo o l kabutta l mamá no l syasin-han ga ... 'the gang of photographers with their dirty raincoats and hats unremoved from their
heads ...’ (Tk 3.274b). And other forms of the copula will occur: Kono mamá de lī desu ‘Things are all right as they are’; Mōto no mamá ni site ōite kudasai ‘Leave it undisturbed’ (mutative conversion); Kodomo no i mamá ni lCarrier oyayō mo i iru ‘Some parents let their children do what the children say’ (causativized mutative conversion), Hituwa mo nemutu mamá nara, l isya ni mite l moratta hō ga l i zyō nai desu yō ka ‘If you go on unable to sleep, wouldn’t you be well advised to see a doctor?’ Occasionally S mamá will be followed by a case marker: Omōta l mamá o l itta ‘I said what was on my mind; I spoke my feelings’; Mītā l mamá o l syoyūkō ni l hanāsita ‘I quite honestly told just what I had seen’. See p. 895 (§ 14.6) for direct nominalization + ga mamá (surū ga mamá).

In some expressions the meaning of mamá is very close to that of gōtoku (or yō no ni) and that of tōori ‘way, like’. Sometimes the meaning is ‘in accordance with, as’: omōu mamá ni yaru ‘does as one wishes’; hito no iu mamá ni nāru ‘is at another’s beck and call’; meirei sareta (mei-zirāreta(‘)) mamá ni sigoto o yameru ‘stops work as ordered’; Osō no mamá ni itasasayō ‘I will do as you say’; yō no hukēru mamá ni ‘as the night advances’.

V-ta mamá can be the equivalent of V-ta [k]kirī ‘did it and that was that, did it and left matters there; did it and that was the end of it all’: ... yaoya e l kaimono ni yuku to itte (I) dēta mamá[l] kāette l kōnakatta no de aru ‘went out saying she was going to the grocery store shopping and never came back’ (SA 2668.122a); ... onaka o kōwāsita mamá[l] naorānai de ... ‘my stomach trouble stayed with me (and wouldn’t get better)’ (R); Gō-zi ‘sugi ni l sigoto kara kāette, l iki-tuke no syokudoo ni dekaketa mamá[l] kāette l kimasēn desita ‘He returned from work sometime after five, went off to his favorite restaurant and never came back’ (SA 2676.133a).

Wagamámá ‘selfish(ness)’, both an abstract noun and an adjectival noun, is derived from the literary wā-ga mamá ‘my own way’; kimama (from ki no/ga mamá) is a synonym. Omoi-no-mamá is a closeknit phrase derived from omoi no mamá ‘as one pleases’; ari-no-mamá ‘as it is’ (Ari-no-mamá o ie ‘Tell it like it is’) is derived from a direct nominalization of literary ári, and it is the equivalent of áru ga mamá (§ 14.6). In the epistolary style characteristic of old-fashioned letterwriting (§ 22.3) mamá is used as a particle, often after V-i sooroo, to mean ‘due/owing to, because, as since’, corresponding to the colloquial S karā or S nō de. For more examples of mamá, see Alfonso 1075-6, Kenkyusha 1057b, and Terasue 208b.

13.2.7. Hazu.

The word hazu originally meant ‘the (bowstring) notch of a bow’ and later ‘the notch of an arrow’ (now usually ya-hazu); the notion of ‘notch matching the bowstring’ has been extended to create the postadnominal found in S hazu da with the meaning ‘(what matches) the general expectation’, ‘what one has every reason to think’, ‘what ought naturally to be true’, ‘what stands to reason’, ‘(what is known to be) likely, the likelihood’, ‘what one would normally assume/presume’, ‘I assume/presume’, ‘I feel sure that’. Hazu is commonly predicated with the copula as an affirmative imperative statement S hazu da ‘presumably S’, ‘It would normally be assumed that S’, ‘I feel sure that S’, ‘It is supposed to be that S’: Uti no Kēn-tyan wall l rainen no sāngatū l sotugyō suru hazu désu

50. A similarly colorful figure of speech lies behind the American expression ‘it is a (lead-pipe) cinch’, meaning ‘a sure thing’.
ga... 'Our son Ken should graduate in March of next year'; Sore de wa kāre ga okōru hazu da 'No wonder he got mad'; Gunkan wa sán-zi ni nyuukuoo suru/no hazu de āru 'The warship is expected to enter port at three o'clock'; Otōsan wa mō kāette iru hazu dā kara 'Father should be home by now, so...'; Sore wa tīsaa na kodo mo de sae sitte iru hazu no kotō da 'That is something that even a small child can be presumed to know'; Ninniku ni yowāi hazu no Nihon-zīn ga, tīkāgooro wa Tyoosen-ryōōiri de siti-tūzumi o īūte iru 'The Japanese, who (= though they) are supposed to be down on garlic, are smacking their lips over Korean cookery these days'; Tegami o ireta hazu no huuuto o akete mite kīkkūri simāsita 'When he opened the envelope that he naturally supposed had a letter inside, he was startled'; Yama-ōku da kara denwa ga nai (1) hazu desu ga... 'It's way back in the mountains so we can expect them not to have a phone...'.

This use with the copula, however, is a propredication of S hazu [ga āru no] da 'It is [there is] the normal expectation that S', and that is why the expression is usually negated as S hazu ga/wa nai 'There is little/no likelihood that S = It is hardly possible that S', 'I don't see that S = I don't see how/why one can expect that S': Namakete ite wa kāre wa lsēkoo suru hazu ga nai 'If he is lazy I don't see how he can have any success'; Sonna hazu wa nai to lomoiōmu gā... 'That's not what I was expecting'; Tēnki ga warūi kara, Hānako ga kūru hazu wa nai 'The weather is so bad that Hanako surely won't come' (=... kit-tō kōnai) -cf. Tēnki ga warūi kara, Hānako ga kōnai hazu da 'The weather is bad, so Hanako is likely not to come'; ... kusuri ga hāitte iru hazu mo nai yōo na tya-dansu no itiban sitā no hikidasi māde ... sagasite ita 'she searched even the bottom drawer of a chest that was hardly likely to have medicines in it' (Ariyoshi 42).

A negation of the propredicative expression S hazu de/zya nai, though unusual, is not entirely ruled out; Kenkyusha carries the example Sonna hazu de wa nākatta ga 'I did not bargain for that'. The adnominalized sentence can itself be negative: Sui-yōobī wa yasumī yānai (1) hazu desu ga 'Of a Wednesday they're surely not on holiday...'.

With a double negative S-(a)nai hazu ga/wa nai, the meaning is 'There is little likelihood (it seems impossible) that not S = 'It is bound to be that S': O-tēnki ga īī kara, Hānako ga asobi ni kōnai hazu wa nai 'The weather is so nice, Hanako is bound to come for a visit'; O-kane ga nai hazu wa arimasēn 'You surely must have money'; İma ısūgu dekakerū nara, ma ni awānai hazu wa arimasēn ı yō 'If we leave right now there's no reason for us to be late'.

The meaning of S hazu dá sometimes approaches that of S ni tigai nai 'surely' or 'there is (can be) no doubt that S' and sometimes it approaches that of S tumori da 'I intend/presume/feel/hope that': Kinōo ısore o suru hazu désīta 'I should have done that yesterday' -'Kinōo ısore o suru tumori désīta 'I intended to do that yesterday'; Kinōo ısore o sita ē hazu désu ı yō 'But I thought I did that yesterday' -'Kinōo ısore o sita tumori désu ı yō 'I tried to do that yesterday' or 'I have the feeling I did that yesterday'; Hāa, ısīmeta hazu nā n desu kedo, ı appāri ı tyōt-to āte 'māsu n née 'Yes, I thought I had closed it, but it's still open a bit, I see' (ISJ 11.1b.268); Bōku(−) wa tāsika ıs itta ē hazu désu ı yō 'I am sure (= confident) I said so'; ... soo itta ni tigai nai desu ı yō 'There can be no doubt that I said so [−just ask the others who were there]'; Anata wa móo anō-hito ni ātta ē hazu désu 'Surely you must have seen him by now (or: before)'.

Observe that the following sentence can mean the same thing regardless of whether the subordinated predicates are converted to the perfect or not.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

Kuru hazu\{datta\}

hitō ga\{kōnai konakatta\} kara, taihen komarimásita 'We were much embarrassed because the people who were supposed to come didn't (come)'. (All combinations occur. And, with a different nuance, the sentences can begin with Kita hazu ... '... the people who were supposed to be here ...'.) On the unusual ellipsis in Sensei ga/no kuru hazu [dā/datta] ga kōnakatta 'The teacher was expected to come but he didn't', see p. 980 (§17.5).

Sometimes the sentence adnominalized to hazu is framed as an expression of permission S-te țmoii ii 'might as well S, might well S'. Mōō kātte iite hō itō hō [nai] no ni ... is a somewhat stronger way of saying Mōō kātte iru [hō] hō [nai] no ni ... 'He really ought to be back by now, but [he isn't]'. Wakatte (i) ite țmoii ii hazu desu means 'He ought to (really should) understand'; cf. iēba ii wakāru hazu desu 'If you say it he's bound to understand'.

13.2.8. Tumori.

Unlike hazu, which makes IMPERSONAL expressions, the postadnominal tumori refers to what is in a person's head—his intention, hope, meaning, supposition, impression, or belief.\(^51\) Statements such as S tumori dā 'It is my intention/impression that S', will usually refer to the first person as the underlying subject; questions, such as S tumori dē su ka 'Is it your intention/impression that S?', will usually refer to the second person, and the honorific prefix o- is sometimes attached to tumori: Nāgaku i irassyāru i o-tumori dē su ka 'Do you plan to stay long?' Since the reference is personal, you will occasionally hear de irassyāru used for the copula: Sensei wa ll dōo iu i o-tumori de irassyaimasu ka 'What do you have in mind, sir?' The intention can be negative: Sore wa ll iwanai tumori dē su 'I plan not to say that'. The statement of intention can itself be denied: Sore wa ll iu tumori zya arimasēn 'It is not my intention to say that'. And a negative intention can be denied: Sore wa ll iwanai tumori zya arimasēn 'It is not my intention not to say that'. But it is more common to say S tumori ga/wa nai 'has no mind (intention) to ...' or, when it does not have it in mind that S': Sore o suru tumori wa arimasēn 'I have no intention of doing that'; Sore o suru tumori ga ll nai de mo l nai kedo ... 'Not that I have no intention of doing that but ...' or 'I have half a mind to do that, but ...'.

One common pattern is ... tumori de 'with the intention/idea/notion ...': Dōo iu (i) tumori de l soo iū n desu ka 'What do you have in mind by (saying) that?'; Zyooodān no (i) tumori de littā n desu kedo ... 'I intended it as a joke ...'; Warū (i) tumori de littā no de wa l arimasēn 'I meant no harm by my remarks'; Kyōoko wa ll hankoo no tumori de, [l sore-dake itta 'This was all Kyōko said by way of protest' (Kawabata: Suigetsu); Miti ga warū [kara l sono tumori de l-(ki o tūkete kudasā) 'The road is bad, so bear that in mind (--and be careful)'; Kono sitagaki wa l māda l naosānai kara l sono tumori de l-(yōnde kudasā) 'This draft I haven't corrected yet so read it with that in mind'.

The translation of S tumori dā will sometimes be 'I trust/believe/hope that'; when the intention is put in the perfect the translation is sometimes 'tried to' or 'did my best to': Kīrei ni l kaita l tumori dē su ga ... 'I hope I have written neatly (enough)'; Kīrei ni l kaita l

\(^51\) The meaning is usually intention if what precedes is a voluntary verb in the imperfect (V-ru tumori dā, V-anai tumori dā). When the meaning of the adnominalized predicate will not easily allow the translation 'intend to', the appropriate translation will express belief or impression. Surmisa, however, is expressed by hazu: Komakai o-kane ga tātā hazu desu ga ... 'I thought I had some small change, but ...' (BJ 2.25).
tumorü désita ga ... ‘I was under the impression that I had written neatly (enough)’; Kirei ni l kaku l tumorü désita ga ... ‘I tried to write neatly’. When the subject is clearly a third person, the meaning is often ‘is under the impression that; thinks that; has the idea that’: Hânako san wa l màda l wakai l tumorü désu kedo ... ‘Hanako is under the impression that she is still young ...’; Ano gakusei wa l seikoo l sita tumorü désu ‘That student fancies (feels, believes) that he has been successful’. Instead of V-ru tumorü dá (or V-ru tumorü de iru) you will sometimes find V-ru tumorü o site iru: ... tosí o l tóttară l kyóóri ni l kâerü l tumorü o site iru ‘she has it in mind to return to her home town when she gets old’ (SM 2796.146e).

The underlying subject of the adnominalized sentence will be the same as that of the person whose intention or impression is described.

Quotationalization is optional for tumorü: Asítã made ni l sumasérú {to iu} tumorü de l hazimeta sigoto désu ga ... ‘It is a job I started with the intention of being able to finish it by tomorrow, but ...’. But flat statements of one’s own intentions do not allow the vacuous quotation; the rather unnatural sentence Watakusi wa iku to iu tumorü désu could only mean ‘I intend to say that I will go’, not ‘I intend to go’. With other persons, ambiguity is possible: Kimi wa sore o kau to iu tumorü ka can mean either ‘Do you intend to say you will buy it?’ or (= Kimi wa sore o kau tumorü ka) ‘Do you intend to buy it?’.

Tumorü is a noun ‘estimate (of oneself)’ derived from the infinitive of tumóru(−) ‘accumulates’ or, as here, ‘estimates’ (= mi-tumorü); it is, however, little used except as a post-adnominal.

13.2.9. Tame

The postadnominal tame usually serves as a transitional epiteme and the resulting structure typically appears as an adverb or as a precopular noun (that is, with or without ni when adverbalized). In the expression tame ni náru/narááii ‘is/isn’t beneficial’, the word appears without an adnominal element; it can also begin a sentence with the implied omission of [Sono]: [Sono] tame ni, ... ‘Therefore ...; As a result [of that] ...’; ... kore máde l antei-teki de áttâ l hiýoo o l kyuu ni (1) age, l tame ni l kákaku(−) wa l agatte yuku ‘... it suddenly raises the expenses, which have been stable up to this point, and as a result prices start rising’ (SA 2684.137). Very occasionally, tame will appear as a pure noun with a case marker: Kimi no tame o l kangaete l ... ‘Thinking of your benefit (your own good) ...’.

We can summarize the uses of tame under three categories:52

(1) N no tame means ‘(for) the sake/benefit/good of N’: Kodomo no tame da kara l nán de mo símasú ‘Since it is for my child, I will do anything’; Kokumin no tame l ni l kono seisaku o kettei sita ‘This policy was decided upon for the good of the people’; Bókokú/Sókokú no l tame ni l tatakatta ‘I fought for my motherland/fatherland’; Gaikókú-zin no l tame no l gakkoo o mookéru ‘We will establish a school for foreigners’; Zído no l tame no l yóí l yomímóño ga l hosí ‘I want some good reading material for children’.

(2) V-ru tame énî is a rough equivalent of V-ru no ni ‘in order to V’, or of V-ru yóo énî ‘so as to V’: VN no tame énî means ‘for the purpose (with the aim) of VN’; Ryuugaku suru no tame ni l kané o tamete imásu ‘I am saving my money in order to go

52. The minor juncture before tame will usually not be heard after an atonic adnominal element (following the usual pattern of letting atonic phrases attach smoothly to a following phrase); after a tonic adnominal element the juncture often optionally drops, as seen in a number of the examples given below.
abroad to study'; Hasamî wa kîkuru támë no monô da 'Scissors are for cutting (things with)'; Rakudai sinai támë {ni} më tetuya site benkyoo suru 'I will study all night long so as not to fail'; Rikîryūo(') / Nôoryoku o támësu támë {b} sikê o ûketa 'I took an examination to test my ability' (MJW); Ketsuina o l'ginâu, támë ni, l'saiyoo-sikên o l'sinakereba l' narânai 'We have to give an employment examination in order to fill a vacancy' (MJW); Yûtaka na l'syákai o l'kensetu suru támë ni dôryoku(―) suru 'We strive to establish a wealthy society' (MJW); Syokyu o mîtsû l'tâmë ni, l'syoku ci o suru 'We eat in order to satisfy our appetites' (MJW); Gaikoku-zîzyoo o l'sirabâru l'tâmë ni, l'sisetû-dan o lokuru 'We will send a mission to study conditions in foreign countries' (MJW); Karada o zyoobu ni suru támë ni, l'supôoto o l'suru 'You play sports to put your body into shape' (MJW); l'é o l'tatérû l'tâmë ni l'zaimoku o kau 'I will purchase lumber to build a house'; Kokumin o hôgo suru l'tâmë ni, l'hioritu ga aru 'To protect the people, we have laws'.

In Kimono no tamë ni, iti-nitan erân de kudasai 'Choose a roll or two of cloth for a kimono' (MJW) the first two words represent an adnominalized propredication of something like Kimono [o tukûru no] da — Kimono [ ] no ... and the meaning is the same as that of Kimono o tukûru tamë ni ... .

(3) S tamë {ni} means 'owing to (the fact that ...), because of'—a somewhat formal equivalent of S kara {―} or (= sei) 'as a result/consequence of ...': nagaré ga hayâi támë ni l'hiroenâkatta 'because the current was so swift he couldn't pick it (= his dropped rifle) up' (Shibata 1961.223); Syukketu taryoo no tamë, l'zetumei sita 'He died from an excessive loss of blood' (MJW); Byooki no/datta l{t} tamë {ni} l'syusseki dekinakatta 'I could not attend because I was ill'. According to Nagano (1966.187) S tamë {ni} and S kara are not usually followed by a request or a command, unlike the loser S no de 'since it is the case that S'; but that distinction may be breaking down.

13.3. TENTATIVE AND HORTATIVE ADNOMINALS;
-[y]oo monô/môn nara

In written Japanese you sometimes see an adnominalized hortative, tentative, or literary tentative—often before a postadnominal:

(1) HORTATIVE: ... urâ o kakûo sitagôkoro 'the intention to frustrate'.
(2) TENTATIVE: ... kentôo mo tukanakatta 'rûô zîken 'a matter that will likely not have been noticed'; ... sono yôo na meisyoo sono-mônô no hassei ga kui-tomerareru daroo kotô mo kitai sarerû no de aru 'It is expected even that the generation of such names themselves can be blocked' (Shibata 1966.194); Motîron, wâ-ga kuni no hosyû-teki bûnsî no aida ni senryoo-tôôkyoku ni tai-sûru hankan ga hikaku-teki tuyôî de arôo kotô wa nanpîto mo yooi ni kore o soozoo si-ûru 'Of course, that the opposition to the Occupation authorities is comparatively high among the conservative elements of our country, this can easily be surmised by anyone' (KKK 3.243); ... kâno-zyo wa zibun o màtte iro daroo hââha ... no kotô o omoi-tuzukena 'she kept thinking of her mother who must be waiting for her' (Y 352); Tatami ni sitâra hyakû-mai sikeru daroo sitû wa ... 'The room, which would probably take a hundred mats if carpeted with tatami, ...' (Y 352).
(3) LITERARY TENTATIVE: ... narôô kotô nara 'if it should become ... '; ... sabisikarôô munê no utû(―) 'in a breast that must be lonely'.

53. N no tamë {ni} = N dá kara.
Yoshida (351) says these forms smack of translation style and are not very comfortable.

The expression \text{V-}[y]oo monó/món nara\footnote{Usually pronounced with no juncture before monó/món, so that the accent of the postadnominal will not be heard unless the V-\{y\}oo form is from an atomic verb; and many speakers (differing from our conservative version) make all V-\{y\}oo forms tonic, saying siyóo mono nara for our siyóo monó nara.} means ‘if it is a question/matter of ...; should it be a case of ...; if it were to happen that ...; if one were to (happen to) ...’ or just ‘if’ or ‘whenever’; Kemuri de mo suoo monó nara kotira ga seki-konde simaimásu ‘I get to coughing if I breathe in smoke or anything’ (Matsuda 59); Sono hanasi mo mótomo na kótô da si, ukkári kotowaróo mono nara aité o okorásite simai-soo na ikiömí(\text{—}) na no de Kitami no ozisan wa kokoro-yóku sono kóoi o uke-tottá no de atta ‘What was said was reasonable and the enthusiasm was such as to make it appear that one would offend the other party if one were to decline, so he (?) Uncle) Kitami cheerfully accepted the favor’ (KKK 3.243); Ukkári Kókkí san ni kuti o kikoo monó nara áto de Úme tyan ni hidóí mé ni áu kara, ki o tuke-nasái yó ‘You be careful now, Úme, because if you should happen to take matters up with Mr Kokki you’ll be in trouble later’ (KKK 3.243); Yosyuu sináí de koyóo mon nara, súgu sikararerú n da kara, iyá n[i] náttayu ‘If you come without having prepared your lesson you get scolded right away, so it’s no fun’; Ukkári warúkuti de mo ioo món nara, tatimáii-tukerañtyámáus yó ‘One inadvertent bit of foul talk and you get told on immediately’; Tyó-ót amai kao de mo siyóo món nara, súgu ni tuke-agaru ‘All I have to do is show a bit of indulgence and I’m taken advantage of at once’. The “if” clause refers to an UNDESIRABLE condition: ‘if [something bad] should happen’. Terase 220a gives examples of the potential imperfect -érú + monó nara with the same meaning, e.g. Katérú monó nara, kátte kóí ‘If you (think you) can beat me, just try!’ Cf. MKZs 1107b: ikérú monó nara itte miitai ‘If I were able to go I’d like to’; Yarerú monó nara yatte mí ro ‘If (you think) you can do it, go ahead and try (= I’d just like to see you do what I think you can’t!)’.

The expressions can omit monó, abbreviating to -\{y\}oo nára: Otókó-no-ko no átari ni yurete iru akai hikari o yomóo nara ‘Kiyoko’ to yoméru ‘If one were to read the red glow flickering about the boy it would read “Kiyoko”’ (Y 436). For -masyóo mon nara (and other polite stylizations of adnominals), see Mio 299. For N tó mo aróó monó ‘one of the standing of N’, see §21.1. (13). For -\{y\}oo ni, see §17.7. For -\{y\}oo zya ná ka, see §15.16. Cf. -rú/-tá nara, §17.9.

### 13.4. POSSESSIVE NOMINALS

We originally set up three nuclear sentence types: verbal, adjectival, and nominal. But adnominalization forces us to divide the nominal into three types:

- **nominal proper:**
  - pure noun: Gakusei no hazu dá ‘It must be the student’.
  - precopular noun: Byooki no hazu dá ‘He must be sick’.
- **adjectival nominal:** Génki na hazu dá ‘He must be well’.
- **possessive nominal:** Gakusei nó no hazu dá ‘It must be the student’s’.

Ordinarily when Gakusei nó dá ‘It is the student’s’ is adnominalized, the copula dá drops:\footnote{This is, however, putting the matter backwards. Gakusei nó dá ‘It is the student’s’ is itself a reduction of Gakusei nó [[mo]nó] dá ‘It is the one of the student’, and that structure is far from simple (cf. §3.11.2).}
Gakusei no itoko ‘the student’s cousin’, identical in form with ‘the cousin who is a student’ from Gakusei da ‘It’s a student’. So we must set up not only this special class of possessive nominal (NOUN + nō + copula), but also a special small class of postadnominals before which the imperfect copula changes to nō instead of dropping as would be expected: hazu, yōo, tumori, hoka, ... . This means that we can make a difference between Gakusei no hazu/yōo da (from Gakusei da) and Gakusei nō no hazu/yōo da (from Gakusei nō da); the difference fails to hold when the sentences are adnominalized before other nouns, for they neutralize the distinction: Gakusei no itoko da (from either Gakusei da or Gakusei nō da) ‘It is the student cousin’ or ‘It is the student’s cousin’. Other examples: Gakusei nō no tumori da ‘I mean it for the student (to be the student’s)’, Gakusei no tumori da ‘I take it to be the student’.

13.5. RESTRICTED NOMINALS; ADNOUNS (= PRENOUNS)

A number of what we broadly call “nominals” are restricted in their distribution. In addition to adverbs of various sorts (§13.7), the following types are found.

(1) Five deictic words occur before the copula dā in its various forms including the infinitive nī used adverbially; they also occur directly adnominal, modifying a noun with no marker between:

(1a) konnā ‘like this’, sonnā ‘like that’, annā ‘like that (remote)’, donnā ‘like what’.56 The adverbialized konnā/sonnā/anna nī are equivalent to the Kansai dialect forms konai, sonai, and anai. Osaka uses the form dōnai for dōnna nī or for dō ‘how’ (and dōnai site for dō yatte ‘how’—in Tōkyō dōo site usually is taken to mean ‘how come = why’), but dōo is used in Kyōto, according to Zhs 4.20. You will find Kyōto examples of konai (Zhs 4.265), sonai (4.262, 266); a variant of the latter, hunai, appears in Zhs 4.266. Osaka forms with -nn- are also reported: dōnai (Zhs 4.193), sonnai (4.196). Examples: Yōo māa, konai uresi-sōo ni waraeta mōn ya ‘What a lot of delightful laughs (like this =) this is!’ (SA 2654.134d); Kore kara dōnai site, syōobai tuzukeru ka, kento mo tukimasēn ‘I have no idea how I can stay in business from now on’ (SA 2678.130b—Osaka); ... nān de anai iwarerū n yaro ka to omoi masu ne ‘I wonder why I was talked to that way’ (Tōk 3.289b—Osaka) = nāze anna ni iwarerū n daroo ka,... . These Kansai forms result from reducing the -nn- to -n- and dropping the initial nasal of nī: ko[n] na [n] i etc.57 There are, in a number of dialects, other examples of [n]i that occur sporadically, especially after high vowels (i and u); these are from Osaka: tabi [n]i dé[t]e ‘leaving on a trip’ (Zhs 4.227), otumu [n]i ‘on one’s head’ (4.202), saki [n]i ‘ahead’ (4.221).

56. The basically oxytonic accentuation of the non-interrogatives (konnā, sonnā, annā) appears before dā, dē, and other forms of the copula; also before nō (konnā no wa/da). But before nī, for unknown reasons (perhaps an ellipted yōo?), the accent drops: konnā nī, sonnā nī, annā nī. When the word is modifying a noun, the final accent is automatically canceled by the underlying juncture appropriate to adnominalizations (which often then disappears): konnā koto. These matters are taken up elsewhere. Dōnna has an elegant synonym ikā-ga: Kore wa ikā-ga na monō de gozaimasyōo ‘What sort of thing would this be?’ (Tōk 4.324b). This is an unusual formation, an attributive adjectival noun (=adnoun) built on the adverb ikā-ga, which is derived from an abbreviation of ikā ni ka; ikā is a literary adjectival noun, and the appropriate literary equivalent of dōnna is ikā naru.

57. But some would derive konai (etc.) from kono yōo; cf. anai na monō ‘ano yōo na monō (Inokuchi 276). Such a derivation would presumably explain the uses of konai for konna nī as direct adverbialization, the equivalent of kono yōo [nī]. (The -a- in the second syllable remains unexplained.)
As adnominals, these words are synonyms of other expressions, derived (by semantic specialization) from quotal constructions, both imperfect (2d below) and perfect (2f below):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Adnoun</th>
<th>Synonym 1</th>
<th>Synonym 2</th>
<th>Synonym 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'this sort of'</td>
<td>konna</td>
<td>koo iu</td>
<td>koo itta</td>
<td>koo sita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that sort of'</td>
<td>sonna</td>
<td>soo iu</td>
<td>soo itta</td>
<td>soo sita</td>
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<tr>
<td>'that sort of'</td>
<td>anna</td>
<td>aa iu</td>
<td>aa itta</td>
<td>aa sita</td>
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<tr>
<td>'what sort of'</td>
<td>donna</td>
<td>doo iu</td>
<td>?doo itta</td>
<td>?doo sita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. (2g)</td>
<td>nan taru</td>
<td>nán to iu</td>
<td>nán to itta</td>
<td>?nán to sita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adnominals of this set are to be distinguished from the expressions kóo na/no (etc.) adnominalized from the adverb kóo da 'it is [happening] this way' (etc.—sóo, áá, dóo). There is a contrast between kóo na no wa 'the one that is/does thus' and kóo na no ka ‘one that is like this'; between Kóo da sóo da ‘They say it is/does thus' and Konná da sóo da ‘They say it is like this', between Sóo na no ka ‘Is that right?' and Sonná nó ka ‘Is it one of that kind?' Examples: Dóo sité áá na no ka to omótte, bóoku(”) wa kanasiku narimásita ‘Wondering why it is like that, I grew sad’ (SA 2673.48b); ... to iu wáke wa, kóo na no da ‘The explanation of ... is as follows’ (SA 2679.30b); Okyaku wa résúbian tte dónna n daroo ‘The customers—lesbians—I wonder what they’re like’ (SA 2684.42c). The compound in sonná-kónná de (isogásikute ...) ‘(is busy) with this sort and that sort = with all sorts of things' seems to be a derived noun: sonná-kónná no isogá-sa ‘busyness with all sorts of things'; Sonna-kónná ni tori-magirete yakusoku o wasuretyatta ‘I was so wrapped up in this and that, I forgot my appointment’; Sonna-kónná ga átte kara, ... ‘After this and that had happened = After all sorts of vicissitudes’ (Fn 184a).

Hayashi 77 notes that each of these words will stand alone as a sentence; an ellipsis of the copula is involved: Sonná [da] ! ‘Such a thing!’; Dóonna [da] ? ‘Of what sort?’ Of course, the phrases with dá and ní might themselves be regarded as elliptical: sonná [I yóó/monó] da and sonná [I] yóó ni > sonná [yóó] ni. In origin these words are apparently contractions of kono yóó na (etc.), but the etymology does not prevent them from entering into new constructions with ... yóó (da/na/ni): Éé, sonná yóó na ki ga simásu ‘Yes, I get that sort of feeling’ (SA 2654.46b). The Kansai variants described above are to be accounted for as similar contractions, probably made at a time when yóó was pronounced yáu, as attested by the historical spelling.

(1b) onazî ‘the same’—also onnazî and onnasî. In the literary language this is a special kind of adjective with the forms onazî-ki for attributive and onazî -sî-sî for predicative, following a rule of haplology that obligatorily reduces -sî-sî and ”-sî-sî (= -zi-sî) in adjective predicative forms. If you run across onazî-ku, it is a somewhat formal or semi-literary usage for onazî (yóó) ni; and onazî-i, from onazî-[k]i, is a pseudo-literary form for onazî (+ N). Although onazî yóó ni is more common, onazî nî also occurs: Kango o Nihon-go to onazî ni tukatte iru ‘We use Chinese loanwords the same way as Japanese words’; ... minsuu ga onazî ni kyooiku o ûke, onazî ni syakai-teki kûrën o ûke, onazî ni syuusyoku suru ‘the masses will receive education the same way, will receive social training the same way, will find employment the same way’ (Tk 3.111a). The word onazî

58. Not limited to Tókyó speakers; an example from a Kyôto speaker: onnasi ya ná (= onazî da ná) ‘it’s the same, you see’ (Tk 4.262b).
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carries with it the reciprocal valence (§3.6) even when it is used as a directly adnominal pronoun: *kyóó to onazi toki 'the same time as today'; *Tyoodo bóoku(=) to onazi désuku ni naranè 'ta 'He was placed at just the same desk (= post) as I' (Tk 3.48b). And it can also carry its subject even when the sentence is adnominalized (N₁ ga/no onazi N₂): Nání ka oto no onazi ŋo no hoko no kotobá ga ... 'Some other word of the same sound ...' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.195). As shown by the brackets, the copula (dá → nó) is optional when the adnominalization carries the subject with it; it is also optional when the reciprocal adjunct is present: N₁ to ŋo no onazi N₂ 'the N₂ (that is) identical with N₁'. But if no adjunct accompanies onazi, the copula must be suppressed: onazi ŋo no N 'the same N'. The pronominal nó 'the one which (etc.)' is subject to optional ellipsis by certain speakers at least, and that option will leave onazi standing before gá or ó as if it were a pure noun: *Are to onazi ŋo no hoshi 'I want one the same as that'. The modern trend is to replace onazi dá/ní with onazi yöó dá/ní, according to Gekkan-Bumpō 1/8.50a (1969).

NOTE: Since all the words of Type 1 (konna, sonna, ánna, Donovan; onazi) can occur predicatively before dá, it is possible to adnominalize the resulting sentences instead of using the words as adnouns. Such adnominalizations appear to be used mostly before certain postadnominals; sometimes the meaning is somewhat different from the direct adnominal use. Most common is the use of the adnominalization before the postadnominal nó as a summational or transitional epitheme in ... nó da, ... nó de, and ... nó ni: Hanasi gá sonna na no de súgu káette kita 'The talk being such, I left at once'; Áme ga konna na no ni dëte ikimásu ka 'Are you going out despite the rain being such as it is?'; Onazi ná no da 'It happens to be the same'.

There is some hesitation about accepting such adnominalizations before the pronominal nó that represents an extruded epitheme ('the one that ...'); one speaker finds no objection to Onazi ná no ga hutatú to áru ka 'Can there exist two that are identical ones?' but is reluctant to accept (?)Dóonna na no ga ii n desu ka 'Ones that are of what sort would be preferable?', perhaps only because it seems clumsy. Words of Type 1 can be directly adnominal or adnominalized through predication (konna ... or konná na ..., onazi ... or onazi na ...) before at least these postadnominal expressions: bákari (de), dáké (ni/åtte), házu (da), hódó (ni wa miénai), ipposé (= katawará(=)), ízyóo, kano-soi (ga áru), kekka, kúrai/gúrai, kúse ni, mámá, món/mónó ka, sëi ka, tamé, tokí, tokoró (= baai), ué (ni/aw), wáke (da), yöó da. A difference of meaning is felt with Sonna kano-soi ga áru 'There is such a possibility' and Sonna na kano-soi ga áru 'There is the possibility that it is such'. Onazi kotó means 'the same fact'; onazi na kotó means 'the fact that it is the same'.

We also find the following: Sonna dá sóo da 'They say it is such' but not *Sonna sóo da; Onazi da sóo da 'They say it is the same' but not *Onazi sóo da; Sonna rasi 'it is such-looking' or 'It seems to be such' but not *Sonna na rasi; Onazi rasi 'It is identical-looking' or 'It seems to be identical' but not *Onazi na rasi. Words of Type 1 can also be converted into mutatives with nárú/suru (§9.1.11)—unlike most of the predicable adverbs: ... móó zyúú-nen màe desita nè.—Sonna ní wa narimasén yö 'It was ten years ago, wasn't it.'—Not so long as that' (Tk 2.95a). Since suru not only is a mutative verb but also can be used as a general verb 'do', a sentence such as Sonna ní suru is ambiguous: one meaning is 'makes it to be such' (mutative) and the other is 'does it in such a way' (adverbial of manner). But Sonna ní nárú will only have the mutative meaning 'gets to be (becomes) such'; and Sonna ní nómú 'drinks in such a way' (often implying 'drinks so much') will not have the meaning 'drinks it so that it will be such (= converts it into such by drinking it)', since nómú is not normally used as a mutative verb.
(2) Certain words do not appear except when directly adnominal; these are called ADNOUNS (or prenouns). Most are fixed reductions of attributive nuclei, and they are grouped below according to their pedigrees:

(2a) hyonnǎ 'strange, awkward' < hén na; ironnǎ 'various' < iroiro nā (the final accent appears only in such contexts as Ironnǎ no ga aru kedo 'There are various ones but' since *ironnǎ da and *ironnǎ ni are both impossible); měssóo-na = měssóo(¬) mo nǎi 'absurd'.

(2b) kono 'this', sono 'that', ano and literary kánō 'that (remote)', dōno 'what'.59 These are to be distinguished from kore no etc. either as possessive nominals 'of this one' (< kore ni/ga aru §3.11.2) or as adnominalizations of kore da 'that it is this' etc. In older Japanese kó and só occurred as free demonstratives, equivalent to modern ko-re and so-re, which have picked up a suffix. The literary kánō is sometimes used in modern Japanese to mean 'that well-known' or 'THE': kánō yuumei na Doobaa-sōoru o ... THE famous Dover sole ...' (SA 2689.126c). (Ano is used in the same way; are, asoko, and ano are used as "ostensible taboo" references similar to English "you-know-what" etc. See §29.)

(2c) hon-no 'just, mere' < 'basically, really' (hontō no);60 tōo-no 'the said ..., the ... at issue (or under consideration)'; cf. réi no 'the ... in question; the usual/customary ...' < réi da; syōhan-no 'all (and sundry), the various'; kison-no 'existing'; tén-yo-no 'heavensent', saiai-no (ko) 'most beloved (child)'; -binoms of Chinese origin; ikuta-no 'numerous, various'; kudan-no 'the aforesaid; the usual!' < kudari 'item in a series' < kudari 'procession < going down'; totte oki-no 'reserved, spare' < infinitive of tōte oku 'reserves'; (literary) nokon-no (yukī) 'the remaining (snow)' < nokori 'remainder' < nokōri 'remain'; moyori-no 'adjacent, nearby, the nearest' < mo 'most' + yori 'approach'; näga-no 'long, for ever' (from the adjective näga- 'be long'); åka-no (tanin) 'an utter (stranger)' (from åka 'red', cf. åka-tyan 'baby'); zūbu-no 'out-and-out, utter, rank' (as in zūbu-no sīrōto 'a rank amateur')—from a slang adverb, perhaps to be connected with zūbari; kūssi-no(¬) 'leading, prominent' (from an otherwise unused Chinese binom 'bending fingers [to count]'. But sin na 'true' is the adnominalized form of the precopular noun sin 'true', forming pseudo compounds in which the juncture before the modified noun is suppressed along with the accent of the noun: sin no tōmō → sin no tomo 'a true friend', sin no yamī → sin no yami 'utter darkness' (often carried in a lexical entry in dictionaries). Similar are múhi/mûnī no 'peerless' (as in múni no sin'yuu 'one's best friend'), kisssui no 'pure', and syussyoku no 'prominent, excellent' (Tk 4.216a); but the predicative forms are little used, particularly (?)mûnī da, though we find Mûnī mo múnī 4de, tatta hitōri no sin'yuu dâta 'Best of best, he was my one and only friend'. (For the emphatic iterative with mō, see p. 758.) Perhaps we should also add nāke-nasî(¬) no (kane/tiē) 'what little (money/wisdom) one

59. Before t, d, or n the final o may drop, especially in sono: son[o] tōki 'at that time', son[o] nāka 'in the midst of that'. The literary version of dōno is izure no. For reasons of accent we treat anō-ko (sonō-ko, konō-ko) and anō-hito (sonō-hito, konō-hito) as lexical items; for more information on the accent of these and similar words, see §29.

60. The English translation may sometimes make this seem like an adverb modifying an adjective, but it is actually modifying the entire noun phrase as a unit: hon-no mizikai zikan 'but a brief time', hon-no tumaranai monō 'merely a worthless thing'; Sore kara, hon-no ma-mo-nai koto de atta 'After that it was only a short time' (Fn 61a). Cf. hon-no o-sirusi dēsu kedo 'this is a mere token, but [my thanks go with it]'.

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has', from the predicative of a literary adjective said to be derived from ná-ke ‘feeling of lack’ + the intensive suffix -na-. And mono-no ... about, a matter of’ is a prenumerary adverb (p. 792). See also ... “kítte-no N ‘the most N of all ...’ (§2.4). The word arikitori ‘commonplace’ is apparently limited to adnominalized usage (arikitari no N), but unlike the words with hyphenated “‘-no” above it will permit the reduction of nó + nó ‘one which is’ to a single nó: Arikitori nó wa irimasén ‘I don’t want an ordinary one’ (=Arikitori no monó wa irimasén) but not “tóo-no no wa—and even tóo-no no wa (= tóo-no monó wa) is peculiar, perhaps because the vagueness of the pronominal nó is incompatible with these specificatory adnouns. Mizu-sirazu no tanin ‘an utter stranger’ contains an adnominalized precopular noun (mizu-sirazu da kara ...). Other words which seem to be usually or exclusively adnominalized (with nó) include umi no (háha) ‘(mother) of birth, real (mother)’, hitokado no (zinbutu) ‘(a personage) of consequence; considerable, competent’, moromoro no (tumí) ‘all sorts of, a catalog of (crimes)’, yubiori(‘) no = kússi-no(‘) ‘leading, prominent’, yuusuu no ‘foremost’, enrai no (ótó/kyaku) ‘(a sound/ guest) from afar’, kóoko no (réi/aíté) ‘a likely (example/partner), an excellent’, hatú no (syussya) ‘the first (to report to the office)’; itíru no (nozomí(‘)) ‘a ray of (hope)’, ik-kiku no ‘a scoop (hand-dip) of ...’ (~námida ‘a few tears’), ik-kai no (bunsi) ‘a mere/miserable/poor (scribbler)’, ití-matu no (huán/kemuri) ‘a touch/tinge of (uneasiness/smoke)’; dái no (otókó) ‘a full-sized (man = a grown man)’; syáhan no (zízyo/monondai) ‘such (circumstances/problems)’ (literary); zenpuku no (sinrai) ‘fullest/utmost/confidence’ (but there is also zenpuku-teki ni ‘fully’), sasyoo no ‘petty’ (but also sasyoo dé wa, sasyoo nágara); misou no (deki goto) ‘unprecedented (event)’; mi-sosiki no ‘unorganized’; ... In this group belong a number of words derived from NOUN + ADJECTIVE, e.g. tuba-biro no (boosi) ‘broad-billed (cap)’ (Tsunagoshi 48)—meaning tuba no hirói (boosi). The expression tyóttó-ya-sotto ‘ordinary, humdrum, unexceptional’ seems to be an adverbial-lacking precopular noun: Tyóttó-ya-sotto no hitó de wa bunseki de ‘It is unlikely that an ordinary person could analyze it’ (SA 2669.44b); Tyóttó-ya-sotto de, naóru monó de wa nái no de arú ‘It is unlikely to be cured by ordinary means’ (SA 2681.37d)—the copula gerund is used with instrumental meaning; Tyóttó-ya-sotto zya o-me ni kákáraéi siromono de áru kótó wa matigái nái ‘It surely is a thing you can’t come across very often’ (SA 2672.119ab). Sotto is a phonetic play on tyót-to ‘a bit’ (and tyóttó-sita ‘not much (etc.)’); compare the opposite sort of play in the diminutive -tyan for -san. In Nagano 1966.175 the word is spelled in katakana except for hiragana -ya-. A variant version is found in Tító-ya-sotto de wa damé desu né ‘Humdrum measures won’t do, you see’ (Fukuda in Óno 1967.229).

(2d) kóó iú ‘this sort of’, sóo iú ‘that sort of’, aa iú ‘that sort of’, dóó iú ‘what sort of’. These are to be distinguished from the homonymous expressions that mean ‘(...) who/that) says thus (etc.)’ in the same way that the quasi copula ... to iú (N) ‘(N) that is [or: is called] ...’ (§21.1) is to be distinguished from the homonymous expression that means ‘(N who—or N that someone) says ...’. All these expressions also occur in the same meanings with the quotational verb perfectivized: kóó ittá ‘this sort of’ (or ‘said thus’), sóo ittá ‘that sort of’ (or ‘said that’), aa ittá ‘that sort of’ (or ‘said that’), dóó itta ‘what sort of’ (or ‘said what’); ... to iità (N) ‘(N) that is [or: is called] ...’ . When the expressions are used as more-or-less genuine quotations, it is possible to have intervening words—the adverbial element can be focused with wá or mó, the person being quoted can be mentioned as subject, etc.—and the quotation verb is subject to all conversions appropriate to
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A verbal sentence (e.g. it can be negativized). The DESCRIPTIVE use of these expressions is limited to the adnominalized imperfect and perfect affirmatives, and nothing can intervene between the two elements—not even juncture. For this reason the descriptive use of the imperfect, a restricted specialization derived from the quotations, is often romanized with a hyphen: koo-iu, to-iu, etc. But if we were to write hyphens for the imperfect versions, consistency would require us to write hyphens for the perfects (koo-itta, to-itta, etc.) and also for the synonymous perfects koo sita, soo sita, aa sita, and dōo sita, as well as for the expressions dōō site 'how come=why' and dōō yatte 'how' and perhaps … to site and other expressions listed as phrasal postpositions (§9.7). So I have come to the conclusion that it is better to write spaces in all these set phrases, with no overt spelling mark to show the specialization in meaning.

(2e) ōoki-na (and downtown Tōkyō variant ókki-na = okkii) ‘large’ (but see p. 787 for ōoki ni and below 3c for ōōi-naru), tiis-na (and downtown Tōkyō variant tittyya-na = tittyai) ‘small’, okáśi-na ‘funny’; i-na ‘strange’ (though the noun i occurs—marginally); [elegant or old-fashioned] kokó-na(‘) ‘this, the … here’, sokó-na(‘) ‘that, the … there’. The first three are stylistic options in place of the regularly adnominalized ookii, tiisi, and okási; the option is normally available only if the epitheme is extruded: ōoki na hako ‘a big box’ but not *ōoki-na hazu da ‘ought to be big’.61 (Apparently *tiis na and *okási ni never occur.) Japanese grammarians sometimes list atatká na ‘warm’ and kómáká na ‘fine, detailed’ with these words, but they are ordinary adjectival nouns and have all the expected forms (... ni, ... da, etc.); the peculiarity of such words is that they belong to a modest group of bases that can be used either as regular adjectives (atakakái, komakái) or as adjectival nouns, but they are not limited to attributive position. Where there is an option of this sort, speakers in western Japan are said to prefer the adjective, those in eastern Japan the adjectival noun or the adnoun (Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten 163).

(2f) táí-sita ‘immense, important, serious, very’, cf. adverb táí-site—these being the only forms of what would appear to be a defective durative-stative verb(al noun) *tai-súru ‘looks large’; tyotto-sita ‘not much; fairly nice, decent, respectable’—this is atonic since it comes from tyott-tó i siti, cf. tyót-to siti ‘did it a bit (or a little while)’; koo itta/sítá ‘this sort of’, soo ittá/sítá ‘that sort of’, aa ittá/sítá ‘that sort of’, dōo itta/sita ‘what sort of’ (see the discussion under 1a and 2d); móte-umareta (seisitu) ‘natural-born (disposition)’; dai-sóreta ‘inordinate, outrageous’; miageta ‘admirable’; omo-dátta ‘principal, prominent’; tonda ‘surprising, extraordinary, serious’ < tondá ‘flew’, cf. tondémóná ‘absurd, unexpected, strange’ < tondé mo nái ‘even flying there is none’; tatta ‘only, just’—or is this to be treated as an adverb? The words bakágéta ‘foolish’, gétita ‘vulgar’, akíretá ‘disgusting’, and kawatta ‘different, unusual’ are common one-word epithets derived from intransitive verbal predicates; such epithets need not be separately listed as adnouns. The use of the perfect of ugaču ‘puerces, penetrates’ (ugátta) to mean ‘trenchant, penetrating, witty’ probably needs no separate listing, either. There are a small number of compound verbs made with V-i-hurús ‘does to the point of it getting old’ that are largely limited to use as adnominalized perfects (V-i-hurúsita N) or as adnominalized precopular nouns derived from the infinitive (V-i-hurusi no N): tukai-hurúsita hude = tukaihirusí no hude ‘a (well-)worn brush’, ki-hurúsita kimono = kihirusí no kimono ‘(well-)worn clothing’, hakí-hurúsita kutú = hakihirusí no kutú ‘(well-)worn shoes’; yomihirusí no zassi ‘a

61. But apparently okáśi-na is somewhat freer; cf. remarks at the end of this section.
magazine well worn (from reading); ... kiki-hurūsita “Butoo é no kan’yyuu” o hītāra ...

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... 'when he played the all too familiar “Invitation to the Dance” ...' (Tk 3.281a). Kenkyusha lists both ii-hurūsita syāre ‘a stale joke’ and ii-hurūsārete hanashi ‘a timeworn story’; it also cites Mukas̄i kara ... to ii-hurūsārete iru ‘It is proverbially said that ...’.

(2ff) sāsitaru (N + NEGATIVE) ‘(no) special/particular’—from the literary attribute perfect (§ 13.9) of sāsū ‘points to’, cf. sāsite ‘(not) particularly’ (§ 13.7); ... . (A literary synonym is sāseru, the perfect-resultative of sāsu.)

(2g) fto-}aru ‘a certain’, sāru1 ‘the last/past (time)’, sāru2 < sā-aru ‘such; a certain’; kakāru ‘such, this sort of’ < kāku-aru; arayūru (variants araēru, araēru), ārī to arayūru ‘all sorts of’; \{yō(−) ni\} iwāyūru = yō(−) ni i ‘so-called, what is called (known as)’; akuru ‘the next (day/morning/year)’;\(^{62}\) ataru or kitāru ‘the forthcoming, next’ (+ date or day of week); būkko(−) seru ... ‘the late (deceased) ...’; sāsēru = sāsītaru (2ff).\(^{63}\) The adnourn āru ‘a certain’ is to be distinguished from its source āru ‘exists’, as can be seen from the following pairs of sentences: Āru kōtō ga wakatta ‘I understood a certain thing’ ≠ Āru [to iu] kōtō ga wakatta ‘I realized that it exists’; Āru kōtō ni ki ga tukimāsīta ‘I noticed a certain thing’ ≠ [Ginkō no o-kane ga] āru kōtō ni ki ga tukimāsīta ‘I noticed that there was [money in the bank]’. And sāru is to be distinguished from its source, the verb sāru ‘departs’ as in [yō(−) o] sāru hi ‘the day one departs (this earth)’. For tān naru ‘a plain, a mere ...’, literary equivalent of tāda no, see § 13.7.(4). The adnominalized form of the subjective copula tāru (< tō āru) can, like the objective copula (for which the adnominalized forms are literary nāru, colloquial de āru or nō), connect two nouns in much the same way as ... tō iu: ... Nihōn no kindai- syyōsetsu no syuuryū tāru syyōsetsu ya sinkyōo-syyōsetsu o mitomenai ‘does not recognize the first-person novels and psychological novels that are the mainstream of modern Japanese fiction’ (SA 2685.106b). The expression nān taru = nān to iu ‘what (sort of) a ...!’ may express disapproval as in Nān taru kakkō då, tō māyu o sikamēru(−) kōtō wa nāi ‘There’s no need to knit your brows and think “What an awful appearance!” (SA 2684.119c). But in nān taru ka = nān de āru ka, the expected meaning obtains; an example is on p. 1002.

(2gg) yama-nāsū ‘mountain-high, a mountain of (work etc.)’—from yamā o nāsū ‘forms a mountain’.

(2h) hoka-naranu ‘none other than, nothing but’—as in Hoka-naranu anāta ... sākēru ‘de’ (from sākēru wa itasimasyō ‘Seeing it has to do with none other than you, I will do what I can’—equivalent to hoka de mo nāi; toki-naranu ‘unseasonable, inopportune; sudden, unexpected’; mama-naranu ‘not to one’s wishes, unsatisfactory’; muri-karanu ‘natural, not unreasonable’; arānu ‘different, wrong; false; unexpected’; sa-arānu (tē de) ‘(with an) unconcerned (air)’; tukanu (kōtō) ‘abrupt (event)’. Here too probably we should list omowanu ‘unexpected’—as in in ... omowanu Pāri no kyuuuzitu o tansōnda ‘enjoyed an unexpected holiday in Paris’ (SA 2663.101a), iranu ‘unneeded, unnecessary’; ukano (ka(o)omomotī(−)) ‘gloomy (face/countenance)’ < ‘not

62. But the following are often listed as lexical entries: akuru-āsā ‘next morning’, akuru-hī(−) ‘next day’, akuru-tosī ‘next year’. Only the last clearly requires (for reasons of accentuation) to be treated as a lexical unit. In akuru sāgatu tooka ‘the coming 10th of March’ the word is obviously serving as an adnourn.

63. And with these perfect-resultative attributives (§9.6) perhaps also the idiomatic iki to sī \(\text{ikēru monō ‘everything alive’ (in which the first part displays a literary use of the emphatic particle}} \)
floating'; kazu-naranu 'insignificant'—as in kazu-naranu mi nagra 'humble though this body be (= though I am)'; yokarānu 'bad, evil'—as in yokarānu kotō o site kīta yātu da 'is a guy who has been up to no good' (Tk 2.288b); kazu-sirenu 'innumerable'; ... And perhaps so-sirānu kao = sosirānu-ka 'feigned ignorance'; so-sirānu hurī o site 'feigning ignorance' (Takeda 1970.70). The epithet hitokata-naranu—as in Kaisya to sitē wa, hitokata-naranu tikarā(̲) no ire-yoo da 'It is an unusual effort for a company to put in' (SA 2665.18b)—is paired with the adverb hitokata-narazu 'exceedingly, unusually'. And naminami naranu ... dā 'is an extraordinary ...' can be paraphrased as naminami no ... zya nai: Naminami naranu syūuenen(̲) da 'It is an extraordinary tenacity' = Naminami no syūuenen(̲) dē wa nai 'It is no ordinary tenacity (of purpose)'.

(2i) hāē-āru 'glorious' < hāē [ga] āru with an otherwise unused noun hāē 'glory' derived from the intransitive infinitive hāē 'shining'.

(2j) nāki ‘the deceased ..., the late ...'; yangoto-nāki ‘noble, august’ < yamu kotō [ga] nā-si ‘it is never-ending’—as in ... kā-no zyo ga sāru yangoto-nāki suzyoo no musumē de aru kotō ga hakkaku [site] ... 'it came to light that she is a young woman of a certain noble lineage' (SA 2657.118c); ... . These are fixed epithets made from the literary attributive of adjectives. The literary adjective matā-(-) > matā-(-) ‘perfect, complete’ has the attributive form matā-ki and that is used as a fixed epithet in the colloquial language. The infinitive matā-kū is also used, but only as an adverb 'completely'. In its Kansai abbreviated form matā-’u (matā-[k]u = mattoo, the infinitive is used with suru as a transitive mutative to mean 'completes, accomplishes' (as if a transitive bound verbal noun) and it is also used as an adjectival noun to mean 'complete, perfect' as in Mattōō(-) na īryoo(-) no bizyon wa ... 'The vision of complete medical care ...' (SA 2664.30e).

(2jj) aru-maziki/-mazfi 'unbecoming, unlikely'—see §8.6.

(2k) wa-ga ‘our’, literary genitive from the old pronoun wa[nu] = wa-re = wata[kuš]i; ōno-ga ‘one’s own’ (= zibun no), literary genitive from ōno = ono-re ‘oneself’, as in Ōno-ga mimi o utagatta ‘She doubted her own ears’ (Fn 352b). The literary suzū-ga ‘humble, lowly’ (~ ya ‘a hovel’, ~ husē-ya ‘a humble cottage’) is treated as a prefix by Hamako Chaplin, who accentuates the two occurrences as compound nouns: sīzugā-ya, sīzugahusē-ya.

(3) Distributionally limited adjectival nouns:

(3a) adverbal + tō, adnominal + tāru < tāru (= tō sitā): doodōo(̲) ‘imposing’, kakusyaku ‘hale, hearty’, kōokotu ‘being enraptured’, kooyro ‘bleak’, menmēn(̲) ‘unceasing’, santān(̲) ‘tragic, horrible’, sasso ‘gallant’, toooto ‘copious, fluent’, yuuuyu ‘deliberate’, .... These SUBJECTIVE adjectival nouns (with tō, tāri/tāru) are more common in the literary language; the colloquial prefers the OBJECTIVE adjectival nouns (with nī, dā-nā—literary nī, nāri/nāru). See §13.5a. Kazama 142 observes that these words (or some of them?) can appear at the end of a phrase or sentence, unmarked, where we would expect tāri in the literary equivalents: Tāidoo mo doodōo(̲), syuumoku o atūmeta sūgata mo sasso ‘Not only is his attitude impressive but his attention-drawing figure is dazzling, too’. We might regard this as the result of ellipsis, with ... tō site (iru) dropping. Notice also suy in suy(-)tāru, a literary equivalent of ōmo na ‘main’, and in suy(-)tō site ‘mainly’.

(3b) adnominal + tāru only: sai ‘utmost, extreme’; byōo (tāru iti-syōotoo) ‘a tiny (speck of an island)’; zyun-zen ‘pure, sheer, out-and-out’; kāku ‘reliable, certain’—as in Yoo-sūru ni Yūnku mo, kāku tāru hoohō-ron o mōte inai ‘In short, Jungk [sic] himself has no reliable methodology’ (SA 2677.158c); ... .
At least some of the tāru words can underlie a pseudo-literary causative that is limited to use as an attributive: tarasimē-ru. The causative is "pseudo"-literary because the genuine literary attributive form would be tarasimūru, as we have noted elsewhere. An example is kookotu(-)tarasimē-ru 'enrapturing'.64 But as the following example shows, tarasimē-ru is also used with regular nouns, functioning as a causative for the subjective copula—notice the quotation marks: Otokō o "dānsi" tarasimē-ru monō ... ‘What makes a man into a “gentleman”...’ (SA 2642.104a). And, in this use, forms other than the attributive also occur: ... Kyōto o site Nihon no bun'ka no tyuussin tarasimēnaka yika ikan 'we must make Kyōto the center of Japan’s culture’ (Tk 2.310a).

(3c) One word is uniquely adnominal + literary attributive naru only: ōoi(·) 'large, great' as in ōoi-naru gimon 'a great doubt' (SA 2672.127b), mattaku ōoi-naru 'gosan' 'a perfectly huge "miscalculation"' (SA 2680.116e). This derives from ōo[k]i as in ōoki-na (2e above) and ōo[k]i ni (§13.7.(3)).

(4) At least one word is directly adnominal and also directly adverbial—i.e., by class overlap both adnoun and adverb: atara 'regrettable (to say)', ... (?). Not to be confused with this type are those adverbs which are, sometimes or always, used to modify numbers or relational nouns; see p. 792.

(5) See the adverbial/adnominal types under §13.7: (2) kānete (no), etc.; (5) métta na/ni, etc.

There are also a few pseudo adnouns. Most of these are Chinese prefixes like sin(·) 'new' and kyūu(·) 'old', which are given a separate accent—i.e., form an accent phrase followed by minor juncture65—to show that they modify a longer structure: kyūu | syokumin-ti "the old colonial period", cf. kyuu-syokumi-ti "the old-colony period"; sin | kēnpo "the new era of the constitution", cf. sin-kēnpo "the era of the new constitution". These are special cases of derived phrases, similar to the pseudo postnouns such as t'ai 'versus; by [a score of] ... to ...'; 'ken 'additionally', titles, and the like. A representative list of pseudo adnouns:66

Bei(·) 'America(n)': Bei Kariheworunia-daigaku no gakusei-demo-tai ga ... 'student demonstrators at the University of California in America’ (SA 2670.137a); ... .

dai(·) 'number; -th': dai | sānyuu | sān-ka 'Lesson 33'; dai | nī-zen-teki ni narim | o 'becomes secondary' (R)—notice that the constituency would appear to defy the juncture; ... .

64. Traditionally a subjective adjectival noun, kookotu was effectively used as an abstract (or prepoculur?) noun by Ariyoshi Sawako in the title of her recent book Kookotu no Itō 'The Ecstatic One', which has given this word current vogue as a euphemism for ‘senile’; cf. kookotu-roozin 'the elderly' (SA 2816.151).

65. The minor juncture may get promoted to major for purposes of emphasis, as in the following reading by a radio announcer: kāku | kokumin | kāku | minzoku no [ ] aida ni 'between each people, between each—race, ...'. The lack of juncture after mei- 'famous' indicates that it is a suffix: mei-ōōro "famous pitcher", mei-kōōzyu "famous professor", mei-tenorou-ōōru-ki "famous tenor singer" (Tk 3.188a).66

66. The following items are sometimes treated as pseudo adnouns, but more often they are attached as prefixes: hàn(·) 'anti-', hi(·) -un-, non-, tyōo(·) 'ultra-, super-, sur-', zên(·) -all-, pan-. An example: hàn | kigyo-tekii na [ ] undo to iu monō ga ... 'an anti-business movement' (R). Before an atomic nominal sometimes the juncture will drop, leaving behind the initial accent: hi | ningen-teki na | kanni-syakai ga I ... ‘the un-humanlike managerial society’ (RI); this can also be said as hingingenteki na.
When a simple numeral follows, it loses its accent, forming a syntactic reduction that we will write with a hyphen: dai-yon | hyoogá-ki ni wa ‘in the fourth glacial period’ (R).

dóó(-) ‘the said, the same’: dóó îsúzi ni yoró to ‘according to the same sources’ (R).

gén(-) ‘the present’: gén minamibetanamu-seihū wa ‘the present South Vietnamese government’ (minami-Betonamu ‘South Vietnam’ + seihū ‘government’, minami ‘south’ + Betonamu ‘Vietnam’); ...

hóó(-) ‘square’: hóó l sanzyu-&)mári ‘30 square miles’, hóó l zyuû-ri ‘10 square ri’; ... .

kákú(-) ‘each’: kákú l teeburu ni ‘on every table’ (Tk 2.96a); kákú l takuryoo ‘each minister of the cabinet’; kákú l ménbá ‘each member’ (R); kákú l bún’ya ‘go ni ‘in every field’ (K 1966.209); Nihón zyuû nôi l kákú l hoomén nôi l senmon-kā l yákû l yonsen-nîn l ‘about four thousand specialists from all parts of Japan’ (R); kákú l tihoo-tîhoó nô l zituzyyo ‘actual conditions in each of the localities’ (R); ... .

kin(-) ‘a sum of; in money’: kin l gozyû-ên ‘a sum of fifty yen’; ...

kô(-) ‘the late, deceased’ (= kôzin no) kô Kobayasi Yoshihiko sensâ ‘the late Dr Yoshihiko Kobayashi’.

?mân(-) ‘fully’: Ôkosan wa o-i kutu desu ka. Mán hutatû desu ‘How old is your child? —Two full years’ (Tk 2.98a). But perhaps mân belongs with its synonym maru ‘fully’ as a prenumeral adverb like yaku ‘approximately’ (see § 13.7).

?syôo(-) ‘exactly (… o’clock)’: syôo l hâtî-zi ‘exactly eight o’clock’; ... .

Or is this a prenumeral adverb?

zyûn(-) ‘pure’ (do not confuse with zyun- ‘semi-, quasi-‘): zyun Nihon-siki no ië ‘a pure-Japanese style house’ (cf. zyun-Nihonsiki no ië ‘a quasi-Japanese style house’); zyun naiti-mai ‘one-hundred percent Japan-grown rice’ (cf. zyun-naitimai ‘Japan-type rice imported from Formosa or Korea’); zyun keizai-mondai ‘a purely economic question’ (cf. zyun-keizaimondai ‘a quasi-economic question’); ...

In some instances the pseudo adnoun might be regarded as an appositive N + N or as an Adverb + N: këi ‘total’ (= gookei) as in këi hatizû-pun no hoosou ‘a total eighty minutes of broadcasting’; myûô(-) ‘next year’ (= myooney) or ‘tomorrow’ (= myôonito) as in myôo(-) tooka ‘tomorrow the 10th’; yôku(-) ‘the ensuing/next—day, season, year, etc.’ as in yôku(-) syôowa(-) sânyuû kû-nen no hårû ‘the ensuing spring of Shôwa 39 (= 1964)’,67 zóku ‘a sequel to; a continuation of; second series’ (= zokuhên)—followed by the title of a book (or collection), a film, etc., as in Zôku Sårû no Eisei ‘Beneath the Planet of the Apes’ (SA 2688.107e—printed with a raised dot after zóku); zên ‘former’ as in ... zên Toohokudai kyôôyoû(-) Yamada Takao-sî no ... ‘by Mr Takao Yamada, former professor at Tóhoku University’ (K 1966.59). A synonym68 of the last item is móto ‘former(l)’ as in Nikuson móto huku-daitôryôo ‘former Vice President Nixon’, Ikeda móto soori-dáizín ‘former Prime Minister Ikeda’, Kîsi móto soori-dáizín ‘former Prime Minister Kishi’; this could be taken asellipsis, móto [no = de aru] | N; cf. § 28. Quite similar is the precopular noun husuyoo ‘incapable, unworthy’ as used in formal speech to deprecate one’s own name: husuyoo [de aru] l Sâtô Eiûke ga ... ‘unworthy I, Eiûke Satô,...’. The word móto is not

67. Notice that yôku(-) can incorporate the time unit in its meaning: yôku(-) hutuka ‘the 2d which is/was the following DAY’ = yokuzitu no hutuka. Yoku- is a bound form (not an adnoun) in yokuzitu mo yokuûyokuû-zitû ‘both next day and the day after that’ (Fn 71a).

68. But zên is more recently ‘former’ than móto, according to MKZ*. Móto means ‘at one time’, ‘a sometime ...‘, ‘a former ...‘ (as compared with ‘the former/preceding ...‘).
of Chinese origin; it is a native noun/adverb that is a synonym of the Chinese binom 'izen and used in such expressions as mōto kara ‘from the first, originally’, mōto wa ‘formerly, originally’, mōto no yō ni ‘as it used to be’, etc. There are also a number of English elements—prefixes, titles, Japan-made truncations, epithets (“mammosu” tuuysa-zyoo "a "mammoth" parking facility"), etc.—that sometimes are treated as pseudo adnouns in modern Japanese, though in most instances all foreignisms are accentuated as compound nouns. An interesting example, in this connection, is the pseudo prefix za(-) "the", as discussed in this passage: ... kookō-o-sei "atari wa, sonsyoo no "za" o tūkete "za-hurōntō" to yobi-dāsita ‘the high school students started calling it "The Front" with the honorific "the" attached’ (SA 2686.29b). Cf. the political slogan Sutoppu-za-Sātoo ‘Stop [that] Satō!’

Surely we are not faced with the gestation of yet another "honorific" prefix? The older honorific prefixes have something of the feel of our pseudo adnouns, and an occasional stilted formation gets created with more than one prefix and then is given the appropriate phrasing for a pseudo adnoun, e.g. おんじがんとeine na ... ‘the exaltedly honoredly polite ...’.

There is also the pseudo prefix ōoru(-) ‘all, total(lly)’ as in sono ōoru-musyozoku-gin ga ... 'those totally unaffiliated Diet members’ (Tk 4.16a).

For pseudo adnouns of a somewhat different type, resulting from obvious ellipsis, see sasuga による N (p. 788) and irōiro による N (p. 826). These are similar to the “uncompleted” compounds of the type dān-zyo [1] kyoogaku ‘co-education’ and dān-zyo [1] dooken ‘equal rights for men and women’. In the following example we might treat suitei ‘estimate; estimating’ as a pseudo adnoun, but it appears better to consider it stranded from the ellipsis of a provisionalized predicate (given in brackets): ... suitei それにるろくずやゆう san-nin no しぼお-sya ... ‘an estimated 1063 deaths’ (SA 2689.48a).

In addition to the clearcut types listed above, there are a number of quasi adnouns that are reduced from sentences such as N ga āru ‘has N, is with N’ and N ga nai ‘lacks N, is without N’ by dropping the marker ā (and sometimes optionally) suppressing the juncture before the predicate: kēn’i aru | suzī ‘authoritative sources’ ← kēn’i ga | āru | suzī ‘sources that have authority’; kokōro aru | sakkā(−) or kokōro āru | sakkā(−) ‘sensitive authors’ (SA 2685.115d) ← kokōga āru | sakkā(−) ‘authors who have heart’; kyōōmi aru | mondai or kyōōmi āru | mondai ‘an interesting problem’ ← kyōōmi ga | āru | mondai ‘a problem that has interest’; ryōosики āru | otonā-tāti ‘conscientious grownups’ (SA 2685.115d) ← ryōosiki ga [1] āru | otonā-tāti ‘grownups who have conscience’; kāzu aru | zī ‘numerous characters’ ← kāzu ga āru | zī ‘characters that have number’. The accentuation tells us that we are dealing with a syntactic reduction rather than a lexical derivative, though there is no such clue when the noun is atonic or oxytonic. The sentences kāzu ga | sukunai ‘the number are few’ and kāzu ga | ōōi ‘the number are many’ yield both the syntactic reductions kāzu sukunai/ooi and the lexical derivatives kazu-sukunai/-ōōi.69 These expressions compete with a casual version of the underlying sentences in which the marker ā is omitted but the juncture (together with the original accentuation) is retained. Thus there are three possible ways to read the relevant part of the following example: Sono kōro kara, Satie to iu namee wa kāzu sukunai (kāzu sukunai, kazu-sukunai) no ka sira to ... ‘Wondering whether perhaps the name Sachie has become uncommon since those days ...’ (SA 2672.149).

Certain set phrases with the literary attributive form nā-ki (§13.9) are to be explained.

69. The adverbiaiized kāzu ōoku is also said as kazu-ōoku; but there is no *kazu-sukunaku, only kazu sukunaku. See §9.1.
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as quasi adnominals, e.g. kōe naki kōe ‘a voice lacking voice = a silent voice’ ← kōe ga l naki l kōe ‘a voice that lacks voice’ as in this example: Simin no naka no kōe naki kōe o wasuretē wa ikemasēn ‘We must not forget the silent voices among the citizens’ (SA 2688.24e). Compare Type (2j) above, where this would belong except for its accentuation.

Adnominals are like adjectival nouns, precopular nouns, and adverbs in that they can not be modified by an adnominal phrase; also, unlike some adverbs, they can not even be modified by an adverbial phrase (with rare exceptions as noted at the end of this section). An underlying minor juncture separates the adnominal from the noun it modifies, but the juncture may drop in set phrases, which sometimes sound as if they were single lexical items: wā-ga kuni ‘our country’ (wāgakuni), wā-ga tomo ‘my/our friend’ (wāgatomo), wā-ga syā ‘our company, our newspaper’ (wāgasya), wā-ga tōo ‘our party’ (wāgatoo), wā-ga gun ‘our army’ (wāgagun), ...; aru hi no koto ‘one day’ (aruhinokoto); ... .

Although the appropriate place for an adnominal is directly in front of the noun or noun phrase that it modifies, other adnominal modification can precede the noun; unless a major juncture (the result of some sort of ellipsis) signals that the adnominal is intended to go only with the noun, it is to be assumed that the constituents are ADNOUN + (ADNOMINAL + NOUN), but often the decision will make no apparent difference. It is possible to get two or more adnominals, provided their meanings are not in conflict; an example is onazi kono Simbirūsuku ... ‘this same Simbirsk’ (SA 2685.137b), which in Japanese is readily reversible to kono onazi if though the English order is fixed.

Certain adnominals are fairly restricted with respect to the kinds of noun they can modify; others are used more widely. We would expect it to be difficult for an adnominal to modify certain of the postadnominals that serve as summational or transitional epithemes. I have made a rough check on acceptable combinations of adnominal + nó (wa), kōtō wa, wāke wa, hazu da, tumori da, yōo da, hōo ga, and tamē. (It should be borne in mind that all except hazu, yōo, and hōo can also serve as extruded epithemes, and that is the way nó is here taken.) Adnominals such as sonnā, onazi, ironnā, sono, soo iū/tittā (those of classes 1a-b, 2a-d) freely modify the postadnominals mentioned, with the following exceptions: *sono nó wa is rejected, as are *ironnā hōo ga and *ironnā tamē. The adnominals of Type 2c (hon-no, kūdan-no, moyori-no, etc.) will not modify any postadnominal; kūdān-no kōtō ‘the said matter’ contains the ordinary noun kōtō. Okāsī-na and tāi-sita are quite free (occurring before yōo da, nó wa, etc.), but *tāi-sita hazu/tumori da are rejected, as are *tāi-sita hōo ga and *tāi-sita tamē. Tonda, tatta, arayūru, and iwāyūru seldom, if ever, modify a postadnominal, and most of the others in the list are also unacceptable modifiers for postadnominals, with a few exceptions: hoka-narānū no wa, muri-karānū no wa, sai-taru no wa, and perhaps ooi-nāru no wa; hazu da and yōo da are permitted after hoka-narānū, muri-karānū, aru-māzī[k]i, sai-taru, and zyuunzen-tarū. (As ordinary nouns kōtō and wāke occur with all of these as well as with a few of the other, more highly restricted adnominals.) Most of the adnominals can modify conjoined noun phrases (onazi hāha to kodomo ‘the same mother and child’) as well as noun phrases that include adnominal elements; but certain of the less versatile items in the lists are probably subject to restrictions that have not been explored.

A few adnominals will surprisingly permit modification or carry adjuncts, as remarked in Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten (175): karada no zitū ni ōoki-na hito ‘a person truly large of
body’, hitogoto ni mo arânu kotó ‘an affair unexpected even of others’, riron-tekki ni arayûru gensyoo ‘phenomena of theoretically all kinds’. The example karada ga óoki-na sôo da (id. 178) is a shortening of óoki-na זז sôo da if used at all, and (?)karada no óoki-na no ni (ibid.) seems strange even as a shortening of karada no óoki-na ژژ no ni. A few adnouns can be modified by adverbs: ... kinôo to mattaku onazi sûgata de kao o dáeita ‘presented himself in exactly the same garb as yesterday’ (Ariyoshi 303).

13.5a. ADJECTIVAL NOUNS

In traditional Japanese grammar the adjectival nouns are called keiyoo-dôooi ‘adjectival verbs’, with the notion that they are “conjugated” just as adjectives and verbs are. But the conjugational endings for the adjectival noun are nothing more than forms of the copula, and even the copula is suppressed in various constructions as we will see below. Thus on the surface the adjectival noun—and its near-twin the precopular noun—will appear much like an abstract noun, differing only in that it can not serve as an epitheme (i.e. be modified by an adnominalization or an adnoun)70 and can not be used as a subject or object directly (*AN ga/o but first must be converted to an adnominalized form (AN na kotó ga/o) or lexicalized as an abstract nominalization (AN-sa). Thus it is hardly surprising that a number of words serve both as adjectival noun and as abstract noun. Têinei as an adjectival noun means ‘polite’ and as a pure noun means ‘politeness’, roughly equivalent to têinei-sa—as in Têinei ga daâiti ‘Politeness first’, Têinei mo taisetu ‘Politeness is important (too)’, Têinei o mamôre ‘Observe politeness’, so that têinei ni sugiru ‘exceeds in politeness’ means much the same as têinei-sugiru ‘is overly polite’.

In Literary Japanese the adjectival nouns are divided into two classes, according to whether the appropriate predicator is the OBJECTIVE copula nàri = ژژ nàri ‘it is’ or the SUBJECTIVE copula târi = ژژ târi ‘it is seen/heard/thought/felt/said to be (or: as)’. The latter type we can call “subjective adjectival nouns”; the former (and more common) type we will refer to as “objective adjectival nouns” or simply “adjectival nouns”.

Subjective adjectival nouns are little used in the modern language outside of somewhat bookish clichés. You will run across such words used adverbially (AN tô) with various verbal predicates or used with suru ‘does = produces a sensation’ to form phrases that function as durative-stative verbs (with a grammar like that of sugurûru ‘excels’—see §3.12); these phrases typically appear as the predicative AN tô site iru or as the adnominal AN tô sita N (with the semantically “empty” perfect), but you will also find the adverbialized AN tô sité, sometimes equivalent to simple AN tô, and occasionally other forms will turn up. A number of the subjective adjectival nouns occur in the adnominal form AN târu N, as if forming phrasal adnouns; usually these can be paraphrased less stiffly as AN tô sita N.71

70. But a few adjectival nouns (such as yôo and mitai) are postadnominals and thus, as intruded epithemes, will carry adnominal modification. The AN grammar belongs to the postadnominal conversion as a whole.

71. Some have only the forms AN tô sita iru and AN tô sita: kakkoo wa ryûu to site iru ‘the looks are fashionable’, ryûu to sita (*ryûu taru) kakkoo ‘fashionalbe looks’. And gân ‘stubborn’ appears only in the form gân to sita ‘stubbornly’; cf. gân-ko, an objective adjectival noun ‘stubborn’ and an abstract noun ‘stubbornness’. Yôo to sita ‘dim (ly); not at all’—as in Yôo to sita yûkue ga sirena ‘Nothing much is known of his whereabouts’—is from a bound Chinese subjectival AN which lacks the târu form.
And you may run across the causative tarasimérú as in a-zen tarasimérú ‘dumbfounds, takes one aback’ and kookotu tarasimérú ‘enrapturing’ (cf. p. 750).

The stock of subjective adjectival nouns displays several types of lexical formation:

1. Reduplicated monosyllables and dissyllables from classical Chinese, where many (but not all) functioned as mimetics: bibi ‘petty’—bibi taru rieki ‘petty profits’ (SA 2681.26c); i ‘easy’ (do not confuse with i = yoi ‘is good’ > V-i-i = V-i-yašui ‘is easy to V’)
   —i ‘tahru kotó ‘an easy matter’; kuku ‘various; petty, trivial’; sasa ‘trivial’; titi ‘tardy’
   —dooodo(-) ‘splendid’—dooodo(-) tahu taikaku ‘a splendid physique’, dooodo(?) to susumu ‘advances grandly’;
   —moomo(-) ‘thick, dense, murky’; tootoo ‘eloquent’—tootoo to hanásu ‘speaks eloquently’; yuuyuu ‘deliberate’;
   —keikei(-) ‘penetrating, glaring’; aiái(-)
   —harmonious’; in’in(1) ‘boundless’; in’in(2) ‘lonely’; manman(-) ‘boundless’; manman(-)2 ‘brimming full’—Kenkyusha’s examples with dà are perhaps to be explained as propriedication
   —manman(-) to sitio iru no da; tantan1 ‘indifferent, disinterested; plain, light’;
   —tantan2 ‘level, peaceful’; tantan3 ‘overflowing, brimming’; sinsin1 ‘brimming’—Kyóomi sinsin tahu monó ga áru ‘There are things full of interest’ (Tk 2.309b); sinsin2 ‘deep’; sinsin3 ‘rapid’;
   —menmén(-) ‘unceasing’; konkon1 ‘earnest(ly), repeated(ly), serious(ly)’; konkon2 ‘sound asleep, unconscious’;
   —konkon ‘gushing’; hunpun ‘scattered, pellmell’; baku-baku ‘vast’;
   —syaku-syaku ‘ample, leisurely; deliberate’; kak-kaku ‘bright, brilliant’ (automatically reduced from kaku-kaku); setu-setu ‘pressed, rushed; courteous, kind’—the reduplication apparently saves this word from automatic reduction to *sessen as we would normally expect of a Chinese binom (yet, note the preceding item).

2. A few unsuffixed single morphemes of Chinese origin: sán ‘brilliant’; gén ‘severe’ (also abstract noun ‘severity’); syú ‘principal’ (also noun)—Kenkyusha gives the example syú naru mokuteki ‘principal aim’ but there is no *syú na/no/ni, so we can treat the form as a misreading—or variant—of ómo na[ru].

3. Some binoms of Chinese origin, three or four moras in length: zizyaku ‘serene’;
   —sasso ‘gallant’; ussoo ‘luxuriant’; booyoo ‘boundless’; kooryoo ‘bleak’; sookoo ‘hasty’;
   —taitoo ‘mild, genial (weather)’; santán(-) ‘horrible’; sanran ‘resplendent’; ranman ‘glorious, in full bloom’;
   —antan ‘dismal, gloomy’—Zitú ni antan tahu kimoti ni natta né ‘I got to feeling really gloomy, you see’ (Tk 2.102a); kenran ‘dazzling, gorgeous, brilliant’—kenran tahu misemonó no aida ni ‘among the dazzling shows’ (Tk 4.67a); naturatu ‘lively, perky’;
   —kakusyaku ‘hale, hearty’; sekihaku ‘lonely, desolate’ (also abstract noun ‘desolationess’).

4. A monosyllable or dissyllable, borrowed from classical Chinese, that carries the Chinese suffix -zen ‘like’: a-zen ‘dumbfounded’; bu-zen ‘dejected’—Syookén-man tati wa bu-zen tahu hyoozyóó() de udegu’um site ita ‘The securities men had their arms folded with an air of dejection’ (SA 2679.27); ki-zen1 ‘dauntless’; ki-zen2 ‘dejected’; goo-zen ‘proud, haughty, arrogant’; syoo-zen ‘dejected’; hei-zen ‘composed, nonchalant’; sei-zen ‘orderly, regular’; tai-zen ‘imperturbable’; hon-zen ‘sudden’ (not to be confused with honzen, an older version of the precopular noun that is now usually homnen ‘natural, innate’); an-zen ‘gloomy, doleful’; kan-zen ‘bold’ (also pure adverb = kan-zen to 2site) ‘boldly’; san-zen ‘radiant’;
   —ketu-zen ‘resolute, determined’—ketu-zen tahu taido ‘a determined attitude’;
   —zatu-zen ‘jumbled’; reki-zen ‘clear, manifest’; seki-zen ‘lonely’; saku-zen ‘dry, dull’;
   —syuku-zen ‘solemn’—syuku-zen to sita kao o site ‘with a solemn face’ (SA 2681.45a).

But not all candidates for this class actually belong to it. Totu-zen ‘abrupt, sudden’ is a precopular noun and a pure adverb, as is guu-zen ‘accidental’. Hipu-zen ‘inevitable’ is a precopular noun:

71a. Also a pure noun (abstract): rekisi-teki na guu-zen ni yotte ‘depending on historical accident’.

71a. Also a pure noun (abstract): rekisi-teki na guu-zen ni yotte ‘depending on historical accident’.
okóru ‘arises inevitably’. I-zen ‘as ever/before’ serves both as subjective adjectival noun and (= i-zen to site) as adverb. And zyun-zen ‘pure’ has only the adnominal form zyun-zen táru.

(5) A free noun, usually of Chinese origin, with ... ‘žén ‘like’ attached as a kind of postnoun or pseudo restrictive: taíka ‘žén = taika-žén ‘like a great family’; like an illustrious master’; gakusya ‘žén = gakusya-žén ‘like a scholar’; sinsi ‘žén = sinsi-žén ‘like a gentleman’. Notice that in the following example the postnoun is to be taken with the entire phrase: ... “taíke no go-rei zyo o(- ) “-žén to sit e ite, ... ‘she has the appearance of a ‘daughter of a wealthy family’’ ‘(SA 2673.152). In pronunciation, however, the word ‘žén is attached directly to the noun (= goreizyoozén), which is preceded by a minor juncture. Another example: ... iká-ni mo, Ído no naka no kaeru ‘žén to, ki-mama ni kurasite iru ‘chooses to live very much like a frog in a well’ (SA 2831.95b). In ... kogane de mo kasite iru go-inkyo-sámá ‘žén taru hitó datta ... ‘he was a person of the retired-gentleman sort who would lend a bit of money at least’ (Fn 221a), the adnominalized description can be interpreted as going either with hitó or with the noun before ‘žén. A similar example: ... Ákiko no yóó na syokugyoo-húzin ‘žén to sita taimu de wa nákatá ‘she was not the type of ‘very much the business woman’’ like Ákiko’ (Ariyoshi 220).

(6) A few Chinese loanwords that carry the Chinese suffix -ko ‘-like’: kák-ko ‘firm, resolute’; róó-ko ‘steadfast’; zyun-ko ‘pure, unadulterated, unalloyed’. But gán-ko ‘stubborn’ is an objective adjectival noun and also an abstract noun ‘stubbornness’. I have seen the expression boozén-ko taru omói ‘a distracted thought’, but the addition of -ko to a word that already contains -zen would appear to be hyper-Sinoophilic.

(7) Mimetic and quasi-mimetic words of Japanese origin such as tyan-tó ‘tidy, in good condition, perfectly’ etc.; see §21.7.

Sometimes two subjective adjectival verbs will be directly conjoined. Thus kuukuû(-) ‘vacant(-minded)’ can be directly followed by zyaku-zyaku ‘silent’ to form the phrase kuukuû(-) zyaku-zyaku ‘absent-minded’ and by baku-baku ‘vast’ to form the phrase kuukuû(-) baku-baku ‘vast and vacant’. Similar phrases are kuku hunpun táru monó ‘small scattered things’ and tai-zen zizyaku ‘composed and serene’. Some words appear to be used only in such formations, e.g. the first of the two in the phrase seiséi(-) doodóó(-) ‘fair and square’. Each of these phrases contains an underlying minor juncture but this will be suppressed if the first word is atonic. In ... hihei bonbon táru ‘he Hawaiiana`

The OBJECTIVE adjectival noun is usually followed by some form of the objective copula dá = de áru. But under adnominalization, where the copula will take the shape nó after a pure noun or a precopular noun (unless itself followed by certain postadnominals such as the pronominal nó, gúrai, etc.), the shape of the copula is normally ná after an adjectival noun. Those several words that permit either nó or ná, often with a subtle difference of meaning, belong to two classes: adjectival noun and precopular noun. Instead of AN na N, you may run across the more formal AN de áru N, just as you will find N de áru N for N no N (when the latter is an identification or prepredication only, of course); but is also common to use the literary attributive náru instead of the shorter ná, especially in written clichés: ‘Karei náru sitizyuu-nándai’ ‘‘The Splendid Seventies”’ ‘(SA 2660.42 heading); ... “sízuka náru otokó” ... ‘a “quiet man”’ ‘(SA 2680.19d); ... yáya kookyuu...
náru hwán wa... ‘slightly higher-class [film] fans’ (Tk 3.197a); kyokután ni tín naru kumiawase o site ‘rú keredo nè ‘... they had formed an extremely curious assemblage, all right’ (CK 985.382). The adjectival noun in the last example is rather uncommon and usually will appear in the form tín naru N, rather than tín na N; perhaps we should put it with the adnouns as tín-naru. Other, more common, adjectival nouns of one syllable (with one or two moras) take ná freely: hén na kumiawase ‘a queer assemblage’.

The negative of the objective copula is de/zya nái, and this can be freely adnominalized: sızuka de/zya nái hitó ‘a person who is not quiet’. But under adnominalization the negative attributive of the literary copula often turns up in print: huan na “sádaka naranu kiken” ‘the disturbing “uncertain danger”’ (SA 2661.32a).

Under certain circumstances, an adjectival noun (or a precopular noun) can occur without the copula:

1. As an exclamation: Kíre! ‘Pretty!’; Yáa, mígoto! ‘Bravo!’ (Hozaka 295). This is simple ellipsis of da. Hayashi 76 observes that an adjectival noun can appear as an exclamation also in adnominal and adverbiaal form, giving the examples Sitürei na! ‘How rude!’ and Kawaiísö ni! ‘Pitiful!’ That will explain this example: Máa, kyuuu na ‘Well, that’s sudden!’ (Fn 400b).

But we must assume ellipsis [da] ná (= nè) for Nán taru sitürei ná ‘What discourtesy!’ since sitürei, with its adnominal modification, is functioning as a pure noun; we must assume the ellipsis also for... kinóy no inú yori tuyóí no da sóó ná ‘is stronger than the neighborhood dog, they say’ (Fn 474a) since S sóó da does not normally adnominalize.

Cf. the use of the adjective base as an exclamation (§9.1): Oó kówa! ‘Oh frightful!’ (Fn 54a).

2. Optional ellipsis of some copula form such as dè or nára in certain sentence conjunctions such as N1 mo AN ʒnara} N2 mo AN dà: Kore mo kírei ʒnara} sore mo kírei da ‘This is pretty and so is that’; Udé mo tassyá ʒnara} kängæ mo tásika da ‘I am both strong of arm and sure of thought’ (Hozaka 295).

3. Obligatory or optional ellipsis of dà in certain sentence conversions (as with pure nouns): Tásika ʒrasii ‘It appears to be sure’; Tásika sà! ‘It’s sure, I tell you’; Tásika ʒdà} nè ‘It’s sure, you see’; Tásika ʒdà} ka ‘Is it sure?’; Tásika ʒdà} ka sira ‘I wonder if it’s sure’. Tásika ʒdà} yara ‘I wonder if it’s sure’. Tásika ʒdà} yó ‘Mind you, it’s sure’.

4. Optional ellipsis of nà before “dókoro: Sızuka ʒna! ‘dókoro ka, tote-mo yakamasii tokoró desu yó ‘Far from [being] quiet, it is a very noisy place, I tell you’.

5. Direct nominalization and paratactic conjoining A-i [nó to] AN [ná no to]: Zya, umái, hetá wa kankei arimasén ka ‘Well doesn’t it depend on whether you are skillful or clumsy?’ (SA 2684.48a).

(5a) Direct nominalization and insertion into the scoffing pattern... mo kúsó/ hetíma/he mo nái (or: mo áru mon ka, mo ári wa sinai) ‘is neither (a matter of being) ... nor shit/snakegourd/fart’ = ‘is a far cry from ...’ (§14.6): Kore dé wa hyoon-teki mo kúsó mo ári wa simasén ‘This is a far cry from “phonetic” [writing]’ (Fukuda in Ono 1967.187).

6. Ellipsis of dà with certain uses of quotation:

6a) AN [da] to iéba ‘as for being AN’: Seitto-teki to iéba ... ‘As for being legitimate ...’ (SA 2671.98d).

6b) AN1 [da] to iéba AN1 na N: see §21.1.(19).

6c) AN [dà} to itté mo ‘even being AN’: Sızuka to itté mo ... ‘Even if it’s quiet ...’ (Shibata 1965.190).
(6d) \text{AN} \{\text{da}\} \text{ to iu kotó wa} \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{motiron desu (ga)} \\
\text{iu māde mo nai (ga)} 
\end{array} \right\} \text{ 'Of course it is AN} \text{ (but)'}.\]

(7) Paratactic conjoining of two adjectival nouns (cf. §2.8) \text{AN} \{\text{dé}\} \text{ \text{AN}z \text{dá}– usually adnominalized to ná or adverbialized to ni}: \text{72 ... yumoo kakan(\dagger) na tōsī 'a brave and daring warrior' (Tk 2.203a); ... seikaku kanmei na hyoo-\emph{gén}(\dagger) 'precise succinct expressions' (Ōno 1967.266); ... kikai-teki, goori-teki na kāmēra to hwirimu no genkai ni tyoosen suru 'defies the mechanical, rational limits of camera and film' (SA 2666.86a); ... tyuuusyoo-teki, zusiki-teki ni ... 'abstractly, (and) diagrammatically'; ... oogara \{\text{dē}\}, zyuukoo \{\text{dē}\}, seiren na tokorō mo dēnka to wa kānna tigau '... and in (the respects of) being large of stature, sedate, and upright, he is also quite different from the Prince' (SA 2680.19d). Either, or both, of the conjoined elements can be a precopular noun; in \text{zyooyoo \{\text{dē}\} heiī na mōzī 'easy characters in common use' (Ōno 1967.271) the first element is a precopular noun (\text{zyooyoo no mózī 'characters in common use'}). This construction is the origin of \text{kiki-kaikai}, as in ~ na sihai 'a fantastic play' (Tk 2.331a), the second element being a variant of \text{kikai 'weird'} that does not otherwise occur.

(8) Like the preceding, but with a conjunction (kātū 'and', arūi-\text{wa} 'or', ...): Izure mo taihen hukuza tu \{\text{dē}\} kātu kōnnan de, sono uē tagai ni irikūn de mondai de aru 'They are all problems that are very complicated and difficult, and moreover are intertwined with one another' (SA 2673.97c). But ... gai bu-teki arūi-\text{wa} naibu-teki na gēn' in de ... 'from external or internal causes' (Kotoba no yurai 204a) must be from gaibu-teki \{\text{[dā] ka}\} or from gaibu-teki \{\text{[nā]}\}; the latter turns up in the example ... sei-teki na, arūi-\text{wa} zankoku na bāmen(\dagger) '... scenes of sex or violence' (Nagano 1968.165).

(8a) Paratactic conjoining of an adjectival noun with an adverb \text{\text{AN} [ni]} \text{Adv [tō]}: Kīrei sappāri \{\text{to}\} wasureta 'I clean forgot completely'. Are there other examples, or should we treat kīrei sappāri \{\text{to}\} as an idiom?

(9) Directly adnominal, like an adnoun, through optional ellipsis of nā: \text{73 ... syoosai na gizyutu-teki \{na\} dēeta o happyoo suru kotō wa ... 'publishing detailed technical data' (SA 2678.136c).

(9b) followed by the adverbialized postadnominal dakē ni: ... attoo-teki \{na\} dakē ni 'just by being overwhelming' (SA 2670.25c).

Is this sort of ellipsis limited to adjectival nouns bearing the suffix -teki?

(9c) Two paratactically conjoined adjectival nouns that are directly adnominal: senzai-teki kisetu-teki \{na\} situyō-o-sya 'hidden and seasonal unemployed' (R).

(10) Emphatic iterations with ellipsis of \{na kotō\}:

\begin{itemize}
    \item (10a) \text{AN} \text{mo AN} \{\text{dā}\} 'is really AN' \text{\to AN} \text{[na kotō]} \text{mo AN} \text{dá}: Hadē mo hadē \{\text{da}\} 'It is terribly gaudy'.
\end{itemize}

72. In some examples a more elaborate ellipsis may be indicated: ... syakai-teki, sei-zei-teki na kankei o kekka suru 'results in social and/or political effects' (Nakane 152) is perhaps best analyzed as syakai-teki \{na [kankei] ya\} sei-zei-teki na kankei. And what is omitted is tyokusetu \{\} kantsu ni 'directly or indirectly' must be mātā-\text{wa} 'or else', ka 'or', or possibly ōyobi 'and', marking a similar kind of reduction. Additional examples: ... kokka-teki \{\} syakai-teki ni mo, kozin-teki \{\} ningen-teki ni mo, mata seiri-teki \{\} igaku-teki ni mo, ... 'both nationally and societally, both individually and personally, and both physiologically and medically' (Ariyoshi 236).

73. Also in the structure exemplified by Gān-ko \{\} no nā no tō 'What's all this stubbornness?'; see §14.2.3.
An extended version AN₁ mo AN₁ [de], INTENSIFIER (taihen or zûibun or hiyoo nî) AN₁ dâ: Hadê mo hade[i], hîyoo nî hade da ‘Gaudy, it’s really gaudy!’

(Similar examples can be constructed with byooki, wâzuka, takusân, sukôsî, ...)

(10c) AN₁ wa AN₁ dâ (ga) ‘is AN all right (but)’ ← AN₁ [na kotô] wa AN₁ dâ: Hadê wa hadê desu ga ... ‘It’s gaudy all right, but ...’; Kono hen wa sizuka wa sizuka da ga, hûben na tokôro da ‘It’s quiet around here, all right, but it is an inconvenient location’; Kinodôkû wa kinodôkû desu kedo ‘Sad it is, to be sure, but ...’.

(11) AN₁ to itte kore ‘izyo no AN₁ wa nai ‘is the most AN possible’: Tanzyun to itte kore ‘izyo no tanzyun wa naku, ... ‘Nothing could be simpler (than this), and ...’

(Maeda 1962.98).

(12) Quasi-appositional uses (cf. § 25):

(12a) AN I sono-mônô da ‘is AN itself, is the quintessence of AN’: “Gendai-han ukiyo-buro” wa, hissûri to sizuka sono-mônô da ‘This “Modern Edition of the Sensual Baths” is hush personified’ (SA).

(12b) AN I kono-ue-[mo]-nai ‘is most AN, is the most AN in the world’: ... gehin kono-ue-mo-nai gö ... ‘the most vulgar of words’ (Maeda 1962.98); Kawatta koto[1] ârea, kekkoo kono-ue-mo-nai koto de, go-dookei no itari(−) de âru ‘If they HAVE changed, it’s simply splendid, and I offer my hearty congratulations’ (Id. 104); ... syôninin ni tâtta watta hûzyûyu kono-ue-mo-nai sekai de atta wâke desu ‘for the merchant it was the most uncomfortable world imaginable, you see’ (R).

(12c) AN I kiwamari nai ‘is ever so AN; is AN no end (is no-end AN)’: Sono kotoba-zûkai ga yûubi kiwamari naku, têinei kono-ue-mo-nakute ‘Their use of language is of the utmost elegance and the highest courtesy’ (Maeda 1962.169); ... o-sômatsu kiwamari nai monô de ... ‘being something ever so plain/coarse’ (SA 2664.25b); Hinzyaku kiwamari nai e ni sünde iru ‘I am living in a house that is ever so poor’; Sitûrei kiwamari nai yûtâ da ‘He is the rudest so-and-so in the world’; Hukuzatu kiwamari nai kikài da ‘It is the most complicated machine you can think of’; Karei kiwamari nai tatémôno da ‘It is the most splendid building imaginable’.

I assume that this construction derives from something like AN [nâ no ni] kiwamari [ga] nai ‘The (being) AN lacks any extremity’. An alternative view might assume AN [de] kiwamari [ga] nai ‘It is AN and it lacks a limit’. (13) AN I kiwamâru ‘is AN in the extreme; is extremely AN’: Keihaku kiwamâru monô ... ‘An extremely fickle person ...’; Tûmari, o-kane yûtâ wa, tame-kônde ugokasânakkattara mu-imî kiwamâru ‘In short, when it comes to money if one were to pile it up and not put it to work that would be senseless in the extreme’ (Tk 4.226b).

(14) The example kirei ‘zûkume no ... zidai-geki ‘a period movie ... all prettified up’ (SA 2670.110a—the intention is uncomplimentary, as I have tried to suggest with ‘up’ in the translation) would suggest that an adjectival noun can be followed by restrictives, but it appears that kirei ‘zûkume = kirei-zûkume is a unique lexical item that should be entered in the dictionary.

The adjectival noun, like the raw adjectival base (cf. remarks in § 9.1), enters directly into the following conversions:

AN-sugiru ‘is overly AN’ (the excessive, § 9.1.9);
AN-soo da ‘looks (to be) AN’ (the evidential, § 20);
AN-sa ‘AN-ness’ (the adjective abstract nominalization, § 14.7).

Most of the remarks made above will apply to precopular nouns as well as adjectival nouns.
The following kinds of lexical formation will be found in the stock of objective adjectival nouns:

(1) Basic native elements from various sources, often carrying some sort of etymological suffix:


(1d) -ra: túb-raj ‘rotund’.


(1g) Noun + adjectival noun: [with nigorí] mi-gíre ‘dapper’, ... .

(1h) Verb (or compound verb) infinitive: suki ‘liked’, kirai ‘disliked’, nageyari

74. But this may be a false etymology.
75. Perhaps assimilated from (?)hukú-ya-ka.
76. The etymology is uncertain.
77. The adjectival noun sízu-ka has a unique irregularity in attaching the abstract nominalization suffix -sa: sízu-ké-sa ‘stillness’. But recently sízu-ká-sa has come into vogue—among automobile advertisers, at least. In Sízuku no Umí ‘Sea of Tranquility [on the moon]’ the word is treated as an abstract noun. Cf. §14.7: p. 910.
78. Said to be from the infinitive sakári, ultimately related to sak- ‘bloom’.
79. From the infinitive suki ‘liking’.
80. Also a noun ‘dislike’, both from the infinitive kirai ‘disliking’.
81. From the interjection iya ‘no!’; often shortened to ‘ya (na/ni).
82. From a noun ‘jog trot’.
83. Sometimes pronounced with juncture, as in this example: Tyót-to, zákku baran na hanási o sì-sugitimamitsa ga nē ‘I ended up overdoing the frankness a bit’ (Tk 4.212a). An example of zákkú baran ni can be heard from the lips of a highschool girl on Tape 8b of NHK’s Anaunsu Kyōshitsu.
'negligent, slovenly', .... (Cf. §14.5.) But dasinuke 'sudden, unexpected' and mukidasi 'bare; frank' are usually treated as precopular nouns, adnominalizing with nö.

(1i) Other phrasal derivatives: oo-gakari 'large scale' (adjective base + nigoried noun derived from verb infinitive kakari 'undertaking'); karu-házumi 'rash' (adjective base + noun derived from verb infinitive hazumi 'bouncing'); ii-ki 'easy-going; conceited', ii-kagen 'moderate' (adjective imperfect + noun); huu-gawàri 'changeable', mimi-zàwàri 'jarring, discordant' (noun + nigoried verb infinitive); mimiyori (na hanasì) 'welcome, encouraging (word)' (noun + verb infinitive); hito-sàwàgase 'sensational' (noun + causative infinitive); nen-ìri(-) 'scrupulous' (noun + intransitive infinitive); kiréi-zukì(-) 'tidy, neat, cleanly'; zyoosiki-házure na seikatsu ni 'in a life removed from commonsense' (SA 2648.59c); ....

NOTE: The following adjectival nouns also form adjectives, as shown: kóma-ká, komakái 'fine'; atátá-ka, atatakái 'warm'; yawa-rá-ka, yawarakái 'soft'; buatu, buatu(-) 'thick'; teara, tearái(-) 'rough'; hiyowa, hiyowài(-) 'physically) weak, delicate'; manmàru(-); manmàru(-) 'round'; makkuóro, makkuró 'jet black'; massíro, massírói 'snow white'; okáši(-)na, okasìi 'comic', tisái(-)na, tisái 'small', óokí(-)na, ookíi 'large'—the last three adjectival nouns are highly defective. Also found: tebaya, tebayái 'nimble', ....

(2) Certain sentence conversions:

(2a) V-i-soó 'looking/about to V'; V-i-gél(-), A-soó/-ge, AN-soó 'looking'—the evidential, § 20.

(2b) V-i-gati 'tending to V' (§9.1.5); but sometimes treated as a precopular noun.

(3) Various reduplications of native elements: yobo-yobo 'unsteady, shaky' (from the mimetic adverb yobo-yobo [suru/to] 'unsteadily, staggering'); kona-gona 'in (to) fragments' (from the noun kona 'flour, meal'); tiguhagu(-) 'ill-assorted'; ....

(4) Basic Chinese loanwords (and words made up in Japan of Chinese loanmorphs):

(4a) Of one morpheme: myóo 'odd', kyúu 'sudden', kúu 'empty', hén 'queer'; rakú 'comfortable', gyaku 'opposite', tokú 'profitable', kókú 'harsh'; (S) yóo 'appearing that (S)' . (But na/no .... (different, separate, another) is optionally adjectival or precopular noun, apparently with no difference of meaning.)

(4b) Of two morphemes: muda 'futile'; igái(-) 'unexpected', rikoo 'clever', zyákèn 'cruel', góoka 'deluxe, gorgeous', zyooobu 'sturdy', onwa 'mild', génki 'healthy', rippa 'splendid', sìsso 'frugal'; anzen 'safe', kanzen 'perfect', kinben 'diligent', kantan 'simple', nèssin 'zealous', yuukan 'brave', bussóo 'unsafe, unsettled'; suteki 'splendid'; syooziki 'honest', meihaku 'evident', seimitu 'precise, minute', sotyyoku 'candid'; hukuzatu 'complicated', gekiretu 'violent'; ....

(4c) Of more than two morphemes: dai-zyóobu 'safe, OK'; zí-daráku 'slovenly'; yuu-igi 'significant'; koo-hàn'i 'extensive'; ....

(5) Basic foreign loanwords (mostly from English); here listed by number of syllables, subordered by mora structure:

ONE SYLLABLE: none?

TWO SYLLABLES: húru 'full' ( ~ ni tukau 'uses fully'), táhu 'tough, rugged'; puréén 'plain' (or is this three syllables?); ....

84. Perhaps hái 'high = intoxicated' as in kibun gá hái ni nátyyyatte 'feeling high, getting a high'. Róó 'low' and nyúu 'new' appear to be limited to word formation; women's slang has o-nyúu na séetaa 'a new sweater'. And, quite recently, in comes náu na onná-no-ko 'the Now girl' (SA 2839.5a).

FOUR SYLLABLES: râzíkaru ‘radical’; yûumorasa ‘humorous’, dêrîkêeto ‘delicate’, purâibêeto ‘private’, kurâsîkku ‘classic’, ...

FIVE SYLLABLES: gurotôsuku ‘grotesque’, kurâsîkaru ‘classical’, rîzumîkaru ‘rhythmical’; hisutêrîkku ‘hysterical’, atorândamu ‘at random, random’ (atorândamu ni ‘randomly’ SA 2670.51a), sentimêntaru ‘sentimental’, ...

(6) Words made with the suffix -teki ‘-type, -ic, -ical’ (a Chinese loanmorph):


(6c) Attached to a Chinese reduplicated morpheme: daidai-teki ‘grand’.

(6d) Attached to native Japanese structures from various sources: heturai-teki na kotoba ‘a flattering word’; kotowaza-teki na monô ‘proverb-type things’; hanasikotoba-teki ‘colloquial, spoken-language type’; sakigake-teki na ayumi ‘a pioneering step’ (SA 2662.19e)—from saki [ni] kâke ‘run ahead’; “tukue no uê no kangaekâ”-teki de âru ‘is “armchair speculation”-ish’ (Y 136); Ikeda-teki na amari Ikeda-teki na Ookurâ-syoo ‘an Ikeda-type Finance Minister who is all too Ikeda-type’; ...

(6e) Attached to words borrowed in modern times from foreign languages (often English): Ameri-teki ‘(typically) American, American-type’, Huransu-teki ‘French-type, Frenchy’; insutanto-teki ‘instant-type’; karisuma-teki ‘charismatic’; Suparuta-teki ‘Spartan(-like)’ (R); Don-Hwan-teki zînbutu ‘Don Juan-type (donjuan-esque) characters’ (Tk 2.99b); konpyuuta-teki na yôoso ga âru ‘there are computer-like elements to it’ (SA 2793.44b); ...

(6f) Attached to a compound noun: ... hanahada taisyu-syoo-setu-teki de âru ga ... ‘it is very popular-novelish but ...’ (Tk 4.41); ...

(6g) Attached to a phrase containing an adnoun: dai ni-zi-teki na mondai ‘a secondary problem’, dai iti-zi-teki ni ‘primarily’; ...

With the optional ellipsis of ná, words that end in -teki will sometimes precede a noun directly, as if they were adnouns. These words are all atonic, so the minor juncture is usually suppressed; and when ná drops also, you may wonder whether what results is not

85. Both kansetu-teki na N and kansetu no N mean ‘indirect N’, but ‘direct N’ is only tyokusetu no N.
§ 13.5a. Adjectival nouns

a compound noun. But the accentuation of the noun stays firm, so you know that what you are hearing is a syntactic construction rather than a lexical compound: keizai-teki {na} mondai ‘economic problems’ (not *keizaiteki-mondai!). We are unable to tell from the accent alone, however, that an expression such as kokusai-teki {na} gimu ‘international obligation’ is not to be taken as a compound noun kokusaiteki {na} gimu, since gimu is prototonic to begin with; what decides the question is the parallelism with the clearcut examples. Notice that the optional ellipsis of na is possible before words of native and European origin as well as before Chinese loanwords: ... kono mati no ooki na keizaiteki sasaé(”) tō mo nattē iro ‘also forms the big economic support for this town’ (SA 2647.117d); ... goiron-teki tatibā no mondai ... ‘a problem from the lexicalological standpoint’. Nor does the source of the -teki word make any difference:

- Amerika-teki [na] sutairu/bunmei ‘American-type styles/civilization’;
- Huransu-teki [na] heusutairu ‘French-type hairstyle’;
- ideorogii-teki [na] soo ‘ideological differences’;
- haaoya-teki [na] aizyoo ‘mother(-type) love’;
- monogatari-teki gënzai ‘the “narrative” present’ (KgKbg 389.27b);
- Korya, amari danse-teki [na] sinri yai nai ga né.—Baasan-teki sinri da na ‘This isn’t a very masculine psychology, is it.—It’s old-ladyish psychology’ (Tk 3.39a). The expected juncture will resurface with conversions that expand the copula, such as focus, negativization, etc.: keizai-teki de/zya nai mondai-ten ‘non-economic points in question’. A pair of paratactively conjoined adjectival nouns can directly precede the modified noun: kisoteki zissai-teki kenkyuu ‘fundamental realistic research’ (Kaneda in Ôno 1967.280)—a raised dot separates the two adjectival nouns in the text, but the noun is not set off by punctuation; wā-ga kokumin no seisinteki bunka-teki kōseĩ(”) o sokonā ‘losing the spiritual and cultural individuality of our people’ (id. 279—no internal punctuation). In written Japanese you will sometimes see the literary copula in the attributive form naru and the negative attributive narazaru, which is usually preferred—for some reason—to the alternate form narau that is more common after pure nouns: keizai-teki naru mondai to keizai-teki narazaru mondai ‘problems that are economic and problems that are not economic’. Do not be dismayed to run across -teki NÔ in print; some find that form more congenial: ... itiziteki no dekigotō ‘a temporary event’ (Kaneda in Ôno 1967.301);
- zinsyuteki no henken ... ‘racial prejudice’ (Tk 2.113b); ... sono sensē wa ... sore wa zettai-teki no monō de aru ‘for that scholar ... it is something absolute’ (Ôno 1967.159);
- ... yappāri semon-teki no syūuren o tumanakya narānai kara né ‘since after all you gotta accumulate professional practice’ (Tk 4.286a). In Tk 2.156a in successive sentences the same speaker uses first syukan-teki NO mondai and then syukan-teki NA mondai ‘subjective question’. The adjectival noun hikaku-teki ‘comparative’ can be directly adverbialized in that ni is optional: hikaku-teki {ni} yooi ni (or: yasakiku) zikkoo sareru ‘is accomplished comparatively easily’, hikaku-teki {ni} honsituteki na mondai ‘a relatively essential question’ (Ishigaki Kenji 1). This may be due to the influence of the synonymous wariai {ni} ‘comparatively, rather’.

(7) Most of the adjectival nouns that end in the suffix -teki will form antonyms that are also adjectival nouns by attaching the prefix hi-. ‘un-, in-, not (being)’. These words remain atonic, since the atonicizing suffix -teki has used up the single option allowed to mark a compound by accentuation: hi-syakaiteki ‘antisocial’, hi-syakooteki ‘unsociable’, hi-eiseiteki ‘unhygienic’, hi-rionteki ‘illogical’, hi-minsyuteki ‘undemocratic’, hi-seisanteki
'unproductive', hi-yuugiteki 'unfriendly, unamicable', hi-genzituteki 'unrealistic, impractical', hi-rikkenteki 'unconstitutional', ... There are a few other adjectival nouns made by attaching *hi-* to a Chinese binom, such as hi-gōōhōo 'illegal'. But it is more common for *hi-* + NOUN to yield a noun: hi-kumiaiin 'a non-union member', hi-kōkumin 'a non-patriot, an unpatriotic person', hi-sentōōin 'a noncombatant', ... The verbal noun hiğunzi-ka(−) 'demilitarization' is derived from such a noun (hi-gūnzi), but the noun is used little (if at all) except in the derivative. There are perhaps a few precopular nouns made by attaching *hi-* to a noun, e.g. hi-tōosei 'uncontrolled'. Cf. §8.8.

Very recently, the suffix -tikku '−tic' has been detached from such foreignisms as ekuzō-tikku 'exotic', roman-tikku 'romantic', and dorama-tikku 'dramatic', and attached to non-foreign nouns as well: yakuza-tikku na ningen 'a gangsterish person' (SA 2677.153ab); Žūibun manga-tikku da 'It's very cartoonish' (SA 2677.153e). Nor do Japanese hesitate to create innovative foreignisms such as poru-no-tikku 'pornographic' (SA 2838.47a).

The negative prefix *hu- 'not' (§8.8) attaches to a number of elements to yield adjectival nouns:

(9a) To native Japanese words of various sorts: hu-tāsika 'uncertain', hu-tégateway 'clumsy', hu-tāme 'disadvantageous', hu-niai 'unbecoming', hu-mimotbi 'profligate'; hu-sidara 'slovenly' (cf. darasi-nāi); ... .

(9b) To free Chinese binoms that are mostly pure nouns (abstract): hu-kēizai 'uneconomical', hu-ninzyoō 'inhuman', hu-kēiki 'unprosperous, dismal', hu-kīritu 'disorderly', hu-kīnsi 'impudent', hu-tyūuzyitu 'disloyal', hu-tōkusaku 'inefficient', hu-kīryoo 'uncomely', hu-kīryoo2 'incompetent'; hu-nēssin 'unzealous', hu-syōooziki 'dishonest', hu-yūkai 'unpleasant'; hu-bēnkyoo 'unstudious'; hu-śimatu 'wasteful' (as abstract noun 'irregularity, misconduct'); ... .

(9c) To a number of single morphemes of Chinese origin, the resulting adjectival noun being best treated as a primitive lexical item: hūri 'disadvantageous', huan 'uneasy', hūben 'inconvenient', hūmei 'unjust', huyoo1 'useless', huyoo2 'waste', ... . Although most words made with the prefix *hu- are adjectival nouns, a few are pure nouns (abstract), e.g. hu-sānsei 'disapproval'; and some of the adjectival nouns listed above are also used as abstract nouns. There are also a number of precopular nouns that have *hu- attached: (a) to a nigoried native Japanese noun (derived from an infinitive): hu-zōroi 'uniform, scrappily'; (b) to a free Chinese binom: hu-gōōkaku 'disqualified', hu-kīnita 'unequal, uneven', (... ni) hu-ānnai 'unfamiliar (with), ignorant (of)'; (c) to a single morpheme of Chinese origin, with the resulting precopular noun best treated as a primitive lexical item: hūdoo 'unmovable', huyuu 'immortal, imperishable', huryoo 'inferior, delinquent', hūsin 'faithless'; hutei3 'rebelligious' (cf. hutei1 'uncertain', hutei2 'unchaste'—both adjectival nouns); ... .

(10) Most words with the prefix *mu- 'without, lacking, -less' (§8.8) appear to be precopular nouns, but there are a number of adjectival nouns that have *mu- attached:

(10a) To Chinese binoms that are mostly pure nouns (abstract): mu-kīōokī 'uneducated', mu-igi 'senseless', mu-imī 'meaningless', mu-zūosa 'artless', mu-sīnei 'insensible', mu-sēigen 'unrestricted, unlimited', ... .

(10b) To a single morpheme of Chinese origin, the resulting adjectival noun being best treated as a primitive lexical item: mūri 'unreasonable, excessive', muhoo
§ 13.5a. Adjectival nouns

Unlawful’, munoo ‘incompetent’, muboo ‘reckless’, mûyoku ‘free of avarice’, mûryoku ‘powerless; incompetent’, ...

To a native Japanese noun: mûkuti ‘taciturn’, ...

For examples of mu- forming precopular nouns, see § 13.8.

An alternate reading of bu- in the sense ‘not being’ is bu-1; an alternate reading of mu- ‘lacking’ is bu-2. (But, as noted below, the native orthography is unreliable on the historic identification.)

Bu-1 attaches to adjectival nouns to yield adjectival nouns: bu-tyûôoho ‘impolite; awkward; unaccustomed (to tobacco/liquor)’, bu-kiyoo ‘clumsy’, bu-iiki ‘unrefined’, ...

Bu-2 attaches to abstract nouns to yield adjectival nouns: bu-ênryô ‘unrestrained, unceremonious’, bu-sâhoo ‘ill-mannered’, bu-kîmî(‘) ‘uncanny’, bu-aisoo ‘unsociable’, bu-aisatsu ‘uncivil, impolite’, bu-hûryuu ‘inelegant’ (since hûryuu is also an adjectival noun this word is sometimes treated as having bu-1), ...

But there are a few words which are both abstract noun and adjectival noun, the result of attaching bu- to an abstract noun. This ought to be bu-2 (= mu-) ‘without’ but orthographic traditions are muddled and it appears to have become customary to write many of the words with the character for bu-1 (= hu-): bu-kîryô ‘(being) uncomely, (being) incompetent’, bu-yôôoîn ‘(being) unsafe’, bu-ôâiku ‘(being) clumsy’, bu-kakkoo = bu-zama(‘) ‘(being) unshapely, ungainly’, bu-ûtuke ‘(being) illbred’, ...

And bu-2 (though often written bu-1) attaches to a number of single morphemes of Chinese origin, mostly bound, to yield adjectival nouns that can for the most part also serve as abstract nouns; these are best treated as primitive lexical items: buzi ‘(being) safe, secure’, bukotu ‘(being) boorish’, burei ‘(being) rude’, buyôô ‘(being) indolent’, busuî(‘) ‘(being) unpolished’, bûryû ‘(being) tedious’, ...

Almost all words with the prefix mi- ‘not yet ( ...-en)’ (§ 8.8) are precopular nouns. The prefix typically attaches to a transitive verbal noun, and the object of the verbal noun becomes the subject of the precopular noun: mondai o kai ketu suru ‘solves the problem’ → mondai ga mi-kai ketu da ‘the problem is unsolved’; kenkyuu o kansei suru ‘completes the research’ → kenkyuu ga mi-kansei da ‘the research is incomplete’.

Other examples include mi-sôsiki ‘unorganized’, mi-kêiken ‘unexperienced’, mi-haitoo ‘undistributed’, ... . There is at least one intransitive verbal noun that takes mi-: heitai ga hukuîn suru ‘a soldier gets demobilized’ → heitai ga mi-hûkûiîn da ‘a soldier is demobilized’. And there is at least one pure noun—deriving, as it happens, from a Chinese verbal expression (’coming of age’): seinen ‘an adult’ underlies mi-seînen ‘(being) underage, minor’, a precopular noun. Mi- also attaches to single morphemes of Chinese origin, mostly bound in Japanese; the morphemes have a verbal meaning and will usually be found elsewhere as part of a free verbal noun. The resulting precopular nouns are best treated as primitive lexical items in Japanese: mikai ‘uncivilized’, mikana ‘unpublished’, mikana2 ‘incomplete’, miketu ‘undecided’, mikon ‘unmarried’, mîman ‘not exceeding’, mâîmei(‘) ni ‘(while) not yet light’, minoo ‘unpaid’, mîryû ‘unexecuted’, misai ‘unsettled (account)’, misetu ‘uninstalled’, misyoo ‘unidentified’, misui ‘unconsummated, attempted’, miti ‘unknown’, mityaku ‘unarrived’, mâizen ni ‘before anything happens’ (= mihatu), ...

A few such words are used as nouns: mirai ‘the future’, miren ‘lingering affection; cowardice’, ...

And mîzyûku(‘) ‘unripe’ is usually treated as an adjectival noun. Miboo-zîn ‘widow’ contains a bound noun ‘undeceased’; mîmon ‘unheard of’ appears only in the phrase zêndai mîmon ‘unprecedented’.
The categories of adjectival noun and precopular (or "quasi-adjectival") noun are not easy to keep apart. Where you would expect to hear AN na N you may instead find, especially in written Japanese, AN no N. The latter, somewhat stiffer, version appears to enjoy particular favor when the AN is a binom of Chinese origin modifying another Chinese binom and the two words are either optionally combinable into a compound noun (by dropping the copula nō/nā together with its juncture and applying the proper accentuation) or look as if they might easily so combine. But there are a number of examples where nā is replaced by nō under other circumstances, such as those given earlier for -teki and the following examples: Watasi wa tabako no hōo ga suki de, sake wa anmari suki NO hō de nāi ‘I rather like tobacco, but I’m not too fond of alcohol’ (Tk 2.250a); Hontoo ni Nihon ga o-suki no yōo ni kan-zimásita ‘I felt she [Helen Keller] really liked Japan’ (Tk 2.266a); Ōnaguku mo nakanaka o-suki no yōo desu nā ‘You appear to like music quite a lot, too’ (Tk 2.206a); ... o-suki no yōo da ‘you seem to like it’ (SA 2688.21b); ... māda, itaike(‘) no kōro, ... ‘when she was still quite young’ (Fn 247b); ... kōnniti no syakai-seikatu ni hu-kāketu no monō de, ... ‘is something indispensable to today’s social life’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.300). And in Tk 2.316 the same speaker within a few lines uses both musin NO kodomótāti and musin NA kodomótāti ‘innocent children’. As a result it is sometimes difficult for a speaker to decide how he would classify a given word. Apparently muboo1 ‘hatless’ is better treated as a precopular noun, since muboo1 no N is the only adnominalized form in use; but the homonymous muboo2 ‘reckless’ is an adjectival noun and usually adnominalizes as muboo2 na N, though muboo2 no N may also be found, especially if the N is a Chinese binom. Huyoo ‘useless’ and hu-hituyoo ‘unnecessary’ are like ‘reckless’ in preferring nā, but muyoo(‘) ‘needless’ is like ‘hatless’ in preferring nō. (Of these several words, only ‘reckless’ would appear to convert to the adverbial nī; the nī forms of the other words will occur only in the mutative conversions with naru/suru or the like, and that categorizes them as adverbial-lacking.) Kentoo-tigai na (kotó/kangée/hanasi) ‘mistaken (fact/idea/tale)’ is used as an adjectival noun, but it is also an intransitive verbal noun kentoo-tigai suru ‘guesses wrong’ and that, by propredication, could account for the adnominalization kentoo-tigai no N in Kenkyusha’s examples.

13.6. QUANTITY NOMINALS

A number of simple lexical items refer to quantities: takusan, ōoku, ámata ‘lots’; sukósí or syóosyoo ‘a little, a few’; sūbete, zēnbū, minnā ‘all’; hotóndo ‘almost all’; dai-būbun ‘most, the overwhelming majority’; tašúu ‘a large number, a majority’; syōosūu ‘a small number, a minority’; zyakkan ‘a certain number/amount, some’, ... . There are also words we will call NUMBERS, which can be thought of as consisting of two parts: a NUMERAL and a COUNTER. By “numeral” we refer not only to the basic morphemes for the digits (such as itī 1, nī 2, san 3, sì or yōn 4, gō(‘) 5, roku 6, siti or nāná 7, háhí 8, kyūū or kū(‘) 9, zyūū 10) and higher figures (such as those made with digit + -zyūu for the tens, + -hyaku for the hundreds, + -sen for the thousands, + -man for the ten-thousands, + -oku for the hundred-millions), the words for ‘zero’ (réi,86 zéro, maru) and ‘half’ (hān— as in han-kānen ‘half a

86. As in kú-zí reiréi-hun ‘9:00 o’clock’.
§13.6. Quantity nominals

A number of the restrictives (§2.4) function to quantify, in a rough manner, ordinary nouns as well as numbers—notably "gurai 'at least, as much as', hodô 'to the full extent of, (not) so much as', 'dake 'only; exactly', 'bakari 'only; approximately'. (From the viewpoint of "logical quantification" such focus particles as mó, sâe, and sika are also used to quantify.) The phrases that result from applying these restrictives can freely function as quantity nominals; they commonly turn up as adverbal or adnominal, though they can be used as pure nouns followed by such case markers as ga and ô.

The numerals in Japanese are free words only when counting off or in the technical formulas of arithmetic or as "names" for the numerals or the characters that represent them, as in giving scores such as San 'tai ni de katta 'We won by three to two'. (On the quasi-restrictive 'tai 'versus', see p. 124.)

There are two underlying systems of numerals, one native and the other borrowed from Chinese; counters of native origin will typically prefer the numerals of the native system. (A still newer system, borrowed from English, is limited to certain modern contexts such as sports, where you will hear wân, tûu, sûrii ... 'one, two, three ...' etc. We will ignore that system here.) With a few lexical exceptions, the native system is now used only up to '10'; above '10' even those counters which prefer the native numerals must use the Chinese set. The entire set of ten native numerals (hitô- 1, hutâ- 2, mi- 3, yo- 4, itu- 5, mu- 6, nana- 7, 8)

87. The "and so on" includes ..., yô 'more than, (somewhat) over ...', a cover term for the numerals one to ten in higher figures: ..., kyûûzyûu yô ni oyonde iru 'amounts to over 90 of them' (Tk 3.52). (On "yô 'more than' see p. 134, §2.4.) Decimal fractions are read with 'ten 'point' attached to the whole number and the numerals after the decimal point are read in compound groups of two, with the accent on the second member and lengthening of the vowel in the one-mora numerals ni and gô("") when they appear last: sanzyûu san 'ten (= san-ten) san-ji-ni-yôn gôô '33.32145'. Everyday fractions are said as DENOMINATOR 'bun no NUMERATOR: ni 'bun no istic 'one half', ('hah-bun 'half'), san 'bun no ni 'two thirds', si 'bun no san (or yôn 'bun no san) 'three fourths', siti 'bun no yôn (seldom siti or nana 'bun no yôn 'four sevenths', kyûû 'bun no ni ' two ninths', zyûû 'bun no siti (or nana) 'seven tenths'. The numeral attaches directly to a counter: san 'bun no ip-pai 'one third of a cupful'). For other uses of 'bun see §2.4. (Cf. Hirayama 1960.897, BJ 2.336.)

88. Do not confuse nân- (= iku-) with nân 'what', a word optionally (but in speech usually) shortened to nân when followed in the same basic phrase with a word that begins with d, t, n, or (occasionally) s, z, or r. Uncontracted nân- is used with a variety of words, mostly free nouns, in asking 'what': nân-dâ-gaku 'what university', nân-sinbun 'what newspaper'; nân-iro 'what color' (= dônna iro), nân-zin 'what nationality', nân-bai 'what brand', nân-mai 'what town', ... (Regular compound-noun accentuation.) Iku-zi for nân-zi 'what o'clock, what time' seems to be a Tôkyô expression; but other uses of iku- ... for nân- ... are widespread throughout the country.

89. Above 'eleven', as explained below, the primary set of numerals—borrowed from Chinese, but with non-Chinese yôn '4' and nana '7'—is often substituting for si and siti—are used alone to represent numbers with the underlying structure NUMERAL +-î (a general counter and a counter for years of age): nizyûû go 'twenty-five (things, or years old)'. A different way of looking at this is to forget about the historical morpheme -î and say that numbers such as hitôrô, hutató, ..., tôô, zyûûi, ..., nizyûû go, ..., etc.) are basic "cardinal" numbers, used whenever you do not wish to make a more specific reference; the forms hitô-, hutô-, etc., can then be treated as truncated allomorphs of the numbers, functioning as numerals. This gets us around the problem of accounting for the fact that tòô 'ten' does not include the counter -î in its form.

90. Among the counters taking the "Chinese" set of numerals we find several that are of native origin: -wari 'ten-percents', -wa (also -pa, -ba) 'birds', -hiki 'nonhuman animals (animals, fish, insects)'. And -ban 'nights' is of Chinese origin but takes the native numerals.
ya-8, kokono-9, and to- or too-10) are appropriate with the general counter -tu, but the
counter itself is omitted with 'ten' and it normally doubles its initial consonant with one-
syllable numerals so that the resulting forms are hito-tu, huta-tu, mi-tu, yo-tu, itu-tu, mu-
tu, nana-tu, ya-tu, kokono-tu, and tóo. With more specific counters that call for the
native numerals—such as -kumi 'sets', -ma 'rooms', -kire 'slices, strips'—some speakers feel
uncomfortable beyond a certain point (perhaps '4', perhaps '5', perhaps '7') and will
either switch to Chinese numerals (go-hako for itu-hako 'five boxfuls') or avoid the prob-
lem in some other way, such as substituting the general counter -tu (itú-tu for itu-hako).
The general counter is also used to count years of age, equivalent to the more formal
counter 'sá used with the Chinese numerals; §13 'iku-tu means 'how many' or (= nán-sái)
'how many years old' (in both meanings the honorific form is o-ikutu), kokono-tu
means 'nine (things)' or 'nine years old', tóo means 'ten (things)' or 'ten years old', and
zyuuítu means 'eleven (things)' or 'eleven years old', etc. But nízyuu will usually mean
only 'twenty (things)' because there is a special word for 'twenty years old'—háttati, a
remnant of the earlier system of counting. In asking 'how many' you can either use
nán- (or iku-) attached to the specific counter, or you can use the general iku-tu; you
will choose to be specific when expecting a particular counter in the reply. Êku-ra
(honorific o-ikura) is a word which asks 'how much' (quantity or price), to be answered
with the appropriate measure; the somewhat literary synonym nánfif-ra is now
little used except as an indefinite '(not) any, some'. Notice that -ra in these words is NOT the col-
lectivizer rå of §2.7, though they are probably identical in origin.
There are a good many complications in putting together the proper shapes of numeral
and counter. These are described in considerable detail in the textbooks; here I will only
call your attention to certain features that are not obvious from readily available sources.
The counters are rather like quasi-restrictives in being somewhat free syntactically, yet
very much bound phonologically to the immediately preceding numeral. Though the
counter is firmly stuck onto that numeral, its domain often covers a long numerical phrase,
with junctures separating the elements. The numbers from eleven to nineteen are best
treated as single words even though they are made up of the numeral '10' suffixed by the
numerals '1' to '9': zyuuitu 11, zyuuní 12, zyuúsan 13, zyuuyóon or zyuusí 14, zyuúgo 15,
zyuurokú 16, zyuunána or zyuusíti 17, zyuúhati 18, zyuúku (occasionally zyuukyúuû) 19.
The "tens" are made up in the opposite way, with the smaller numerals prefixed to the
following '10', and they too are best treated as single words: nízyuu 20, sánzyuu 30,
yónya (or sízyuuû) 40, gozyuu 50, rokuyúu 60, nanázyuu (or sitizyuuû) 70, hatizyuu 80,
kyúúzyuu (ocasionally kuyúûû) 90; súu-zyuu 'several tens'. This is because the teens

91. Hyakusá 'one hundred years old' is irregularly accentuated; but it is more natural to say hyaku.
92. Ages can be counted in months and, on occasion, even in weeks: rok-kágéttu is-syùukan desu
'is six months and one week old'. (For animals, shorter spans can be counted: hutuka no ko-néoko 'a
two-day old kitten'. The usual way to express the age of infants is exemplified by Kyóó de hutuka/ní-
syùukan desu 'Today is its second day/week.' From hitó-tu 'han 'one and a half' to kokónotu 'han
'nine and a half' it is possible to use 'and a half'; for higher ages you can only add the 'half' by chos-
ing the more formal structure with sai: nízí-sái rok-kágéttu is the way to say 'twenty and a half years
old'; not 'háttati 'han. To say 'over (an age)' you add 'sugi: háttati 'sugi 'over/past twenty'. The
antonym is 'míman: háttati 'míman 'under twenty'.
93. There are also "approximate numbers" that are compounds of two successive tens; these have
fixed shapes that do not permit the variants yon- for si- or nana- for siti-. ni-sízyuuû '20 or 30', san-
sízyuu '30 or 40', si-gózyuuû '40 or 50', go-rokuzyuuû '50 or 60', rokú-sízyuuû '60 or 70', siti-hatizyuu

§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words
§ 13.6. Quantity nominals

and the tens function as single phrase units in larger structures, with underlying junctures which preserve the basic accentuations. The same sort of thing is true of the HUNDREDS (hyakū or ippyakū 100, nihyakū 200, sānyaku 300, yōnyaku [rarely sihyakū] 400, gohyakū 500, roppya ku 600, nanāhyakū [rarely sitihyakū] 700, happyaku 800, kyūyaku 900), of the THOUSANDS (sēn94 or issēn 1000, sanmān 3000, yōn-sei sen 2000, san-ni sen 5000, go-sei sen 5000, roppya ku 6000, nanas-en [rarely sitis-en] 7000, hati-zu-yu-u-en 8000, kyūyaku 9000), and of the TEN-THOUSANDS (itūmān 10 000, nimān 20 000, sanmān 30 000, yōnymān 40 000, gōmān 50 000, rokus-en 50 000, nanāmān or sītūmān 70 000, hatimān 80 000, kyūyaku 90 000). From zu-yu-u-en 100 000 to hyakumān 'a million' the numbers use -zyu-yu-u-en as if a counter: ni-zyu-yu-u-en 200 000, sān-zyu-yu-u-en 300 000, yōn-zyu-yu-u-en or si-zyu-yu-u-en 400 000, go-zyu-yu-u-en 500 000, roku-zyu-yu-u-en 600 000, siti-zyu-yu-u-en or nā-n-zyu-yu-u-en 700 000, hā-zyu-yu-u-en 800 000, kyū-zyu-yu-u-en 900 000. And similarly with -hyaku-mān for the millions, -sēn-mān for the ten millions (sān-zēn-mān ‘thirty million’). Hundred millions are counted with -oku, American-count billions with -zyuu-oku (a hundred million is ōku or iti-oku, a thousand million = a billion is zu-yu-u-oku), American-count trillions with ‘tyōo (a trillion is tyōo or iti-tyōo). Each of these higher “counter”-like numbers can be preceded by nān- or īku- ‘how many (hundreds, thousands, etc.)’ and by sūu- ‘several (hundreds, thousands, etc.)’: nān-īku-hyaku ‘how many hundreds’, nān-zēn or īku-sēn ‘how many thousands’, nān-mān or īku-mān ‘how many tens of thousands’; sūu-hyaku ‘several hundred’, sūu-sēn ‘several thousands’, sūu-mān ‘several tens of thousands’. The accentuation of some of these compounds fluctuates; the newer pattern prefers the accent on nān- and sūu-. When one of the tens (or hundreds, or thousands, etc.) is followed by a digit from one to nine, the appropriate numeral is set off by an underlying juncture, and the numeral will form a single word with whatever counter may be stuck onto it. Should you ever want to count 33 333 pencils, you will use the expression san-mān san-zēn sān-zyaku sān-bon, the counter -bon (here in the shape -bon) making a single phonological word with only the last element in the long numerical phrase. Numbers can be followed by various restrictives and quasi-restrictives which attach to the last word in the expression; notice in particular ‘hān ‘and a half’ and the ordinalizer ‘mē ‘...-th’ as in sanmān san-zēn sān-bon mē (= sanbon-mē) no enpitu ‘the thirty-three thousand three hundred and third pencil’. In referring to numbers themselves you use the counter -ban ‘number (in a series)’, so that the ordinal for san-ban ‘number 3’ is san-ban mē = sanban-mē ‘the third (number)’; cf. mītu-mē = mītutē ‘the third one/thing’. For ‘first’, in place of hitō-tu ‘mē (nō N) etc., it is quite common to use hāzime (nō N) ‘the beginning (N)’. The quasi adnoun dāi (§ 13.5) makes an ordinal that is more formal: dāi (-) ni = dāi nī-ban ‘mē ‘second’. (Tugi no ...

The unhappy distinction between the primary set of numerals (those borrowed from 70 or 80’, hak-ku-yu-u ‘80 or 90’. Apparently these are usually treated as atomic when used as numbers alone; as numerals they attach counters with the same shape changes as the simple tens (e.g. ni-sanzippon), but often treat the result as atomic: san-zu-yu-u-mai ‘30 (sheets)’ but ni-san-zu-yu-u-mai ‘20 or 30 (sheets)’. 94. The accent on sēn is often suppressed (along with the following juncture) when it is the first element in a longer numerical expression: Sēn nihyaku-en desita ‘It was ¥ 1200’ (BJ 1.28.16) = Sēn nihyaku-en desita.
(1) It is now so common to substitute yon for si ‘four’ and nana (naná-) for siti ‘seven’ that these can be considered part of the primary set of numerals. When attached to counters that begin with a voiced sound, yon often (but not always) drops the final -n: yó-en ‘4 yen’, yo-nen ‘4 years’, yo-nin ‘4 people’, yo-ninmae ‘4 portions’, yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’ (also ‘4 letters’), yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yo-zyóó ‘4-mat (size)’, yó-ri ‘4 leagues’; yon-bai or yo-bai ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yón-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’. But si- will never be heard with most of the common counters: yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’, yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yó-nun ‘4 punts’, yon-bái or yo-bái ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yó-n-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’. But si- will never be heard with most of the common counters: yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’, yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yó-nun ‘4 punts’, yon-bái or yo-bái ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yó-n-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’. But si- will never be heard with most of the common counters: yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’, yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yó-nun ‘4 punts’, yon-bái or yo-bái ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yó-n-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’. But si- will never be heard with most of the common counters: yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’, yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yó-nun ‘4 punts’, yon-bái or yo-bái ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yó-n-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’. But si- will never be heard with most of the common counters: yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’, yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yó-nun ‘4 punts’, yon-bái or yo-bái ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yó-n-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’. But si- will never be heard with most of the common counters: yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’, yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yó-nun ‘4 punts’, yon-bái or yo-bái ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yó-n-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’. But si- will never be heard with most of the common counters: yó-zi ‘4 o’clock’, yo-zíkan ‘4 hours’, yó-nun ‘4 punts’, yon-bái or yo-bái ‘4 times (as much)’, yón-mai or yo-mai ‘4 sheets’, yón-do or yo-dó ‘4 times’ (also ‘4 degrees’), yó-n-ban or yo-ban ‘number 4’, yón-dai or yo-dai ‘4 vehicles’. Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with si- and siti-: sigá’tu ‘April’, sitigá’tu ‘July’; si-go- ‘four or five’, roku-siti- ‘six or seven’, siti-hati- ‘seven or eight’.

(2) The numeral for ‘9’ is ku(-) but it is usually pronounced kyuu. In the higher combinations you will usually hear only kyuu: kyuuzyuu ‘90’, kyuuhyaku ‘900’, kyuuja ‘9000’, kyuujaun ‘90000’. Yet certain fixed expressions occur only with ku-: kugatu ‘September’, kú-zi ‘9 o’clock’ (but either ku-zíkan or kyuu-zíkan ‘9 hours’), hak-ku: ‘8 or 9’ (there is no similar form for ‘9 or 10’, which can only be said periphrastically). ‘Nineteen years old’ is usually said as zyuusi (rather than zyuusyuu) and zyuusyuu-sai (rather than ‘zyuusai-sai’), but ‘seventeen years old’ is either zyuusitü or zyuunana and zyuusitü-sai or zyuunana-sai; similar habits prevail for ‘24, 34, ...’ and ‘27, 37, ...’.

(3) Under certain circumstances (e.g. stock-market quotations) you will sometimes hear huta- substituting for ni- ‘two’: huta-má ‘two or three’; huta-sen ‘40’. 95. We hit on only the high points; more data will be found in 96-9 of the supplement to NHK, 891-906 of H, and 56-61 of the supplement to Dictionary of Basic Japanese Usage for Foreigners. Despite this array of useful information, we lack an explicit and comprehensive survey of the variant forms as actually used today. 96. For clarity, people will occasionally substitute yôn- even where yo- is the norm: yon-nen, etc. 97. Also zyuusen: ‘14 or 15’, zyuuroku-siti ‘16 or 17’, zyuusen-si-hati ‘17 or 18’, zyuuhak-ku ‘18 or 19’. The expression san-yokkal ‘3 or 4 days’ is exceptional, as are zyuusan-yokka ‘13 or 14 days’ and zyuusan-si-ha ‘23 or 24 days’; cf. ni-sanntë ‘2 or 3 days’, si-goniti ‘4 or 5 days’, go-rokuni ‘7 or 6 days’, roku-sititë ‘6 or 7 days’, siti-hatitë ‘7 or 8 days’, hak-kuniti ‘8 or 9 days’. Notice that ‘4 (pencils)’ is yon-hon, never ‘si-hon, but ‘3 or 4 (pencils)’ is san-sihon, never ‘san-yonhon. You can assume that ‘3 or 4’ is san-si- except in these words: san-yobai ‘3 or 4 times’, san-yoen ‘3 or 4 yen’, san-yoman ‘thirty or forty thousand’, san-yonin ‘3 or 4 people’, san-yoninmae ‘3 or 4 portions’, san-yózi ‘3 or 4 o’clock’, and san-yózíkan ‘3 or 4 hours’. Observe the following approximate numbers in the higher sets: ni-sanbyaku ‘two or three hundred’, san-si-hyaku ‘three or four hundred’, si-ho-gyaku ‘four or five hundred’, go-roppya ‘five or six hundred’, roku-si-hyaku ‘six or seven hundred’, siti-happyaku ‘seven or eight hundred’, hak-kugaku ‘eight or nine hundred’; ni-sanzen ‘2-3000’, san-sisen ‘3-4000’, si-gosen ‘4-5000’, go-rokusan ‘5-6000’, roku-sitisen ‘6-7000’, siti-hassen ‘7-8000’, hak-kusen ‘8-9000’; and so on, with ...-yo(n)- and ...-nana- never used. (We choose to write the hyphen after the first numeral because of the phonetic changes that obtain between the second and the counter.) Notice also san-sizyu ‘30 or 40’, si-go-zyuu ‘40 or 50’.
(4) In reciting the last part of a telephone number 'ten' may be said either zyuu-ban or tōo-ban; 'two' is either ni-ban or hutā-ban. Cf. BJ 1.195-6.

(5) As a rule, iti- '1' and hati- '8' (but never siti- '7') will lose the final vowel and assimilate to a following voiceless consonant (ik-kagetu, hak-kagetu; zis-senti, has-sentii); zyuu- '10' will reduce to ziC- (or zyuC-) under similar circumstances (zik-kagetu or zyuk-kagetu; zis-sentii or zyuC-sentii); roku- '6' and hyaku- '100' will reduce to roC- and hyaC-before k- or p- (which is often a reflex of h-): rok-kagetu, rōp-pun, hyāp-pun. But before certain counters the full forms are often heard: iti-kiro or ik-kiro 'one kilo', hati-paasento or hap-paasento '8 percent', zyuus-sisii or zis-sisii (or zyuC-sisii) '10 cc's', zyuuti-pondo or zyuuip-pondo '11 pounds', hati-syase or has-syase '1100s', hyaku-paasento or hyap-paasento 'one hundred percent', hyaku-pēzei or hyap-pēzei '100 pages, page 100'. The preceding remarks about iti-, hati-, roku-, and hyaku-will also apply to zyuui- '11', zyuuhati- '18', zyuuroku- '16', and the hundreds (nihyaku- '200', sanbyaku- '300', ...).

(6) Counters which begin with h- generally have an initial p- when not immediately preceded by a vowel (or juncture): ni-hun '2 minutes' but sān-pun '3 minutes', yōn-pun '4 minutes', rōp-pun '6 minutes', zip-pun (or zyū-pun) '10 minutes'. But after yon- '4', the following counters retain h-: hon 'slender objects' (yōn-hon), hiki 'animals' (yōn-hiki), hyō 'votes' (yōn-hyō), haku 'overnights' (yōn-haku), ...; cf. yōn-hyaku '400'.

(7) After nān- 'how many', san- 'three', sen- 'thousand', man- 'ten thousand' (but never after yon- 'four') certain counters will replace their voiceless initials with voiced counterparts: -kai 'stories, floors' (san-gai '3rd floor'—cf. san-kai '3rd time'), -ken 'buildings' (sān-gen '3 buildings'); -hon 'slender objects' (sān-bon '3 slender objects'), -hai 'cupfuls' (sān-bai '3 cupfuls'), -hiki 'animals' (sān-biki '3 animals'), -hen 'times' (san-bēn '3 times'); -soku 'paired footgear' (sān-zoku '3 pairs'), -syaku 'unit of measure' (sān-zyaku '3 shaku'), ....

(8) People and days are counted in a somewhat irregular fashion. PEOPLE are counted with 'nin', but hitotōri and hutōri take the place of iti-nin 'one person' and ni-nin 'two persons', respectively, except in fixed compounds or when part of a larger number: zyuuiti-nin '11 people', zyuuni-nin '12 people', nīzyuu iti-nin '21 people', nīzyuu ni-nin '22 people', hyaku iti-nin '101 people', hyaku ni-nin '102 people'. The basic count for people includes 3 san-nin, 4 yo-nin (or old-fashioned yottari), 5 go-nin, 6 roku-nin, 7 siti-nin (less commonly nanā-nin), 8 hati-nin, 9 kyūu-nin (less commonly ku-nin), 10 zyuunin; 100 hyakunin; 1000 sēn-nin( ), 10 000 mān-nin( ). By hundreds people are counted 100 hyaku-nin, 200 nihyaku-nin, 300 sānbayaku-nin, 400 yōnhakunin, 500 gōhyakunin, 600 roppayaku-nin, 700 nānyakukunin (or sīthyakukunin), 800 happyakukunin, 900 kyuhyakunin. For the thousands and higher round numbers, an atonic accentuation is recommended: hassen-nin '8000 people', zyuuman-nin '100 000 people'; cf. sanman-mai '30 000 sheets'. 'How many people' is nān-nin or iku-nin; 'several people' is sūu-nin( ).

98. But sometimes also hati-kagetsu, though you will apparently never hear *iti-kagetsu for ik-kagetsu. Both hāp-pun and hati-hon are used for '8 slender objects' (as noted in BJ 1.62). NHK 1962 recommends that announcers use hati-before -hiki, -hon, and -kai ('times'); K lists hati-hon and hati-kai, also hati-kai '8th floor'.

99. But both nān-gai( ) and nān-kai( ) are reported for 'how many floors, which floor'; K lists only the atonic version, H gives both.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

'Several hundred people' is suūhyakū-nin, 'several thousand people' is suusen-nin, 'several tens of thousands of people' is suuman-nin. DAYS are counted by attaching -niti\textsuperscript{100} to the appropriate primary numerals, but from 2 through 10 the counter -ka is attached to the native numerals, with a few irregularities of shape: 2 hutu-ka, 3 mi-ka, 4 yo-ka, 5 itu-ká( ), 6 mui-ka, 7 nano-ká( ) or nanu-ka( ), 8 yoo-ka, 9 kokono-ká( ), 10 too-ka. Of the higher numbers only those with ‘...4’ obligatorily preserve the -ka form:\textsuperscript{101} 11 zyuuiti-niti, 12 zyuuuni-niti, 13 zyūusān-niti, 14 zyuuyoo-ka, 15 zyuugo-niti, 16 yuuroku-niti, 17 zyuusiti-niti, 18 zyuuhati-niti, 19 zyuukū-niti; 21 nīzyuu-i-ni-ti, 22 nīzyuu ni-ni-ti, 23 nīzyuu sān-ni-ti, 24 nīzyuu yo-ka, 25 nīzyuu go-ni-ti, 26 nīzyuu roku-ni-ti, 27 nīzyuu siti-niti, 28 nīzyuu hati-niti, 29 nīzyuu kū-ki-ti, 30 sānzyu-uni-niti, 31 sānzyu-uni-ki-ti, ... ‘34 days’ is sānzyu-uni-ki-ka, ‘104 days’ is hyaku\textsuperscript{[r]} yo-ka, ‘114 days’ is hyaku\textsuperscript{[r]} zyuuyoo-ka, and so on. From 2 through 31 the day count is also used to name the days of the month (and, formerly at least, the days of the year) and above 31 the day count is (or was) sometimes used to name the day of the year, so that nān-niti (or iku-niti) means both ‘how many days’ and ‘which day of the month (or year)’; but nowadays iti-niti usually means only ‘one day’, the first of the month being designated by tuitati—a word derived from the expression tu[k]i[ ]gata ‘the moon rises’, though sometimes the word iti zituki (etymologically identical with iti-niti) is used, and in older texts or in dialects you may run across iti-niti with that meaning, too. There is a special word for ‘20 days’ or ‘20th of the month/year’, hatu-ka. For numbers above 100 you may find zyuu-niti and nīzyuu-niti used as a less common option, in COUNTING only: sānbyaku zyuu-niti ‘310 days’, sānbyaku \{to\} too-ka ‘310 days’ or ‘310th day’; sānbyaku nīzyuu-niti ‘320 days’, sānbyaku \{to\} hatu-ka ‘320 days’ or ‘320th day’. (The expression nīhyakū\textsuperscript{[l]} too-ka ‘210th day of the year’ is used as an idiomatic reference to the yearly typhoon expected around that time.)

The accentuation of numeral-counter compounds is difficult to describe, to say nothing of master, for there are many odd irregularities and variant patterns. (The description in Martin 1952 has largely been superseded by the material in Hirayama 1960 and in NHK 1966. If you learn the principal pattern types, paying special attention to the counters in most common use, you can probably finesse unexpected combinations without embarrassment.)

Counters of three or more syllables generally carry the accent on the third syllable from the end, regardless of the numeral to which they are attached:\textsuperscript{102} -gūramu ‘grams’, -k loro-gūramu ‘kilograms’, -rirrōtoru ‘liters’, -kage-tu ‘months’, -syuukan ‘weeks’, -peizi ‘pages’, etc. A few counters consistently make atonic numbers: -bai ‘times (as much)’, -kai ‘floor, story’, -soo ‘layer’, -ryuu ‘weeks’, -tori ‘ways’, .... A large number of the shorter counters will put the accent on the preceding syllable, the last syllable of the

100. In rapid speech this is often reduced to -niti or, after n, just -ti: ni-sān\{n\}i-\{t\}i ‘two or three days’.

101. And similarly dāi ni-niti ‘2d day’ (= hutu-ka ‘mē’), dāi sān-niti ‘3d day’ (= mi-ka ‘mē’), and so on, but dāi yo-ka ‘4th day’. For ‘1st day’ there is a special word syoniti.

102. But those derived from verb infinitives will usually be preaccentuated, regardless of the length: hitō-nigiru ‘one (hand-grasped thing)’, hitō-katazuke ‘one tidying’: Dāre ka sake [o] kai ni hitō-pasiru (= hitō-hasiru) itte kite kurenēe ka ‘Won’t somebody go (run the errand to) buy some rice wine for us? ’ (Okitsu 1.348). (For some reason hitō-katamari ‘one (lump)’ has two variant patterns.) And longer native counters that are not infinitives also seem to be preaccentuated: hitō-kusari ‘a chain, a section of a sequence’—as in ... mandan o hitō-kusari hazimeru ga ‘... he starts a section (a bit) of his comic patter’ (SA 2664.52c) and utā o hitō-kusari utau ‘sings a song’ (Kenkyusha).
§13.6. Quantity nominals


The counter -zyóo ‘mat(-sized area)’ consistently maintains its own accent, regardless of the numeral to which it attaches. Various other counters are peculiar in maintaining their accents after some but not all numerals; typically, for them, the accent shifts back when the numeral ends in n (sán-, yón-) or a long vowel (kyúu-), but we find a fair amount of inconsistency and variation. Following one set of data, we discover mixed patterns such as these:

(1) -kái ‘times’ but ‘kai after yón- 4, naná- 7, kyúú- 9, nán-, and numbers above 10.
(2) -dó ‘times’ after 1, 2, and 5 (iti-dó, ni-dó, go-dó) but ‘do elsewhere (except yó-dó = yón-dó).
(3) -satu ‘bound volumes’ after 1, 6, 7, 8, 10 (is-satu, roku-satu, nana-satu, has-satú, zis-satú) but ‘satu elsewhere.
(5) -kyókú ‘tunes’ after 1, 6, 8, 10 (ik-kyókú, rok-kyókú, hák-kyókú, zik-kyókú) but ‘kyókú nowhere.
(6) -sún ‘inches’ but ‘sun after 3 (sán-zun), 4 (yón-sun), 7 (naná-sun), 9 (kyúú-sun), nán- (nán-zún), and numbers above 10.
(7) -sén ‘sen, cents’ but ‘sén after 4 (yón-sen), 9 (kyúú-sen), nán- (nán-sén), and numbers above 10.

The counter for YEN tends to be preaccentuated (...-en) but the following numbers are atonic:


103. But 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8 are preaccentuated when the last part of a numerical phrase: nizyú-

The counter for YEARS is preaccentuated ‘nen everywhere except after 3, 4, 5, and 9, where it is atonicizing -nen: san-nen, yo-nen, go-nen, ku-nen (but also kyûu-nen). Traditionally the even thousands and ten-thousands are also atonic but newer usage allows sennen and mân-nen as well as sen-nen and man-nen. ‘Several years’ is sûu-nen(－), the newer usage favoring the tonic version. ‘How many years’ is nan-nen (or iku-nen); ‘how many hundreds of years’ is nânbyakû-nen, ‘how many thousands of years’ nanzen-nen, and ‘how many tens of thousands of years’ is nanman-nen. The accent is on the numeral in zyûuyo-nen ‘14 years’, zyûugo-nen ‘15 years’, and zyûuku-nen ‘19 years’ (but also zyûukyûû-nen); ‘13 years’, however, is zyûusân-nen. For ‘one half year’ there is a special word han-tosi. Centuries are counted hyakû-nen, nihyakû-nen, sânbyakû-nen, yônhyakû-nen, gohyakû-nen, roppakû-nen, nanahyakû-nen, happyakû-nen, kyûûhyakû-nen.

A couple of other points about accentuation. Although younger speakers seem to treat in the same way all numbers made by attaching a numeral to a preaccentuated counter (such as ‘mai or ‘sai), for many of the older speakers the accent of the numerals nîzyuu ‘20’, sânzyuu ‘30’, yônzyuu ‘40’, nanâzyuu ‘70’, and kyûûzyuu ‘90’ will dominate the accent of the normally preaccentuated counters (either obligatorily or optionally) when the numeral appears in its reduced form...zîq or...zyuq as in nîzîs-sai (nîzyû-sai) ‘20 years of age’ and sânzîp-pun ‘30 minutes’ but not when it appears in its full form, as in nîzyû-mai ‘20 sheets (of paper)’; other speakers will allow the accent of the numeral to dominate even in the full-form compounds, and so we will write nîzyû-mai ‘20 sheets of paper’, sânzyû-nen ‘30 years’, yônzyû-byoo ‘40 seconds’, nanâzyû-doru ‘70 dollars’, and kyûûzyû-nin ‘90 people’. There is usually an accent on nâm ‘how many, which’ before shorter counters; exceptions are nan-bai ‘how many multiples’ (cf. nân-bai ‘how many cupfuls’), nan-oki ‘what hour’, nân-kai(－) or nân-gai(－) ‘how many floors, what floor’ (only atonic in K), nân-zên ‘how many thousands’, nân-mân ‘how many tens of thousands’, nan-zyû ‘what mat-size’. Longer counters retain their accents: nan-kâgetu, nan-käzo, nan-kânen, nan-zikan, nan-bânti, nan-gûramu, ... . Notice also nânzyûu-en/-nen/-nin; nânbyakû-en/-nen/-nin; nanzen-en/-nen/-nin; nanman-en/-nen/-nin. A highlighted singular number often has its accent suppressed when followed by a negative: hitotô mo nai ‘lacks even one’, ifi-mai mo minai ‘doesn’t see a single sheet’.

When writing go-rokusai ‘5 or 6 years old’ in the usual orthography it is common to put a comma between the juxtaposed Chinese numerals for 5 and 6, so that they will not be misread as gozyûû roku-sai ‘56 years old’ (cf. the comparable use of the hyphen in ‘5-6 years’), for it is quite common to juxtapose Chinese numerals as if they were Arabic figures: Nihon-Rinsyoo no 68-nen (= rokuzyûû hatsi-nen) gogatû-goo ni, de aru ‘It is in the May ‘68 issue of Japan Physicist’ (SA 2679.138a—the comma before the copula is purely visual, hence the suppression of accent on aru).

Unexpected abbreviations are occasionally encountered, as in Kyôôen no zyûû, zyuûitagô... = Kyôôen no zyuugatû, zyuûitagû, ... ‘October and November of last year ...’. And you may now and then see an odd ellipsis such as this: sigatû nîzyûu yokka, nîzyûu go-... ryûo-zitu ‘the two days of the 24th and the 25th of April’ (SA 2679.19a).

Some numbers contain a complete reference within themselves. For example, there
are those in which the noun being counted serves as the counter: huta-iró ‘two colors’, ní-zi ‘two characters (letters)’, go-kákoku ‘five countries’, suu-kásyo ‘several places’, hitó-natu o kurasita ‘spent a summer’, ... 104 And then there are measures of certain abstract entities, such as money (hyaku-en ‘a hundred yen’, gozyúu-doru ‘fifty dollars’) or time (san-zikan ‘three hours’, zyúu-byoo ‘10 seconds’) or linearity (zyúu-méétoru ‘10 meters—high, long, distant’). There are “ordinal counters” such as zí ‘o'clock’, -kái ‘...-th floor’, zái ‘year of age’, -gátú ‘...-th month (of the year—as a name)’, -pëézi ‘...-th page’, -too ‘...-th grade/class’, -gakúnen ‘...-th year of school’, etc.; these are rather like names, designating particular entities in a series. And the quasi-restrictive -mé can be added to virtually any of the other kinds of numbers to make ordinal versions.

Counters which count something outside themselves are either MEASURES or UNIT COUNTERS (sometimes called classifiers). Measures include CONTAINER measures (hitó-hako ‘a boxful’, ni-hái ‘two cupfuls’,105 ...) and ARBITRARY measures of weight (hyaku-gúramu ‘a hundred grams’) or volume (iti-ríttoru ‘one liter’) or the like.

Unit counters or “classifiers” have been divided into three types: taxonomy-specific, shape, and process. The taxonomy-specific classifiers refer to sets of nouns according to shared semantic features in the folk categorization. Living things, for example, are counted with -nin if human, with -hiki if not; but a further breakdown of the nonhuman category gives special counters for fish (-bi), for birds (-wa), for deer (-tei), for large domestic animals (-too), and for dead animals (-tai). 106 The process classifiers specify something about the process by which the item was made or achieved its shape; Sanches lists -ren ‘strung’, -kátamari “lumped”, -hari “stretched over a frame”, -nigiri “grasped”, -kíre “cut”, -tumami “pinched”.

The shape classifiers are analyzed by Sanches into the following hierarchical categories:107

1-hon length predominating:
   1-hon three-dimensional.
   1-suzi two-dimensional.

1-mai length and breadth predominating:
   1-men two-dimensional.
   1-mai three-dimensional.
   1-mai regular shape.
   1-hén irregular shape.

104. But hitó-tokoro ‘one place’ = hitó-tokoro (SA 2670.142) = hitó-tokoro is idiomatic. There seems to be no *huta-tokoro or *hutát[ú]-tokoro Notice that iti- ‘one’ is sometimes prefixed to a noun to mean ‘a certain’ (=áru) or just ‘a’: iti-roôzin ‘a certain old man’, iti-Nihonzín ‘a (certain) Japanese’, iti-kínseki ‘an opinion, one view’; sono iti-tyóóko ko desu né ‘is a symptom of that’ (Tanigawa 17).

105. But ¡hai can be used to count “loads” in any container: hikóó-ki ni ip-pai ka ni-hái ‘zútú ‘a planeful or two each’, or ‘a load or two in each plane’ (Tk 2.321b). The precopular noun íppai ‘full’ and the quasi-restrictive ‘íppai (§2.4) are derived from í-p-pai ‘one cupful’; the three words are easily confused by the foreign learner.

106. Few speakers will observe all the niceties of such hierarchical breakdowns. For those who do, it-too ni inú will be a more impressive (and probably, but not necessarily, a larger) dog than ip-piki no inú but it will often be referred to with the same term, nonetheless.

107. Notice that some classifiers have both a more-inclusive and a more-specific meaning. All those listed here take the primary numerals except 1-suzi (hitó-suzi) and 1-tubu (hitó-tubu).
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

‘ko length, breadth, and depth (all equally prominent):

'kyuu larger.

— smaller:

'tubu solid.

'teki liquid.

In her valuable study Sanches reveals the following trends in present-day usage of counters: (1) Numerical-classifier forms are being dropped in favor of the “cardinal numbers” (hitó-tu—tóó, zyuuii, zyuuni, ...). Nearly half the time people will choose to count hasigo ‘ladders’, for example, with hitó-tu etc. rather than seeking more specific counters. (2) There is a slight increase in the use of shape classifiers at the expense of the taxonomy-specific forms. When ladders are not counted with hitó-tu etc., about half the time they will be counted with -hon (“slender object”). The shape-referring ip-pon no hasigo ‘one ladder’ is as common as all three of the taxonomic references put together: iti-dai (“relatively large artifact”), ik-kyakú (“legged implement”), and ik-ko (“relatively small artifact”). In counting a coin, such as the ten-yen piece (zyuuen-dóoka or zyuuen-dama), iti-mai seems to be more common than ik-ko, and hitó-tu is widely substituted; incidentally, in speech there is no general word for ‘coin’ (kóoka is a written word), instead you specify by the denomination: hyakuen-dama ‘a hundred-yen coin’. Sanches discovered that the references of taxonomy-specified classifiers seem to be learned by the native speaker as a list of particular nouns, being extended to new concepts only when covering a wide semantic range such as “human” (-nin) or “nonhuman animate” (-hiki). When the speaker comes across a noun he has never heard counted, unless it falls into some very obvious group he tends to class it by shape or simply uses the general counter. A list of some 150 nouns with appropriate counters will be found in the appendix of MKZ; it is the longest list of its kind I have seen, yet it does not tell you how to count many common things, for example “bridges”.

It should be borne in mind that the choice of a more specific counter for a noun is semantically determined; whether a given noun is classified in one way or another depends on how you are looking at it. In Bóku(“) wa Rúoo o iti-mai kaimása ‘I bought a Rouault’ (Tk 3.259b) the reference is to a picture painted by the French artist, and that is why the counter chosen refers to something flat.

In addition to the numbers that count nouns, there are also numbers for counting specific actions, somewhat as -kái and -dó ‘times’ count frequency, but often limited to ‘one’. These are taken from verb infinitives which may or may not be the same as the predicate: ... o-nándo o hitó-katazuken katazukëta ‘gave the storeroom a tidying’ (Fn 401a); Æse o kákeba syáwaa o hitó-abi [suru] ‘When you sweat you have a shower’ (SA 266.0.13a); ... róróara de uke kara hitó-nade gasat-to yaru ‘you give it a firm press from above with the roller’ (SA 266.026c); Hitó-huri mata ki-sóo na kurai sóra ... ‘A dark sky

108. The usual way to count bridges seems to be the general counter: hutá-tú no hasí ‘two bridges’. If the description of the classifiers is correct (and it undoubtedly needs further study and refinement), I would expect *ni-hon no hasí and *ni-dai no hasí to be acceptable, but they are rejected. Perhaps a technical classifier can be supplied by some engineer—a graduate, say, of Hitotubasi-dáigaku?
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about to pour again at any moment . . . ’ (Kb 223b); Tokúi(•) no hóra o hitó-huki húite taizyoo sita ‘He left after giving his own trumpet a big blow (= bragging)’. Some of these structures of numeral + infinitive are used as verbal nouns: mati o hitó-mawari suru ‘makes a tour of the town’. In (tabako o) ip-pukú suu ‘has a puff on a cigarette = has a cigarette’ it might be argued that ip-pukú somehow measures the cigarette rather than the act of inhaling, but in uti(•) kara ip-po mo deraréna ‘can’t leave the house for a moment’ the word ip-po ‘one step’ (losing its accent before mó + negative, as explained on p. 52) is clearly measuring the action itself. A similar example: hitó-ppuro (= hitó-huro) o abite ‘taking a bath’ (Okitsu 1.348).

Within a sentence the number can be used as a pure noun, followed by a case marker such as gá or ó or predicated by some form of the copula; by conversion of the copula to nó, the number can be adnominalized; and it can be directly adverbialized—i.e. used as an adverb—with or without focus (mó, wá, etc.) or restrictive (‘gúrai, ‘daké, etc.) or similar element (‘zútú ‘each’).

When the noun being counted is separately present in the sentence, there are a number of possible structures. It is not clear that any one of these need be regarded as basic, but we will take the adnominalized form as our point of departure, since it puts the number clearly in a modifying relationship with the noun. Then we can describe four of the possible structures by the terms used below:

(1) Basic (Number predicated and adnominalized to Noun):
Ni-mai no irógami o totta ‘I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper’.

(2) Inverted apposition (Number [nó] IN-+ N IN Number):
Irógami i ni-mai o totta ‘I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper’.

(3) Adverbialization (N gá/ó IN Number):
Irógami o ni-mai o totta ‘I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper’.

(4) Preposed adverbialization (N gá/ó IN Number IN Number IN gá/ó):
Ni-mai i irógami o totta ‘I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper’.

But there is a fifth possibility:

(5) Appositional ellipsis:109
Irógami no i ni-mai o totta ‘I took two of the pieces of colored paper’.

We will explain this as a reduction of Irógami no ni-mai [no irógami] o totta ‘I took two sheets [of paper] of the paper ...’ because you can say Hyakú-mai no irógami no ni-mai o totta ‘I took two of the hundred pieces of colored paper’. At least sometimes it is possible to drop the nó:

(6) Reduced appositional ellipsis:
Irógami [no] i ni-mai o totta ‘I took two of the pieces of colored paper’.

The surface form of the reduction is the same as that of inverted apposition (2), and there may be doubts about the grammaticality of the derivation. I believe the following may be an authentic example: Sono h[iti-ni ni-dake de ... ‘Just on that one day ...’ (SA 2689.42a).

For Types (1) to (4) I have given the option of translating ‘two’ or ‘the two’. It is sometimes held that the number can be definite only when it precedes the noun, but this does

109. A tag term, referring to an ellipsis that omits the head (and the preceding adnominalized copula) of a predicated apposition. Cf. §14.2.3 (‘post-appositional nó”), of which this can be regarded as a subtype.
not seem to be true. Let us examine the sentences with ano ‘that’ and anna ‘that kind of’ (for which we could substitute kirei na ‘pretty’ or ‘clean’, etc.):¹¹⁰

(1a) Ano ni-mai no irogami o totta.
(2a) Ano Anna irogami ni-mai o totta.
(3a) Ano Anna irogami o ni-mai o totta.
(4a) *Ano Anna ni-mai irogami o totta.
(5a) Ano Anna irogami no ni-mai o totta.
(6a) Ano Anna irogami [no] ni-mai o totta.

The only difficulties arise with preposed adverbialization, and that is because an adverb cannot be modified by an adnominal phrase. If we move the adnominal to the other side of the juncture, the sentence is acceptable:

(4b) Ni-mai *ano anna irogami o totta.

In fact, ano and anna can directly precede the noun in any of the sentences, but they can precede the number only when it is functioning as a pure noun:

(1b) Ni-mai no *ano anna irogami o totta.
(2b) ?Irogami *ano anna ni-mai o totta.
(3b) *Irogami *ano anna ni-mai o totta.
(5b) Irogami no *ano anna ni-mai o totta.
(6b) ?Irogami [no] *ano anna ni-mai o totta.

For some of the sentences it will be possible to modify both the noun and the number with adnominal phrases, but it is unlikely that both will be identical phrases, nor that the second will be definite unless inverted. Some sentences that result (‘I took those two sheets of pretty colored paper’):

(1c) Ano ni-mai no kirei na irogami o totta.
(2c) ?Kirei na irogami *ano ni-mai o totta.
(3c) *Ano irogami o kirei na ni-mai o totta.
(4c) *Ano ni-mai kirei na irogami o totta.
(5c) Ano irogami no kirei na ni-mai o totta.¹¹¹
(6c) ?Ano irogami [no] kirei na ni-mai o totta.

¹¹⁰ Although there is a basic juncture after the adnominal, it disappears after the atonic adnouns ano and anna (-annal). You will hear the juncture with Kirei na ‘Pretty/Clean’... or with Rei no ... ‘The said ...’.

¹¹¹ With the same meaning as (1c). If the first juncture is raised to major, thus emphasizing kirei, the meaning will be ‘I took the pretty two of those pieces of colored paper’. Throughout I am ignoring
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It is sometimes held that adverbialization of the number is possible only when the noun is marked by  الحكومية or  إلا, but this is not quite true; "Number פרוש/תוא/מי/ל" are infrequent in print but they occur in conversation. All of the following examples with the mutative-locative are acceptable:

(1d) ني-ماي no |IROGAMI ni |زي o |KAITA.
(2d) IROGAMI |ني-ماي ni |زي o |KAITA.
(3d) IROGAMI ni |ني-ماي ni |زي o |KAITA.
(4d) ني-ماي |IROGAMI ni |زي o |KAITA.
(5d) IROGAMI no |ني-ماي ni |زي o |KAITA.
(6d) IROGAMI [no] |ني-ماي ni |زي o |KAITA.

The types with adverbialization (3 and 4), 112 will permit the indefinite adnominal modifications of the noun (anna IROGAMI) but not the definite (ano IROGAMI). Unlike the other types, they seem to mean 'I wrote characters on two of the pieces of paper' and not 'I wrote characters on the two pieces of paper'. This accords with such statements as 'the distinction between definite (Number פרוש/תוא/מי/ל) and indefinite (תוא/מי/ל Number) is possible only when the noun is marked as subject or object'.

When a count expression is predicated as a nominal (... 다), it is impossible to have the number adverialized, there being nothing in the structure for the adverbial phrase to modify:

(1e) ني-ماي no |IROGAMI datta.  
(2e) IROGAMI |ني-ماي datta.  
(3e) IROGAMI [ga/o] |ني-ماي datta. 113  
(4e) ني-ماي |IROGAMI [ga/o] datta. 114  
(5e) IROGAMI no |ني-ماي datta.  
(6e) IROGAMI [no] |ني-ماي datta.

On the difference between IROGAMI mondai ga ару, which has the two sources Mondai ga iroiro ару and Iroiro  עם Mondai ga ару, and Taku Mondai ga ару with only the one source Mondai ga tuskush ару, see p. 826 (§ 13.8). When a number is adnominalized to the noun it is counting, the phrase NUMBER פרוש/תוא/מי/ל NOUN will not permit the dropping of the adnominalized copula נו; whenever a number immediately precedes the noun it is counting, that structure must be the result of preposed adverbialization (and a major juncture is called for). In the example ... ni-peezi mi-hiraki no kookoku o pat-to дйзита 'splashed right out with an ad in a two-page spread (= on two facing pages)’ (Tku 3.237b) we can take ni-peezi either as an adverbial modification of the adnominalized precopular noun mi-hiraki 'spreading out face-to-face [to the extent of two pages]' or as a reduction of ni-peezi no kookoku

or rejecting surface forms that result from sloppy omissions of particles and poorly planned attempts at structures, as well as special emphasis and loose thematicizations. In the kind of English I speak, paper is counted either as sheets or as pieces, though the latter has a more general meaning which would include irregular shapes.

112. These types have been rejected as ungrammatical by some of the linguists who have looked at the question, e.g. Sugita 1969. Students are advised to avoid N פרוש/תוא/מי/ל Number, despite acceptable examples such as Tomodati 니 go-rookin aimaisita 'I met five or six friends'.

113. Considered as simple predication, with the same meaning as (1): 'It was 프וש/תוא/מי/ל two pieces of colored paper'. Under propredication (i.e. with ellipsis of a verb) such forms as this are possible: IROGAMI o |ני-ماי [totta no] da 'I took two pieces of colored paper'.

114. But 프וש/תוא/מי/ל IROGAMI o [ ] da might be acceptable with propredication of the sort suggested in the preceding note.
'a two-page advertisement' in which ni-péezi is an epithet of size, rather than a counting of advertisements, for that would be simply hutató no kookoku.

A few examples, arranged by type:

1. Watakusi no hâha de arimâasu ga, san-nin no otokô-no-ko o unde, nîzyuu hatî de syûzin o naku-site, ... 'My mother—she bore three boys, and at the age of 28 lost her husband, ...' (R).

2. Mâa, watakusi ga kyôdôai sitî-nin no yôn-ban 'mê de otokô to iû no wa watakusi hitôri datta n desu 'Well, I was the fourth of seven children, and the only boy' (R); ... birû-bako muttû ga ... 'six cases of beer' (SA 2665.116a); Atasi wa sono-bâ(-) ni i-awaâeta hitô hutari kara kiiî 'ta kara, ... 'Since I had heard it from two of the people who happened to be in that place ...' (Tk 3.119a); Tookyoyo-rihou-kensatû-tyoyo wa î seisan-gyôosya kara î sén î nîyakûman-en-ô î l damasitotta î l kîn'yuu-bûroókaî î l san-nîn o î l kyôî î l sàgi no utâgai de î l tâîhi simâsita 'The Tôkyô Area Public Procurator's Office today arrested on suspicion of fraud three finance brokers who had swindled two million yen from the operator of a bakery' (R); Ôgâzumu de mo kôe ga dasênaî nante iû no mo, husûmaî(-) hitôtu hedàtete yaru to iû zyûutaku-zîzyûo da kara [de âru] 'The business of not being able to use one's voice even in orgasm is because of the housing situation where you are doing it on the other side of a single opaque paper door' (SA 2792.44c).

3. Hanagami ga iî-mai mo nái 'We're out of Kleenex' (MJW); Watasî wa âru kaigatren-kaîzyóo no issittû(-) de, tîsa na abûrû-e o itî-mai hakken sita 'I discovered a little oil painting in one room of a certain painting exhibition hall' (V 1967a.99); Anmâri nîgâ, kodomo no tokî, Kônneî(-) no turibori de hûna o san-sihîki kotô gâ âru 'I haven't fished much but when I was a child I caught a few carp in the Komme fish pond' (V 1967a.99).

4. Hâha wa ... ko no tê yo-tûbu bâkari sore o noseta 'The mother put four pieces of it [the candy] in the child's hand' (V 1967a.99); ... óoki na issittû(-) ni nîzyûo mo sindâi ga narande ita 'in one big room were lined up all of twenty beds' (V 1967a.98), with highlighting focus; ... soo iu siten kara mirû to î nî hutató syûrûi l arimâsîte î nê î ll 'seen from such a viewpoint, you see, there are two varieties, you see, ...' (R)—the relevant phrase, pronounced with voiceless /tu/, is a surface reduction from hutató syûrûi [ga] ← syûrûi ga l hutató; ... moo hitôtû gîmon ni omûo kotô wa dôko ni âru ka 'where is the other thing you feel to be in doubt?' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.187). The last example could also be taken as Type 6, since nó can be inserted after hitôtû; either way, hitôtû refers to the entire phrase gîmon ni omûo kotô, not gîmon.

5. Examples sought.

6. ... syoôgakûsei no musûme hutâri wa ... 'my two daughters who are in primary school' (SA 2666.108c); Torânpîu gozyûû ni-mai karâ î l itî-mai o nukidaâsu tokî(-) ni ... 'when you draw one out of the 52 cards in the deck' (R); ... zyooyaku hitôri ga kowâreta mado-gârasu no hahen de tookâ-kan no kegâ o sita to iû kotô desu 'one of the passengers, it is said, was injured by a piece of glass from the broken window and will require ten days treatment' (R); ... otona yo-nin ni kodomo hutâri ... 'four adults and two children'; ... senmon-tekî tîsikî o mótta hitô-tati sûû-nin(-) o atûme te ... 'bringing together a number of people with specialized knowledge' (Kotoba no yurai 197); (?) ... zyuuhati-nin 'tyuu yo-nîn ga ... 'four of the eighteen persons' (SA 2672.117b).

Such examples as Kantô itîten(-) ni watatte 'extending all over Kantô', murâ itîten(-) ni 'through the whole village', syûûi sûtêga 'the entire surroundings', etc., may be examples of the reduced appositional ellipsis (6). Cf. p. 1049.
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With the noun omitted, an adverbialized number can be ambiguous: Go-nin mita can mean either 'Five people saw [it]' (= Hitogago-nin mita) or '[I] saw five people' (= Hitogao-nin mita); Minnā mōte imāsu ka can mean either (= minnā ga) 'Does everyone have [it]?' or (= minnā o) 'Does [one] have everything?' Like degree adverbs, an adverbialized number can modify a relational noun: Watakusi no siti-nen koohai de atta 'He was seven years my junior' (Tk 3.73).

Quantity nouns that are not "numbers" (as the category is defined here) share the same syntax, in general, that we have described for the numbers. A word like takusān 'lots', for example, will typically be found adverbialized or adnominalized to the noun it is quantifying. The word ryōō 'quantity' itself is a quantity noun and it behaves in the same way, especially when further specified. The immediately underlying structure of ... sore to onazi ryōō no tuti ... 'the same quantity of earth as that (= the mud that has been dredged up)' (Tk 3.194b) is an adnominalization of Sore to onazi ryōō da 'It is the same quantity as that', a nominal sentence that contains an adnominalization (sore to onazi ...) with the underlying structure Sore [no ryōō] to onazi da 'It is the same as [the quantity of] that'. A few of the predictable adverbs are sometimes used in ways similar to the adverbialized and adnominalized uses of such quantity nouns as hotondo 'almost (all)', e.g. taitei 'mostly; usually; nearly' as in taitei no byooki 'most illnesses' or 'the usual illness'.

In §2.8 we mentioned the variety of ways quantified nouns can be conjoined. If we link the expressions with to 'and', for example, and mark the conjoined phrase with a case marker such as ó, it is possible to make various combinations of number phrases before the case marker is attached:

(1) to (1) ó: Ni-mai no irōga mi to ū-p-pon no iro-ēnpi tu o tōtta 'I took the two pieces of colored paper and the one crayon'.

(2) to (2) ó: Irōga mi ni-mai to iro-ēnpi tu ū-p-pon o tōtta 'I took the two pieces of colored paper and one crayon'.

(1) to (2) ó: Ni-mai no irōga mi to ū-p-pon o tōtta 'I took the two pieces of colored paper and one crayon'.

(2) to (1) ó: Irōga mi ni-mai to ū-p-pon no iro-ēnpi tu o tōtta 'I took the two pieces of colored paper and one crayon'.

(5) to (5) ó: Irōga mi no ni-mai to ū-p-pon no iro-ēnpi tu o tōtta 'I took two of the pieces of colored paper and one of the crayons'.

(1) to (5) ó: Ni-mai no irōga mi to ū-p-pon no iro-ēnpi tu o tōtta 'I took the two pieces of colored paper and one of the crayons'.

(5) to (1) ó: Irōga mi no ni-mai to ū-p-pon no iro-ēnpi tu o tōtta 'I took two of the pieces of colored paper and one of the crayons'.

(2) to (5) ó: Irōga mi ni-mai to iro-ēnpi tu no ū-p-pon o tōtta 'I took the two pieces of colored paper and one of the crayons'.

115. Or 'coloring pencil' or 'colored pencil', though the latter term is not unambiguous in my kind of English. (But, again, in my English 'crayon' is perhaps too specific for the Japanese expression.)

116. Since appositional ellipsis (5) implies a larger universe for the noun, a speaker may feel uncomfortable with such sentences unless they are overtly modified by some adnominal element in front of the verb; any sentences balked at can be rescued by putting kindō moratta 'that I got yesterday' in front of the first instance of (5) in each conjoining.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

(5) to (2) ̂°: I rõgami no nī-mai to iro-ēnpirū ō-pōn o tōtta ‘I took two of the pieces of colored paper and the one crayon’.

Since each of these combinations represents a conjoining of two noun phrases (before case marking), there is nothing particularly surprising about their acceptability. But somewhat unexpected is the acceptability of joining phrases that consist of two case-marked nouns counted by adverbialized numbers:

(3) to (3) ̂°: I rõgami o nī-mai to iro-ēnpirū ō-pōn tōtta ‘I took the two pieces of colored paper and the one crayon’.

Moreover, it is possible to join an inverted apposition, unmarked for case, with a case-marked noun counted by an adverbialized number:

(2) to (3) ̂°: I rõgami nī-mai to iro-ēnpirū ō-pōn tōtta ‘I took the two pieces of colored paper and the one crayon’.

(3) to (2) ̂°: I rõgami o nī-mai to iro-ēnpirū ō-pōn o tōtta ‘I took the two pieces of colored paper and the one crayon’.

Apparently, so long as the case marker comes AFTER both nouns have been expressed, you are free to conjoin:

(5) to (3) ̂°: I rõgami no nī-mai to iro-ēnpirū ō-pōn tōtta ‘I took two of the pieces of colored paper and the one crayon’.

What you are not allowed to do is conjoin case-marked phrases with the:

* Nī-mai no i rõgami o to ō-pōn no iro-ēnpirū o [to] tōtta.
* Nī-mai no i rõgami o to iro-ēnpirū o [to] tōtta.
* I rõgami nī-mai o to iro-ēnpirū ō-pōn o [to] tōtta.

It is not required that both nouns be quantified: ... hagaki o nī-mai to enpirū o dāsite ... ‘taking out two postcards and [a] pencil’ (V 1967a.99).

Two numbers that count the same noun can be conjoined with kā ‘or’;[117] Sono setomon o ō ka nīzyuu narabete ... ‘Lining up ten or twenty pieces of the pottery ...’ (Tk 3.280a).

When the numbers are large and share a ten, a hundred, a thousand, or the like, what is shared need not be repeated: Tō wa iu monō-no, iti-nen de gozyuu nī-mei ka sān-mei sika katazukānai ‘However, I only manage to take care of (interviewing) fifty-two or [fifty]-three persons a year’ (Tk 3). It is sometimes possible to conjoin two slightly different numbers either directly or with to, as in nī-sai suu-kāgetu no kodomo ‘a child of two years and some months’ and Rokū-sai to rok-kāgetu kara narātta Nihon-būto ... ‘Japanese dance which she studied “from the age of six years and six months”’ (SA 2678.152); in these uses the conjoined phrase is not counting the noun, but describing it. Similarly, such structures as NUMBER1 mo NUMBER2 mó da are possible: hutuu no seihin no san-bai mo go-bai mó no nedan ‘a price that is as much as three to five times that of the usual product’. Cf. ni-bai ka san-bai no nedan ‘a price that is two or three times as much’, ni-bai ya san-bai no nedan ‘prices that are two and three times as much’ (presumably an abbreviation of ni-bai no nedan ya san-bai no nedan).

13. 7. ADVERBS

Certain nominals are never specified as subject (N ga) or as direct object (N ō), nor are they marked as indirect object with the particle ni, though some of them can be adverbialized

117. Conjoined numbers will not necessarily have the same counter, since some things (e.g., time) can be counted with different-size units: is-syūukan ka toooka ‘a week or ten days’ (Tk 2.180b).
optionally with the に that is the copula infinitive (or essive): すぐに に ‘directly’, どこか すぐに no tokoro ‘a place immediate to here’, すぐに だ ‘It’s immediately ahead’. Certain others must be directly adverbialized: from すぐに da ‘it’s a while’ there is only すぐに ‘for a while’, not すぐに に. These typically adverbial nominals that do not normally become subject or object we will call ADVERBS. Those that are directly adverbial (without に) are either PURE adverbs (i.e. always adverbial) or PREDICABLE adverbs, the latter allowing the predicative だ and the adnominal に. Those requiring に are adverbialized ADJECTIVAL or PRECOPULAR (quasi-adjectival) NOUNS, occasionally defective in that they lack certain of the other forms of the copula. Some words belong optionally to more than one type; see §3.118 (In hypostatic discourse, as when quoting, an adverb may temporarily suspend its grammar and appear—by a kind of direct nominalization—as a subject, object, etc.: ‘Tokidoki’ ga に to omou ‘I think “sometimes” might be all right’.)

The majority of adverbs occur freely as nominal sentences predicated with ... だ in its various forms; even in such a case as that of まま だ to account for まま ね baai/toki ‘in the unlikely event, in time of need’ and similar forms. It should be borne in mind that some words frequently used adverbially are QUANTITY nouns: ほとんど [ga/o] ‘almost (all)’, もろく [ga/o] ‘lots’. The pure adverb いばん ‘most’ (always atomic) is derived from いばん ‘number one’; a synonym とっと is derived from the highlighted form of the adverb とっと (= とっと-to, §21.7), as is the (sometimes identically accented) predicatable adverb とっと-mo = とっ-len ‘natural’, often used as a sentence-introducing conjunction ‘of course’ or ‘but’. 118 Other words that are frequently used adverbially turn out to be directly adverbialized PLACE NOUNS (ほおぼ ‘all directions, everywhere’, ...) or TIME NOUNS: はる ‘spring’ or ‘in spring’, シュンカン ‘an instant’ or ‘for an instant’, いせん ‘former times’ or ‘formerly’, 119 etc.—cf. §9.1.13. Among the words which are adverbs as here defined are また ‘again, likewise’, しんぜん ‘completely, utterly’, ななわた ‘namely’ or (⇒ ますあく, とり-も-ナオサズ) ‘precisely, nothing but’, さすが ‘as may be expected, nonetheless’, つい ‘finally’, にっと ‘finally, after much trouble’ (= にっと-to, §21.7), いた ‘once; at first; in general; tentatively’, なお-さら(−) ‘all the more/less’, なお ‘still (more/less)’, なお-なお ‘still; additionally’, ... .

Adverbs with a basic final accent (やがて ‘before long’, さそく ‘at once’, せっかく ‘especially’, etc.) will drop the accent unless followed by a particle (such as が or に) or some form of the copula (だ, に, な, etc.), and that together with historical considerations is why dictionaries often—perhaps unwisely—list the forms as atomic; similar are oxytonic time nouns such as きのえ ‘yesterday’, なつ ‘summer’, あた ‘tomorrow’, etc., and quantity nouns such as こつ-て ‘one time’, all of which drop their accent when used adverbially without a following particle or copula form. This accent suppression is the result of a juncture that must be assumed to terminate a direct adverbialization even though often the juncture

118. In summary: Adv と 男 subjective adverb; Adv つ only optionally subjective/objective) adverb; Adv に 男 ordinary adverb that is optionally an adverbialized adjectival (or precopular) noun, which may lack other parts of the paradigm; Adv と/に 男 subjective/objective adverb that is optionally an adverbialized adjectival (or precopular) noun; ... に 男 adverbialized adjectival noun or precopular (quasi-adjectival) noun, which may lack other parts of the paradigm.

118a. But the traditional etymology derives とっと-mo from とっと-mo.

119. And even しそがい ‘life(time)’: かご wa SYOOGAI yame rō tte iu yō na koto o iu hito ga aru keredo mo ... ‘There are those who tell me to give up playing かご for the rest of my life, but ...’ (Tk 2.198a).
itself is later suppressed. A less obvious case of the same sort is to be found with the set of deictic-anaphoric manner adverbs kóó ‘thuş’, sóó ‘so’, áá ‘so [remote]’, which—being monosyllabic—could be regarded as either prototonic or oxytomic; the loss of accent under unfocused adverbalization \(^{120}\) shows them to be oxytomic—the result of the history of the forms, as shown by kóó < ka-[k]ú, \(^{121}\) in contrast with dóó ‘how’ which retains its prototonic accent under adverbalization (dóó suru). A similar juncture-induced loss of final accent accounts for the adnominalized forms of konná, sonná, and anná: adnominalization is marked by an initial juncture that suppresses a final accent (sonná l kótó → sonná l kótó) and then often disappears itself (→ sonna kótó). The interrogative accent overrides such restrictions, since it is an INITIAL accent, as shown by dóònna; hence the accent of dóó, unlike that of kóó, is not basically oxytomic but prototonic.

The following classes of restricted distribution and semantic anticipation are found among the adverbs:

(1) Words which usually occur as direct adverbials and rarely, if ever, occur predicted as nuclear nominal sentences (... dá) or as adnominals (... nó):

(1a) anticipating a negative: manzara ‘(not) wholly’, kessite ‘(not) ever’ [< gerund of KETU-suru = kes-súru(“) §9.2.1], maru-[k]iri = maru-de = ten-de ‘(not) at all’, tůi-zo ‘(not) at all, (not) ever’, dánzite(‘) ‘absolutely (not)’ [< gerund of DÁN-ziru = dán-zúru(‘)] ‘concludes, judges’ §9.2.1]; betudan ‘(not) especially’ (usually without ní); kónnizaí (= -sai) ‘(not) under any circumstances’; ikko [nî] ‘(not) in the least’ (with affirmative ‘absolutely, quite’); mōtoo (... nái) ‘(has none) at all’, nǎn-nomo(‘) ‘(not) in any way’, kanarazú-símo ‘(not) always/necessarily’; cf. (below) métt na + NEGATIVE ‘rarely’, ... sóka + NEGATIVE ‘only’ (§2.3.3). Also anticipating a negative are these adverbalizations: betu ni ‘(not) particularly, (nothing) in particular’, ...; and, often, sukôsi mo = títō mo ‘(not) in the least’, tōte-mo ‘quite’, zëtai ni ‘absolutely, even’ ‘(not) at all’, hōtôndo ‘(not) quite, hardly’, ...; cf. hitó-tu mo (etc.) + NEGATIVE. See §8.7.

(1b) anticipating a tentative: osóra ku ‘probably’, \(^{122}\) sázo(-kasi) ‘likely’, tábun ‘probably’, oo kata ‘in all probability’, hito-tô ‘undoubtedly, surely’, ... .

\(^{120}\). Kóó suru ‘We do it this way’, Sóó wa sinai ‘We don’t do it that way’; ... to ii-nagara, kóó mo iu no de aru ‘while we say ... we also say as follows’ (Shūkan-Shinchō 1972/5/27.36e).

\(^{121}\). The modern Tōkyō accentuation of the literary adverb is kákú (prototonic), but that is an innovation—or borrowing; the Kyōto form has an accentuation that would be cognate with Tōkyō *káku, which we assume as the direct source of the colloquial kóó. I would presume that sóó comes from a form *sa-kú, but that form is unattested and Japanese dictionaries assume a contraction from siká-ku, the literary equivalent, with a dialect form siká-u = sikó[o] that appears in sikó site = siká site = modern so[a] site = “thus; then”. Note, however, the elegant adjectival nouns kayóo and sayóo, made by attaching the Chinese loan morph yód < yáu (< Chinese yáng) ‘appearance’ to ka- and to so-. Perhaps kóó and sóó are directly contracted from these.

\(^{122}\). But the semantic anticipations are not always realized formally. We would expect osóra ku to be followed by surú daroo ‘it will probably happen’—or surú to omowaréru ‘it appears that it will happen’ or the like—but it has come to be used also with the unmarked form (the imperfect), as noted in SA 2649.110b, where the following example is cited: Osóra ku kotosi ‘týuu ni kokkái wa kaisán surú ‘Probably the Diet will be dissolved within the year’. Másaaka and yómó ya ‘surely [not]’ anticipate both tentative and negative, not necessarily in the same form: Kími ni ajo to wa omowána katá ‘I didn’t think I would run into you’ (Hayashi 150). When the tentative is anticipated by mósí ka sitára, mósí ka surú to, hyó-tó surú to, or arúi-wa the meaning is more like that of kóó mo sirenai ‘maybe’, according to Hayashi 149.
§ 13.7. Adverbs

(1c) anticipating a conditional (or some equivalent way of stating a condition): mösi [mo], tatöe" (-), mân-it, yösi ya "if".

(1d) anticipating a request: dôô-za, dôô-ka, nani-tozo 'please'; anticipating a request or desire: zë-hi 'by all means, for sure'.

(1e) [LITERARY] anticipating "bêki/bësi 'ought': subekâraku 'by all means, necessarily' ('su' bêku).

(1f) anticipating a simile (such as ... yôo da): åtâkâmo [semi-literary] = tyoodo = maru-de 'just ... like'; dôô-mo 'somehow' (also 'very')—as in Sore wa dôô-mo seikaku de nai yôo da 'That somehow seems incorrect' (SA 2660.41b); sâ-mo 'just (as if)'.

(1g) anticipating an identifier: sunâwati 'in other words', tûmari 'id est', kekkyyokû 'in the last analysis'; takâ-ga 'merely, only'; maybe takâdâka("") 'at highest/most', sei-zei 'at the outside', giri-giri 'at the lowest (limit)'; ...; hito-yondê 'what is called, what people call'—as in hito-yondê "keieisya-orinpikku" 'it is known as the "executives' olympics"' (SA 2653.136) and Saêki(-)si wa hito-yondê "hansen-bôozu" [da] 'Mr Saeki is known as the "anti-war bonze"' (SA 2647.60a)—but this is a simple reduction of hito gyône 'when people call it [it is ...]' (gerund of condition, § 9.2) and that phrase can carry adjuncts, as in ... zoku ni hito gyône Ésâsi no Hânzûroo to iu otoko ga ita 'There was a man ... popularly called Hanjirô of Esashi' (Shibata 1961.25).

(1h) the three words for 'very' taihen, tâiso, and zuibun, if we dissociate them from the adjectival nouns from which they come by direct adverbialization.

(1i) gûôkô, gûôgûoku(-) 'extremely'; hanahada 'extremely', tôtê-mô 'quite, indeed, (not) at all', hûôbo 'nearly', tyôodo 'just, exactly' (a time reference must be in round figures: tyôodo sân-zi zip-pun 'just 3:10 is fine but not *tyôodo sân-zi zuysusân-pun 'just 3:13'), suutoô = zutto (= zût-to) 'by far', yaharî 'also, nonetheless,' moo 'more', moô(') 'already', tûî 'unintentionally', sémête [§ 7.9.2] 'at least/most', âte("") {site} [perhaps from the gerund of vt. âte 'get'] 'often, frequently (= yôku); apt/prone/liable to (= yâya [to] mo surêba), kâette [§ 7.9.2] 'on the contrary, rather, músiro 'rather', tôotoô 'at last', yagâte 'before long', tâ-i-sîte 'greatly' (cf. tâi-sîta 'great, much' § 13.5), gâ-site 'in general', sore yùê 'therefore' [§ sore ga yûê ni 'with that for a reason'], sâ-te 'well, now', suunâwati 'namely' (see above), tûmari [§ vi. infinitive tumâri] 'after all, in brief, id est' (see above), syôsen = kekkyyokû/kekkkyokû-no-tokorô = tootei 'after all', sei-zei 'to/at the utmost', sadâmê-î [§ vi. infinitive + emphatic particle] = sadâmête 'presumably', sigêku 'profusely, lots' and asi-sîgêku 'visiting' frequently [§ sigê-ku infinitive of the literary adjectival sige- 'be profuse']; naru-bêku(-) 'as possible' [§ naru -bêku 'so that it ought to become']—naru-bêku nara 'if possible' can be treated as propradication or ellipsis; mîngoto (= mîgîto ni) 'admirably', ...

All these words (under 1) might be called adverbs par excellence, and in a number of cases they border on being (or are) CONJUNCTIONS; see § 13.7a, §24.

(2) Words which occur as direct adverbials and also as adnominals (nô → dá) but lack the nominal sentence ("... dá) from which the adnominal should be derived; these are DEFECTIVE PREDICABLE ADVERBS: kânête 'previously', kânête no 'previous'; mökka 'at present', mökka no 'current'; tâtte(-) 'insistently', tâttê(-) no 'insistently'; zyuûrai 'hitherto', zyuûrai no 'former, existing'; sâsí-mó(-) 'such (a), as he/it is'—as in Sâsí-mó(-) òôki na kuzâra mo tôotoô tukamatta 'Big as he was the whale was finally caught', sâsí-mó(-) no 'such a; that he/it is'—as in sâsí-mó(-) no yûusya mo 'brave man that he is' and sâsí-mó(-) no wâatakusi mo 'even I such as I am'; ... (Do nakanaka and itioo belong here? Perhaps
also isso 'rather' unless isso-no-koto is treated as a single lexical item.) The defective predicatable adverb kórai 'from of old' is sometimes preceded by a (junctured) noun, presumably with ellipsis of nó: ... minzoku kórai no gêngo o kokugo to site, ... 'treating as the national language the language traditional to the people' (Ôno 1967:278). A number word can be modified directly by the adverb tatta 'merely, only, just' as in tatta rokú-nin 'only six persons' or it can be modified by the adnominalized tatta nó as in ... atumâta no wa tatta no rokú-nin 'there were only six people gathered' (SA 2674.26c). These defective predicatable adverbs could perhaps be regarded as belonging simultaneously to the class of pure adverbs and the class of adnouns, with a suffix -nó marking the latter. The word ippasi 'like other people, like a proper person' seems to be a defective predicatable adverb: ippasi yakû ni tató 'is useful enough', ippasi no otona-atukai de 'treated like a regular grownup' (SA 2666.32a), but not *ippasi dâ. In some expressions, however, the adnominalized form is treated as if an adjectival noun: ippasi na kuti o kiku 'talks as eloquently as anyone else'.

(3) Adjectival nouns which are highly defective, occurring only in the infinitive with ni (i.e. with the objective essive): tóku ni 'especially'; ittai ni 'all-out, sweepingly'; musyoo ni 'inordinately'; tâdati ni 'directly, immediately'; masserta ni 'impetuously, at full speed'; omomu no n 'slowly, quietly, patientely'; masta ni\(^{123}\) 'precisely, just', (+ -yoo) tó suru 'about to'; móró ni 'completely, thoroughly; in a jumble'; yaniwa ni 'suddenly'; tómi ni 'suddenly; exceedingly'; sú[n] de ni 'already' [<< súnde << súmi-te, vi. gerund 'ending']; óoi ni (= óô[k]; ni) 'greatly' (see 5 below); tinamí(-) ni 'by the way' [<< tinami derived noun << tinami, vi. 'being related']; narabi ni 'and, additionally, both together' [<< 'in a row' derived noun << vi. 'standing in a row']; hitorî-de ni 'spontaneously' [presumably from hitóri de 'being alone'—but hitorî-té 'alone-hand' would be another possible etymology]; tende{n} ni 'separately, respectively, each'; hikkiri-nâsi ni 'without letup'; tokkû(-) ni 'long since' [but see p. 803], múge ni 'bluntly, flatly' (but múge has wider uses as an adjectival noun in the literary language), ái-tomo ni = tómo(-) ni 'together'; tutó ni 'early, long ago'; gên ni 'actually'; án ni 'tacitly, implicitly', gé ni (= zítú ni) 'truly', kóto ni 'especially', túi ni 'at last'; zôyôzo ni 'little by little, gradually'; issei ni 'unanimously'; gênka ni 'promptly, at once'; midari ni [literary] 'rashly; without good reason (or permission); excessively'; tóbusa ni [literary] 'in detail, fully', yúu ni [literary] 'gently, amply'; nokke ni (= aonoke/aomuke ni) 'facing upward', (= nokke karâ = hazine karâ) 'from the start'; ... These are usually listed in dictionaries as lexical adverbs, and the ni is often hyphenated in the romanization. Cf. also the direct nominalizations (§14.6) yoo-sûru ni 'in brief', ... For ikâ{-}ni 'how', see p. 1069.

(4) Mimetic adjectival nouns which are defective in that they occur only with the subjective essive tó (and not with the subjective copula târi/târu): dên-to(-) 'conspicuously (placed)', kit-tó 'surely; sternly', tón-to(-) 'entirely; (not) at all', tyóto 'a bit', etc.—see §21.7. Other subjective adjectival adverbs which are similarly defective seem to be at the same time members of other classes: iroîrî tót- is also an adverb and an objective adjectival (or precopular) noun; dândân to(-) is also a predicatable adverb (dândân da/ni/no) and a pure adverb—which, like all basic oxytones, loses its final accent before the underlying juncture that marks direct adverbialization. Zubâri to(-) 'boldly' is a predicatable adverb: enryoo no nái zubâri no situmon = ... zubâri to sita situmon 'a bold and unabashed question'.
Másá ni sono-mónō zubári desu ‘You said it! You hit the nail on the head!’ = Másá ni zubári sono-mónō desu. And occasionally it seems to be used as an (objective) adjectival noun: sono-mónō zubári na ii-kata = zubári sono-mónō no ii-kata ‘calling a spade a spade’. (On sono-mónō, see § 25.) Zóoku-zoku(−) ‘repeatedly, successively’ is a predicate adverb but very occasionally (e.g. Tk 4.277) you will find it used with the subjective essive tó. Nakanaka ‘ever so’, ordinarily a pure adverb, sometimes is used as a defective subjective adjectival noun: Kono ‘motiron’ ni wa nakanaka TO hukumi ga arimásu ‘In this “of course” there is quite a lot of hidden meaning’ ...’ (Tk 4.159).

(5) Adjectival nouns which occur only in the adnominal (... ná) and the infinitive (... ní) but lack the predicative form, i.e. a nuclear sentence (*... dá) from which they can be derived: métta na ‘rash’, métta ni + NEGATIVE ‘rarely’—but in some varieties of Tókyō speech métta is also used as a pure adverb without ni (an example will be found in Kb 31b); setu na ‘earnest’, setu ní ‘earnestly’; yatara ná ‘indiscriminate, random’, yatara ní ‘indiscriminately’ (yatara tó is also reported); roku ná ‘satisfactory’, roku ni ‘satisfactorily’; óoki(-) na ‘large’, óoki ni (= óoi ni) ‘greatly’; 124 ómo na ‘principal’, ómo ni ‘principally’ (but K lists ómo da). A special case: tán narú—with the LITERARY attributive (= adnominal) form of the copula instead of the colloquial ná—a plain, a mere (= táda nol), tán ni ‘simply, merely’ (= táda). Kyuu ‘sudden, urgent’ belongs with this group but it is also a pure noun (abstract) meaning ‘emergency, urgent need’. Several adjectival nouns seldom (if ever) appear in the predicative dá form, or in such conversions as nara, and have other limitations in distribution. Uturo ‘hollow’ usually appears adnominalized (uturo na mé ‘hollow eyes’) or adverbalized (uturo ni mi-hiraita mé ‘eyes wide-open hollowly’), but uturo dá seems to be acceptable. Uron ‘suspicious, questionable, shady’ is usually adnominalized (táído no uron na otokó ‘a man of questionable attitude’) or adverbalized (uron ni omowaréru ‘seems shady’), and the forms with dá or nára are probably not in use; but evidential forms (uron-ge ní, uron-soo ní) are found; the same distribution characterizes kegen ‘dubious’. Although árata is most commonly adnominalized (árata na ‘new, fresh’) or adverbalized (árata ni ‘newly, freshly’), such forms as árata da and árata nara seem to be acceptable.

(6) Precopular nouns which are defective in that they occur in the adnominal (... nó) and the infinitive (... ní) but lack the predicative form (*... dá): süra ‘new, anew’; ? kakubetu ‘individual(ly)’, ? betudan ‘special(ly)’—betudan ni usually anticipates a negative; tokaku ‘this or that (= what with) one thing and another’—tokaku no ‘various’, tokaku suru utí(‘) ni ‘meanwhile what with one thing and another’, tokaku su ru to ‘at any moment’, Hutyúu ni hitó wa tokaku ziko o okosi-yaşuí (or okosi-gati da) ‘A careless person is apt to cause accidents’; ... . But tokaku belongs with defective predicative adverbs (p. 785).

The word sasuga125 is a pure adverb and at the same time a defective precopular noun that lacks the predicative form; sasuga is also a pseudo adnoun, since Sasuga FBI wa sin-

124. Óoki ni is a dialect form ‘much(ly), very’ and is well-known as the Kansai equivalent of óomo ‘ever so much’ used as a short form of ‘Thank you very much’; both uses are also found in Iwate prefecture (2hs 1.97, 101; 106) and probably other areas. Since the standard language lacks the form (and the derived óoi ni is hardly very colloquial), it is appropriate to write a hyphen in óoki-na, as we do for okási-na and tíisa-na. But for dialects that have óoki ni, a spaced spelling óoki na would be consistent with our other spellings.

125. Sasuga appears to come from something like s[i]ka[su]rú] ga ‘is so but’. (The traditional characters RYUUSEKI ‘flowing stones’ were arbitrarily borrowed from an uncertain literary allusion.)
hannin o tukamaeta can have two meanings: Sasuga 通 FBI wa sin-hannin o tukamaeta ‘The FBI being what they are caught the real culprit’; Sasuga 通 FBI wa sin-hannin o tukamaeta ‘As we might expect, however, the FBI caught the real culprit’. Cf. the remarks on iroiro 通 mondai, p. 826.

The word sizyoo ‘(in) history’ seems to be a defective place noun. It can be used with the mutative-locative 通 (sizyoo ni na o todomérú ‘leaves one’s name in history’ and, by extension, sizyoo ni réi o minai ‘[sees =] has no parallel in history’); it can be adnominalized (sizyoo no zinbutu a character in history’); and it can be directly adverbialized: sizyoo saikoo no dai-hóosaku ‘the highest bumper crop in history’ (SA 2687.140a)—to be read with a major juncture before the last noun and no other surface junctures, though a suppressed juncture is assumed after sizyoo since the accentuation tells us that we are not confronted with a compound noun sizyoo-saikoo ‘history-highest’. Some of the many other words ending in -zyoo ‘on, in’ are likely to be similar in their behavior, as are some of those ending in -ka ‘under, below’. A number of nouns and noun phrases can be pressed into duty as temporary adverbs of this sort, especially with expressions of order: ... zinru 通 hatú no l zinkoo-eisei kara ... ‘from mankind’s first artificial satellite’ (SA 2672.11)—the major juncture probably signals an ellipsis of {dé [wa]}; ... wá-ga kuni hatú no tennensyoku-eiga ‘... the first color movie in our country’ (Tk 2.196b); Sekáı hatú no ... ‘The first ... in the world’; Rekisi-zyoo hatú no ... ‘The first ... in history’; ... sekáí go-ban té mé no l hoyúu-koku ‘the fifth nation in the world to possess them [nuclear weapons]’ (R); ... sekáí daisán-i to iwareru ksyoo-hin-méeka Sisei-doo ni wa ... ‘for Shiseido, cosmetic maker said to be third in the world, ...’ (SA 2688.18c); ... ooki-sa dé wa sekáí dái-ni ‘second in the world in size’ (Tk 4.189a); Sekáı saityoo no únga ... ‘The longest canal in the world ...’; ... sono tiiki saidai no dansu-hóoru ... ‘the biggest dance hall in the area’ (Tk 2.115b); ... tóózí sekáí saidai no l tokai désita ‘it was the largest city in the world at that time’ (R); ... sekáí kyootuu no tenzi no gakuku ‘musical scores in a braille notation common to the whole world’ (Tk 2.178a); ... báankoku kyootuu no ksyoo-hoo(−) ni yoru köósu ... ‘a track in accord with standard international measure’ (Tk 3.30b). When the temporary adverb is modifying ití [no] ‘the most/best in ...’ or ití A-i ‘the most A in ...’ (of a rather large place), the expression is sometimes tightened into a single word, a predicative adverb made by attaching ití as a regular preaccentuated suffix: Tookyóo-ití takái ‘is the tallest in Tókyó’, sekáí-ití ookí ‘the largest in the world’, etc. But in general, and especially with longer (or less common) placenames, a juncture will intervene: Sekáí ití no dai-tókai ‘the biggest city in the world’; Higasi-Yooroppa ití no nagái únga ‘the longest canal in eastern Europe’; Nisi-Dóóití ití no ksyoo-hin-méeka ‘the ranking cosmetic maker in West Germany’; Tóóyoo ití no ksyoo-tíitai ‘the prime industrial belt of the Orient’; Nágoya ití no ksyoo-gínkoo ‘the ranking industrial bank in Nagoya’. In the following example the surface markings make the ‘most’ phrases look as if they were pure nouns, rather than predicative adverbs, but that is due to the ellipsis of a quotative element, as shown in brackets: Tookyóo-ití [to iú no] to Nippón-ití [to iú no] o kyatti-húréezu ni suru warí ni, ... ‘To the extent that they turn “number one in Tókyó” and “number one in Japan” into catch-phrases’ (SA 2688.37b). Somewhat similar cases involve the juxtaposition of a noun (to be taken as a location or a time) with some quantitative reference such as ití-men ‘(over) the entire surface’ in Sóra ití-men ni hosí ga déte iru ‘The sky is full of stars’ and also phrases like koko zyuu-nen ‘these past ten years’, but I have treated all these as apposition (§ 25) since each phrase as a whole functions as a noun—for example, it can be
Adverbs come from various sources. Some are derived from nouns or from other adverbs by phonetic or accentual modifications; some are reductions (overt or covert) from set phrases; some are direct adverbializations of nouns—as when syōgai 'life(time)' is used to mean 'for life; for all one's life; for the rest of one's life'. The relational noun sāki 'ahead; future' underlies sākki and sāki-hodo 'a little while ago'—used as a direct adverb, adnominalized with ... no, or (like many time adverbs) turned into a temporal ablative (sākki karai 'from a little while ago')—as well as the precopular noun sāki 'previous(ly)', which is defective in that it lacks the predicative form *sāki da 'it is previous', having only the adverbial sāki ni and the adnominal sāki no. In addition to sāki-hodo, a number of expressions that end in ...-hodo are listed by dictionaries as "adverbs", apparently for reasons of accentual peculiarities or meaning divergences: ika-hodo = nāni-hodo(=) = dōrē-hodo(=) 'how much', ka-hodo = kore-hodo 'this much', sa-hodo = sore-hodo 'that much', are-hodo 'that much'; noti-hodo 'later on' from noti(=) 'later'; naru-hodo 'sure enough'; ... These adverbs ending in ...-hodo overlap in meaning with the corresponding members of the following set (on the oxytonic accents of which there is some question): dōrē-ka(=) 'how much/many', kore-dāke 'this much/many', sore-dāke 'that much/many', are-dāke 'that much/many'. In dialects (at least) there are variants dōn-dāke(=), kon-dāke, son-dāke (and hon-dāke)—but not *an-dāke (Makimura 266b): Aa, ore wa kon-dāke ka sira 'Mmh, I wonder if this is all there is for me' (Tk 4.274a—speaking is the writer Niwa Furumio). We also find koi-dāke and soi-dāke, but apparently not *ai-dāke or *dōi-dāke(=). (In the meaning 'just, only, nothing but', equivalent to one use of bākari, we find dāke following kore/ sore/are but not dōrē.) There would seem to be no accentual reason to treat kore/sore/are bākari as adverbs rather than as directly adverbialized restrictive-marked nominals; dictionaries, however, often do so, perhaps in consideration of such variants as kore-ppākari/-ppākasi/-ppati and korenbākari 'just this much': Ore wa tiiyoa no o-kage ni wa korenbākari mo nāte wa inai no da si, ... 'I am not all this much indebted to my father ...' (Fn 8b). Nor is there any accentual reason to treat kore/sore/are-ki (or -kkiri or -giri) 126 as adverbs rather than phrases, but (cf. §2.3.3) we will follow the dictionaries on this: Mōo zyuu-sūnen muski no hanasi. Sore-ki(=) awānakkata 'It's over ten years ago now. Since then I haven't seen him at all' (Tk 2.71).

A similar group of words are made with ...-kurai, ...-kkurai, or ...-gurai: dōnō-kurai(=) 'how much/far/long' (also -gurai?), kono-kurai (also -gurai?) and kore-kurai/gurai/-kkurai 127 'this much'; sono-kurai/-kurai and sore-kurai/-gurai 'that much', anō-kurai (also -gurai?) and are-kurai/-gurai/-kkurai 128 'that much', iku-ra-gurai 'how much', onaiz-kurai(=)/-gurai(=) 'to the same extent'; but there is no *dōre-kurai/-gurai. The accent dictionaries list ikura-ka 'some; somewhat, partially' and ikuramo mo 'ever so many/much; (not) very many/much' and NHK alone lists ikutu-mo 'ever so many' (with regular accentuation); K and H both

126. The final accent will be heard only when da, de, or some other form of the copula follows; but the adnominalized copula nō will normally cancel the final accent, as will the underlying juncture appropriate to the directly adverbial use.

127. An example: ... moo kore-kurai no mōn desyo? 'it's already this much of a thing, you know' (Tk 2.188a).

128. Hiyo (=hiyō-dori(=)) to wa tyō-to tigau ga, are-ikkurai no tori de, hai-irono yatu ne 'It is a little different from the bulbul but it is a bird of about that size and is gray' (Tk 4.295ab).
list nāni-mo(\(\text{-}\)) '(not) anything; (not) in any way' and most dictionaries list dōō-mo 'some-
how; very' (probably because the expected meaning of the highlighted adverb is expressed as
dōō-ni mo) and dōō-ka 'please', since 'somehow, anyhow' is usually said as dōō ni ka.
The expressions dōō-ni-mo and dōō-ni-ka are also often listed as single lexical items, as is
nāni-ka 'something'. In some of these apparent lexicalizations, it is unclear whether the
expected regular syntactic formations also occur (kore ‘gurai ‘as much as this, at least
this') and whether there may be some surface results that are ambiguous. A more rigorous
investigation is called for. (Cf. § 29.)

On adverbs converted from the infinitives of adjectives (A-ku, as hāyaku ‘early, fast’)
and of adjectival nouns (AN nī, as kyokutān ni ‘extremely’), see § 9.1.11. The adverbs
šige-ku ‘in profusion, lots’ or (= asī-šige) ‘frequently’ and syūnē-ku ‘persistently’ are
the only modern forms of two of the few literary adjectival bases that end in e (no col-
loquial adjectival base ends in e); syūnē- is from the Chinese loanword syūnen(\(\text{-}\)) ‘per-
sistence’. A few adverbs are derived by attaching the suffix -ku to something other than
an adjective base: mōsi-ku [wa] ‘or else’ < mōsi ‘if’; yooya-ku ‘finally’ < yau-ya- < yāya
‘slightly’; kōto-gō-ku ‘all’ < kōto-gō [ni] ‘[in] everything’ < reduplicated noun kōto;
kā-ku (= kōo) ‘thus; sikā-ku (= sóo) ‘so’; ... . Notice also the old-fashioned Negāwakū
wa ... ‘Pri thee ...’, Osimūraku wa ... ‘It is to be regretted that ...’, and N ga/no iwakū = N no
hanā ‘de ‘according to what N says’ or ‘N says:’ from a structure V-r [u] aku (§ 13.9).129
Some of the literary negative infinitives are used as adverbs in the modern language, as we
remarked in § 8.5: nokorazu ‘all, entirely’, tāezu ‘constantly’, ...; tokaarazu ‘in the near
future, before very long’ (< ‘not being distant’, § 8.6), ... . As observed in § 9.1, a few
adverbs derive from verb infinitives: tūmari ‘after all; in short’, toriwake (= toriakete)
‘especially’, ... . The adverb ne-kōsogū(\(\text{-}\)) ‘entirely; root and branch’ is a variant of the
dialect version ne-kōsogē, derived from the verbal sentence ne o kōsōge ‘scraping
the root’. A number of adverbs are derived from gerunds; to the lists in § 9.2 we can add
tikāette(\(\text{-}\)) and kami-kākete (both ‘vowing’) as synonyms of kanarazu ‘unfailingly’ and
the literary sāsīte (\(\text{-}\)) particularly), said to be from [kore zo to] sāsīte ‘indicating it to be
precisely this’—cf. the literary attributive perfect sāsitārū NOUN + NEGATIVE ‘no
special/particular N’. Various adverbializations are often listed as lexical adverbs or con-
junctions; in addition to the adverbializations with nī from adjectival or precopular nouns,
you will also find omōeba ‘come to think of it, in retrospect, on reflection’, ... . There are
a few adverbs which derive from ablative noun phrases: atamā-[k]kara ‘from the start;
categorically; (not) at all’, ne-kkara ‘(not) at all, (not) in the least’, ... .

There are at least seven adverbs derived from iterated imperfect verb forms: miru-miru
‘in the twinkling of an eye’, masū-masu ‘more and more’, nūru-nuru (= nūra-nura) ‘slippery,
clammy’ (from the literary predicative equivalent to nureru), ōzu-ōzu ‘fearfully’ (from the
literary predicative equivalent to ozīru), naku-naku ‘in tears’; osoru-ōsōru ‘in fear, hesitant’
(as in osoru-ōsoru no mooside ‘a hesitantly made proposa’), and kawaru-gawaru ‘in turns,
one after another’. The first five—iterated disyllables—are the result of a dropped juncture;
the other two have acquired new accentuation of the type appropriate to noun compounds.

129. Well known from Koosi ga iwakū ‘Confucius say[s]’; there is also a noun īwakul(\(\text{-}\)) ‘reason;
tale’. The pure noun ōmōwakū(\(\text{-}\)) is sometimes written with the Chinese character found in the second
loanmorph of mēiwaku ‘trouble, bother’, but that is a false etymology. Ōmōraku ‘what (I) think,
methinks’ is the V-r[u] aku form of the literary perfect (§ 9.6) ōmōeri ‘has thought’. 
To this list we can add the adverbs tuku-zuku (= tuku-“tuku”) {to} ‘thoroughly, earnestly’ and misu-misu ‘before one’s eyes’, derived from a variant of the verb mēsu (probably < mi-a-s-), an old subject-exalting form of mi-ru ‘sees, looks’. Perhaps hiku-hiku ‘jerking, gasping, nervous’ (whence eventually bikkūri ‘surprised’) and sūru-sūru ‘smoothly’ also belong here. On iterated adjective bases and other similar derivations, see pp. 799-800.

Some adverbs are reduced from phrases; the reduction is often marked by accentual or other divergences from the source: ima-n-to-koro ‘the present place/situation’, kare-kore ‘around, approximately’ < kāre (= are) ya kore ‘that and this’; miru-ma ni ‘in the twinkling of an eye, in an instant’; asana-āsana = āsā-na āsā-na ‘morning after morning, every morning’, asana-yuuna = āsā-na yūu-na ‘(every) morning and evening’—the -na in these expressions is probably a contraction of ni wa; iyademo-ōdemo = iyā de mo ō de mo ‘whether yea or nay’ = ‘willy-nilly’; koto-nō-hoka(”) ‘exceedingly; unexpectedly’; tōdo-no-tumari = kekkkyōkū ‘in the end’ (also an abstract noun ‘the upshot, the final consequence’); mūyami-yatara ni ‘dashingly’; noru-sōruka = norū ka sōru ka ‘sink or swim’, itika-bātika = iti ka bātī ka ‘sink or swim’ (~ no dai-syōobu desu yō (SA 2793.129b); …

Often listed as a prefix, the quasi adverb ai is separated from the verb it modifies by a minor juncture: āi | ara sosū, āi | tatakau, āi | katarau, āi | imasimēru(”), etc. The adverb, derived from the infinitive āi ‘meet’, has two meanings: one is a synonym of āi-tomo ni = tōmo(“) ni ‘together, jointly’ and the other is a synonym of tagai ni ‘mutually, reciprocally, each other’. In the latter sense, āi V carries the same meaning as V-i-au (see §9.1.10); but āi miru can mean ‘look at it together’ (only?) whereas mi-au means only ‘look at each other, exchange glances’. Kenkyusha gives ‘together’ examples of āi yorokōbu ‘share joy’ and āi narande iku ‘go side by side’; the ‘reciprocally’ examples given are āi mukatte suwaru ‘sit face to face’ and āi tuide ‘successively, one after another’.¹³⁰ The quasi adverb āi is well known in the set phrase āi zengo site ‘though not simultaneously = while differing in time’ as in this example: Tyōsya wa āi zengo site “Gendai-būngaku no sintai” … to iu hyoorōnsyuu mo hakkoo sitā ga, … ‘The author also published, though not at the same time, a collection of critical articles called “The course of modern literature”, and ...’ (SA 2687.109c). The quasi adverb āi is typically followed by a verb (āi oginā ‘complement each other’, āi nite iro ‘are mutually resemblant’), or a verbal noun predicated by suru (āi itti suru ‘mutually accord’, āi muzyun suru ‘are mutually contradictory’, āi tekio suru ‘are mutually accommodating’) or a bound verbal noun predicated by -su or -ziru (āi tuu-ziru ‘communicate with each other’); but occasionally other kinds of predicates are found: āi hitosii ‘are mutually equivalent’, …; āi irenai ‘are inconsistent with each other’. Sometimes the “mutuality” is reinforced by adverbial expressions of similar meaning: … sorōzore o-tagai ni āi oginātte, … ‘they mutually complement each other respectively’ (Nakane 83). I have confirmed the acceptability of āi with ses-suru ‘get together’, kasanaru ‘mutually accumulate’,

¹²⁹ Or iyaga-ōdemo = iyā ga ō de mo.

¹³⁰ More examples: … āi tonari-ātta huta tu no kuni de … ‘in two countries neighboring each other’ (Kotoba no uchū 1967/4.15a); … huta tu no sēiryoku ga āi tairitu suru sēkai de, … ‘in a world where two powers stand opposed to each other’ (MJW); … āi koto-natta genni no monō ‘those mutually responsive with’ … (Y 359); horotonō āi kikkō suru gūrai ni tukawaretete iro ‘are used virtually as if in mutual rivalry’ (Mabuchi 210): āi hisyō su su ‘checks them against each other’ (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.52b); … A word of caution: what looks in print as though it might be “āi tai-suru is in fact aitai(”) suru ‘face each other’, a verbal noun—cf. āitai(”) ‘zukū(“) by (mutual) agreement’; the hyphenation in Kenkyusha is misleading. Cf. āi han-suru ‘run counter to each other’.
hakāru ‘plan together’, maziwāru ‘associate with each other’, tudōu ‘gather together’, ...; also āi tatsuṣaete ‘hand in hand with each other’, ... . Notice too the derived nouns ai-moti ‘mutual dependence, common possession’ and ai-nori ‘riding together’. In the epistolary style (§ 22.3) āi is rather freely prefixed to verbs with no special meaning, other than elegance, and that is the source of such expressions as Ai-sumimasen ‘I’m very sorry/grateful; ai-kawarazu ‘(in good health) as always’, and āi-naru-beku-wa ‘if possible; if it’s all right’. 

Adverbs are like adjectival nouns and precopular nouns in that, unlike pure nouns, they can not be modified by an adnominal element, whether a prenoun or an adnominalized sentence. To be an epitheme (the target of an adnominalization) a word must be capable of playing a major role such as subject or object in the larger sentence, with a few special exceptions; see § 13.1 for a more detailed discussion. Predicable adverbs can undergo most of the conversions appropriate to a nominal sentence (... da), but they generally resist the mutative conversions of § 9.1.11, though individual exceptions can be found: sibāraku ni nāru ‘gets to be a while’ is acceptable but *sibāraku ni suru ‘makes it a while’ is not. The deictic-anaphoric correlatives kō ‘like this’, sóo ‘like that’, āa ‘like that’, and dōō ‘how’ occur directly before nāru/suru in the mutative conversions (*kōō ni nāru/suru → kō nāru/suru), with all but dōō losing their accents, as is usual when they are followed by anything other than the copula or a particle. This direct use before nāru/suru is to be attributed to the fact that the derivation includes the morpheme -kū (kōō < ka-ū < ka-kū),131 used (as the adjective infinitive) both for the adverbial conversion and for the mutatives, as explained in § 9.1.11.

Certain of the adverbs of degree will modify nouns or noun phrases which are RELATIONAL, their meaning deriving from relative location in time, space, etc., with respect to some other noun, specified or understood: Sūgu sōba da ‘It is right nearby’; Sukōsi migi desu ‘It is a bit to the right’; Hāruka saki ni ... ‘Way ahead ...’; Mōto nanpō no ūmi ... ‘seas farther south’ (SA 2677.70c). Adverbialized quantity nouns can modify relational nouns in the same way, as we see in sono sān-yokka atō ... ‘three or four days after that’ (SA 2689.126d), in which the entire phrase is directly adverbialized, but only after the noun phrase sān-yokka atō has been adnominally modified by the adnoun sono ‘that’. 

There are also adverbs which modify numbers or numerical phrases: maru ‘fully’ as in maru sān’nyuu roku-sai ‘fully 36 years old’; asi kake ‘including the first and last (year), a full (number of years)’; syōomi ‘just, clear, full, net’ as in ... syāin(‘) to site hataraita no wa syōomi han-tuki na n desu ‘I have worked as an employee for a full fortnight’ (Tk 3.184a); mono-no ‘about, a matter of’ as in mono-no sān-pun to kakarānakatta ‘it didn’t take three minutes’ (SA 2639.106), mono-no san-yon-zippun mo iku to ... ‘when I had walked for a matter of thirty or forty minutes’ (SA 2642.35a); yaku ‘approximately’; pūrasu(‘) ‘plus, over (count), up’ and mainasu ‘minus, under (count), short, down’—see § 13.7a. It is not clear, however, whether we need to differentiate these “prenumerary adverbs” from such adnouns as hon-no ‘mere’.

Dictionaries sometimes treat mattakū ‘completely’ as if it belonged to two classes, pure adverb (mattakū siranai ‘is completely ignorant’, mattakū urusai ‘is quite vexing’) and defective precopular noun (Mattakū da ‘True’,132 mattakū no ūso ‘an utter fabrication’)

131. Corresponding to the accentually aberrant kāku used as a semi-literary equivalent of kōo in the modern standard language. (See p. 784.)

132. But the accentuation given here implies an adverbial use with propredicate ellipsis such as Mattakū(1) sono(1) da. Unless it can be shown that (?)Mattakū da occurs, the proper assignment would
which lacks the adverbialized form with ...

Adverbs seem to be highly idiosyncratic with respect to FOCUS; some adverbs take wa or mo freely, others take only wa or only mo, and quite a number occur with neither. Those that do not focus freely should be subcategorized, listed, and so marked in the lexicon. Some adverbial phrases already contain focus as given (i.e. do not appear except with the focus particle attached, or optionally attach/drop the particle):

- MO: mata-site-mo, matá-mo, matá-mo-ya = matá-mata(”) ‘repeatedly; once again’; átaka-mo, ádaka-mo ‘just (as if)’; iyásiku-mo ‘even slightly’; imíziku-mo ‘aptly, admirably’; tote-mo ‘absolutely, utterly, quite’; sâ-mo ‘evidently, so’; siká-mo ‘moreover’; kuregure-mo ‘repeatedly’, mottó-mo ‘most’; iyaga-uénimo (also iyá ga ué ni mo, iyá ga ué ni mo) ‘even more, all the more’.

- WA: arui-wa ‘maybe; or; some/others’; môsiku-wa ‘or; otherwise’; matá-wa ‘or else, and/or’; hiité-wa ‘and by extension, furthermore, moreover’; ... (Often listed is zitú wa = zitú ni ‘in truth’, but zitú is a pure noun.)

- SÎ-MO: kanarazu-si-mo ‘(not) necessarily’; orí-si-mo ‘just then’; tokí-si-mo ‘just then’; màda-si-mo ‘preferable, rather—as in Zyutaku wa syataku ga áreba màda-si-mo da ga, ... ‘For housing it’s better to have a company house, but ... ’ (SA 2674.113a); ... . (But sâsi-mo does not belong here; see p. 501.)

- {MO}: keredo {mo} ‘but’; náo {mo} ‘furthermore’ (SA 2689.119a); mósi {mo} ‘if, perchance’; ...

- {WA}: tümari {wa} ‘in brief; after all’ (SA 2678.116d); osóra ku {wa} ‘probably’; mazú {wa} ‘about, nearly, on the whole’, as in ... mazú wa tyuu-kibo no kokusai-gakkai ‘it is an international scholarly conference of about middle size’ (SA 2677.158a); sasuga {wa} ‘as expected’; ...

Similarly, with various interjectional particles (from § 15):

- {YA}: sázo-kasi {ya} ‘likely’, matá-mo {ya} ‘yet again’, íma {ya} ‘now(adays)’, kanarazú = kanarazú ã ‘for sure’, màsite(”) = màsite ya ‘much more/less’; yómó {ya} ‘surely {not}’; ... . On yá, see p. 933.

- {YA/KA}: mósi {ya/ka} ‘if (perchance)’; ? ...

- ZO: túi-zo ‘(not) at all, ever’, dóo-zo ‘please’; ...

Some adverbs can optionally be followed by either wa or mo. Usually the focus will carry a difference of meaning (and translation): sá-te ‘well, now’, sá-te wa ‘so then, besides’,
successful adverbs can take other markers of focus and restriction; sika can be applied to adverbs and to adverbial phrases (such as those made with the postadnominal hodó: ... tokitama sika kō o dašanaku nātta 'got so he only seldom showed his face' (Kb 125a); ... kanzyō su ru hōdō sika nori-te ga arimasēn ‘there are barely enough passengers to count’ (Kb 125a). Examples of adverbs followed by various markers of focus, restriction, etc.: Ukkāri WA sīn’yōo dekīnai (＝Ukkāri sīn’yōo wa dekīnai) ‘You can’t absentmindedly trust them’; Hitodōri mo māda, tīrahora sika nākatta ‘There was still pedestrian traffic only here and there’ (Kb 251b); ... sūgu ni DE MO ... ‘right away, say, ...’ (Kb 274b); Tikāku ni sūnde iru no ni tokitama sūra aemasēn ‘Though he lives nearby, I don’t get to see him even occasionally’; Saikīn Kōso kō no hen mo ih ga ōoku nātta ga, sore māde wa zooki-bāyasi bākari desita ‘It is just lately that houses have sprung up around here (too), but up to then it was nothing but woods’; Anō-hito ni wa tokitama nādo/nānka zya nāku, māniti(＝) ai-tai n desu ‘Him I want to see every day, not just once in a while or something’; Māniti(＝) zya nāku, tokitama ‘Gūrai nara awāsete yarrow ‘I’ll let you see him if not every day at least once in a while’; Kūyō-kuyo BĀKARI sinakutatte (=sinakute mo) sūmu wāke zyaa nāi ka, nānimo(＝)? ‘Can’t you get along without worrying all the time?’ (Kb 285b): Anō otokō wa saikīn BĀKARI de mo si-gokō toonan ni atte iru sō da ‘He’s been robbed four or five times just lately’; Tokitama DAKÉ de mo i kara ai-tai monō da ‘I want to see him even if it’s only once in a while’; Aēru nara, tokitama D’ATTE kamaimasēn ‘If I can see him I don’t mind if it is even once in a while’; Saikīn hōdō de wa nī ga, ano hen wa mōto kara yōōzin no warui tokorō desita ‘That’s always been a place where the security (=police protection) was bad, though not as bad as recently’. (Anō-hito wa sendatte MADE kō na gakkō ni tutōmete imašita ‘He was working in this school up till the other day’ applies a temporal allative to a time adverb. See §3.7.)

Dictionaries sometimes list as lexical items certain adverbial phrases of the type N [gā] A-ku, especially those with obligatory ellipsis of the subject marker.133 When the noun is atomic, the juncture will drop with the case-marker, leaving a single phonological word: keiki gā yoku ‘in a lively way’, kimae gā yoku ‘generously’, tugoo gā yoku ‘conviently’. When the noun is tonic, in many phrases the juncture persists, letting you hear two accent phrases: ikiōi gā yoku ‘vigorously, forcefully’, ... (On kāzu ōoku/sukūnaku and kazū-ōoku, see §13.5, §9.1.) Oxytonic nouns behave like atomic nouns, leaving no overt indication of the juncture: tegiā gā yoku → tegiā yoku ‘skillfully’; ori gā yoku → orī yoku ‘opportune, fortunately’. But in other instances, the accentuation clearly tells us that the phrase has been reduced to a lexical compound: oti-naku ‘without omission’ < orī gā ; yamū-naku ‘unavoidably’ < yamū - [no] ) gā [-] naku ‘without any stopping’ (or perhaps < yamū [-] ) naku ‘being unable to stop’; cf. p. 374. For ‘unluckily’ you will hear both ūn waruku with minor juncture and ūn (-) waruku with the juncture dropped but the accentuation remaining phrasal (not *un-wāruku); yet ‘luckily’ seems to be said only as ūn (-) yoku with no juncture, perhaps because it is a syllable shorter. The expressions derive from ūn ga waruku/yoku ‘luck being bad/good’. A similar problem is the reduction of tēi ga yoku ‘appearance being good’,

133. And those based on an otherwise unused noun, such as that found in kokoro-oki nāku ‘without reservation; hesitancy; easy in mind; heartily’. Notice that expressions such as kakusu koto nāku ‘concealing nothing’ require the suppression of gā, even though the noun (kotō) is modified (here by the adnominalized verb kakusu ‘hides it’).
which is said either as tei-yoku (by Hamako Chaplin) or as tei (-) yoku (by H) and means 'decently, gracefully'; MKZ lists both versions. (There is no *tei-waruku; the closest antonym is bu-kiyoo ni 'clumsily'.)

On the derivation of itu-no-ma-ni-ka 'before one is aware, unnoticed' from an interrogativized propredication itu no ma ni [da] ka 'is it (happening) in the interval of when/sometime/anytime', see p. 923. The adverb sikāru-ni ʃ{máta(−)} 'however' is derived from sikā āru ŋ{no} ni 'though it be thus' with the literary adverb sikā = sikā-ku = sóo. Cf. sikāi 'however' from sikā + si (particle or infinitive, cf. 487); sikā-mo 'moreover'.

Although ori-kara 'just then' and onozukara (= ono-to) 'by itself, of its own accord' are adverbs, mizukara 'oneself, itself' is a pure noun (subclassed as a pronoun) as is the synonym zibun, since mizukara ga/o can be heard; but mizukara is sometimes directly adverbialized to mean 'by oneself, by one's own efforts'. Though often used as adverbs, the four words sorezore, meimei, menmen, and onono 'each, respectively' are also pure nouns: kono onono wa 'each of these'; meimei ga (SA 2724.29b). O-tagai 'each other' is sometimes used as a noun: o-tagai o riikai (−) sui- au 'mutually understand each other'; o-tagai ga masumasa kiken na rōōhi i o suru to iu zyōokyōo ... 'both sides making more and more dangerous extravagances' (Tanigawa 24).

It is possible for one adverbial phrase to modify another; the first is often an adverbial of degree: tūi saikin 'quite recently, just lately', tūi saki-hodo 'just a while back'; mattaku totu-zen ŋ{ni} 'quite suddenly'; Sono hayasi ga, osorosiku nagaku tuzu ita 'That forest stretched an awfully long way' (SA 2642.34a). When there are two adverbs of degree they are usually to be taken together either (1) as independent modifications of the predicate, or (2) as a structure comprising the second adverb and the predicate that is modified as a whole by the first adverb: Sore ni no mo māite ikemen kotō wa ... 'And even worse (than that) ...' (sore ni 'on top of that, besides' ŋ{no} ni); ángai (−) tote-mo ŋi monó da 'it is an unexpectedly very good thing' (CK 985.379); Mite ōtte, hanahada dóo-mo hu-yukai desita né, móto zibun wa, rippa na hazu dá to omótte 'Looking at it, I was very unhappy indeed thinking I ought to be a better person' (Tk 2.140a); ... Usually only one order will be possible; as Sakuma (46) observes, you can say móto zut-to karui 'far lighter' but not *zut-to móto karui. A string of two or more adverbial phrases not involving degree usually represents independent modifications of the predicate or sentence: TIME + TIME: Mázu hazime/saisyo/dāiíti ni, ... 'First, to start with, ...'; TIME + SPEED: Āru-hi totu-zen ... 'One day suddenly' or 'Suddenly one day'; LOGICAL + LOGICAL: Arúi-wa máta(−) 'Or yet again'. An example with three adverbial phrases: Watasi to Amerika tyohoo-kiikan to no sessyoku wa, āru ása, mattaku totu-zen ni okóttā 'The contact between me and the American spy organization took place one morning quite suddenly' (SA 2641.17). Sometimes there will be a potential ambiguity that can be cleared up by the juncture: ása l háyaku l ókite will be understood only as 'rises early-in-the-morning' but ása l háyaku l ókite will be taken either as 'in the morning rises early/earlier' or 'in the morning rises hastily' (=isóide ókite).

It is also possible to modify a descriptive adverbial phrase by an evaluative adverbial: iyá ni hanâyaka ni 'disgustingly gaudily'. Sometimes a manner adverbial is used to modify

134. But in Sengo ma-mō-naku no koro ni ... 'At a time not long after the war ...' the directly adverbialized time noun sengo modifies the adverb ma-mō-naku 'soon' to form an adverbial phrase that is predicative and adnominalized to koro 'time'. In Sengo(−) ma-mō-naku no aru-ban, ... 'One evening shortly after the war ...' (Tk 3.253) we find further adverbialization of the resulting structure—also with predicative and adnominalization.
another descriptive adverbial: reitān ni hiniku ni 'coolly cynically'. But the proper explanation for these types is an adverbialization (§ 9.1.11) of a descriptive sentence that has been modified by a manner adverbial: iyā ni hanāyaka da 'it is disgustingly gaudy', reitān ni hiniku da 'it is coolly cynical'. The manner adverbials in question take on a tinge of "degree"; in some cases they are to be regarded as degree adverbs: sugōku 'terribly', hidoku 'hideously', osorōsiku 'frightfully', etc. By using one or more degree adverbs it is possible to inflate the structures given above: sugōku reitān ni hiniku ni 'in a terribly coolly cynical way', hizyoy ni osorōsiku iyā ni hanāyaka ni 'in a very terribly disgustingly gaudy way'. But such efforts, like their English counterparts, seem more and more overdrawn with each addition. It is unclear whether such a phrase as san-nīsh sorōte 'in a group of three' (or 'in groups of three') should be taken as containing quantitative modification of an adverb derived from a gerund, or—more likely—as an adverbialization of a sentence san-nī [no hito ga] sorō 'three people form a group'. The latter explanation is supported by such phrases as go-hūhu [ga] o-sori de 'husband and wife together'. Some double adverbs have been phonologically consolidated into single lexical items and are so carried by dictionaries: ima-nōo 'even now, still today'; nā-no-sara(−) 'all the more', nā-noma, moreover', nā-nōo 'more and more, still more', ... . Other double adverbs are clichés: kirei sappārī suteru 'throws it clean away' (or kirei supparī, Tsukagoshi 38).

We have spoken before of the use of degree adverbs to modify relational nouns: móō(−) daibū mē ūnī 'now quite some time ago'; moo tyō-tō saki ni 'a little farther ahead'; Kooban no tuī sōba da 'It is right next to the police box'; Kono sukōsī sitō no Purinsu-Hōteru no āru hūkin ni, ... 'In the neighborhood a little below here where the Prince Hotel is ... ' (SA 2642.42b); ... . Other kinds of adverbs and adverbial phrases also sometimes occur as modifications of relational nouns: sono sūgu anō [de/nī] 'immediately after that [in time/order]'; sono sūgu tonārī de wa 'right next door to that'; ... kara saki ga tigā 'from ... on it's different' (Maeda 1961.172); Sono mata uē no tēntōo (= misē no tyōo) wa zyōomu-torisimari-yaku na n desu 'The store manager still one above THAT is the executive director' (SA 2672.62c). Comparator phrases will be found: sore yōri mo higasi(−) 'more east than that, further east yet'; Koko yōri mo hitōtō kawa-simo no murā de wa 'in a village one down the river from here'; Anata yōri yohodo uē desu yō 'I am much older than you' (Tk 2.136a). And adverbialized quantity nouns (numbers or quantifiers) are quite common: hitōri saki ni dēru 'leaves one person ahead of others', yottō [tō] usi ne kano-zyo wa 'she who is four years older' (SA 2635.59b); mittō [tō] usi ne ane wa 'her sister who was three years older' (SA 2635.107d); ... . Quantificational modification of relational time nouns is common; the modification is set off by a basic minor juncture: ni-kāgētō mēe 'two months ago/earlier/before', sono san-nē noh mō ni 'three years after that', ... . The quantity can be focused or restricted: yōnhyakū-nen 'guirā mēe 'some four hundred years ago', nihyakū-nennē 'mārī mo mēe ni 'over two hundred years earlier' (Ōno 1966.89); Mōō(−) nizyūu-nen mo mukasi no kōtō ni nāru ga 'It was all of twenty years ago (but/and) ... '.

135. There is a contemporary use of the adjective sugō as equivalent to the degree adverb (mono-)sugōku 'very', according to Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten 275. An example recorded from 1972 television: Sugōku ūkuzatā nā desu ūnī 'It's really complicated, isn't it!' And erā = eraku, KKK 44.149.

136. But the following sentence will not permit the reading ima-nōo, since we need ima as a directly adverbialized time noun to serve as epipheme for the adnominalized sentence ending tatta: ... kansei [gō(−)] huta-tuki 'āmarī tatta ima nā kōkai sarezū ni iru ... 'that is still not being shown to the public when over two months have passed now since it was completed' (SA 2640.103a).
The quantity may be an adverbalized sentence: "ik-ken oite tonari da ‘it is two doors removed/away’." Sometimes an unexpected word turns out to be a relational noun: Kamakura(-) ‘zidai no goku hazime o sakaito site ... ‘Taking the very beginning of the Kamakura period as a boundary, ...’ (Ono 1966.96); goku syokkai no koro, ... ‘in the very early days’ (Tk 4.323b); syoogakkoo no goku syoykyuu kara, ... ‘(starting from) the most elementary class in primary school’ (Ono 1967.179); taihen enpoo(-) kara kita ‘has come from quite far away’; Mootto zyooryuu no hoo ga ii desyou ‘Farther upstream would be better’. And sometimes the adverbal modification is mata ‘again’ interpolated between adnoun and noun: sono mata o-kage de ‘thanks to that again’ (Maeda 1962.170); sono mata tugi wa ‘next after THAT (again)’; sono mata usiro ni ‘and behind THAT (again)’; ... . Degree adverbs can also modify nonspecific quantifiers, which resemble relational nouns in this respect: Sihon-kin(-) no KANARI ooku o Amerika kara ukete iro ‘We are getting fairly much capital from America’ (ooku here is a noun derived from the infinitive ooku ‘being much’, not the infinitive itself); Gakusei no HIZYOO NI ooku ga senso hantai da ‘Quite many of the students are opposed to the war’; ZUIBUN syooryuu(-) o ireru to, kooka ga aru ‘There is an effect when you put in a very small quantity’; GOKU iti-bu no hokus en-kei no hi to ga kageki na n desu ‘It’s only a very small part (= number) of the people of North Korean ancestry who are radical’ (Tk 3.5a).

To say ‘more interesting’ or ‘smaller’ or ‘cheaper’ or the like, you can modify the adjective (or the adjectival/precopular noun) with the adverb motto ‘more’; you can supply the basis for the comparison by prefacing your description with N yori ‘than N’, which will make motto redundant but not unacceptable. When the basis for comparison is not specified, instead of motto you will sometimes find yori(-) directly preceding the descriptive word: Yori omosiriri ‘It is more interesting’; Yori anka na gesyuu o motomeru ‘I seek more inexpensive lodgings’. This modern usage, more common in writing than in speech, is believed to have originated as an attempt to translate the English comparative ‘-er’. It is somewhat debatable whether this prefixed yori(-) is to be considered as a full-fledged adverb (following the treatment in MKZ5) or whether it should be called a prefix or, at most, a bound adverb. Notice the following characteristics of the structure: (1) Nothing, not even wa or mo or ka, can intervene between yori(-) and the descriptive word; (2) The resulting phrase can not be preceded by any modification, nor can the domain of yori(-) extend beyond the immediately following expression; (3) The presence of yori(-) does not serve to block the optional ellipsis of [n] after an adjectival noun marked by the suffix -teki when another noun follows: ... yori tyokusetu-teki ... hyoogén(-) ‘more direct expressions’ (Ishigaki Kenji 219); (4) Although we will follow H and K in listing this synonym of motto as yori(-) with optional accent, most speakers seem to treat the word as anomic except for oratorical or reading pronunciations, when you may hear such versions as Yori I tuyoku ... ‘More powerfully ...’ (R). For the phrase yori(-) ooku na yorokobii(-) ‘a greater joy’ the pronunciation yori ooki na yorokobi is given by H, as if the juncture were dropped. Speakers who use the atonic pronunciation (such as Hamako Chaplin) will usually attach yori to the following word without juncture: yori sizuka na I tokoro de ‘in a quieter place’, yori kyooryoku na mon ‘more powerful things’, yori omoi sekinin ‘a heavier responsibility’. But in certain contexts a minor juncture is inserted: ... seikatu o | yori | maemuki ni sasaeru(-) | | tamé nill ... ‘in order to support a livelihood with more foresight’ (SA 2793.125a); Zyugyoo o | yori | omosiroko suru | | tamé nill ... ‘in order to make the teaching more interesting ...’’. We might account for the
prefaced yōri(～) as an ellipsis of [N] yōri that strands the comparator of §2.6 after omission of the unspecified noun. The atonic version could be regarded as what we would expect to remain behind if some tonic noun (as in nani ka yōri 'than something') were omitted; the tonic version would be expected from the omission of some atonic noun (as in sore yōri 'than that'). But it seems more likely that the atonic version is due to the somewhat artificial feel of the structure.

To say things like 'exactly nine o'clock', several devices are available: (1) pseudo adnoun + time noun: syōō kū-zi; (2) adverb + time noun: tyoodo [i] kū-zi, kittiri kū-zi, kakkiiri kū-zi; (3) time noun + adverb: kū-zi kakkiiri. The last form—a stylistic inversion—is not used by all speakers. In place of kakkiiiri there are possibly speakers who use kokkiri, apparently a "downtown" Tōkyō dialect form. But from the data in dictionaries this word appears to be a restrictive ... "kokkiri used as a synonym of one meaning of 'dakē exactly': iti-dō/ip-pēn "kōkkiri exactly once", hitōtū "kōkkiri 'exactly one', hyaku-en "kōkkiri 'exactly a hundred yen' (=kakkiiri hyaku-en). Shimizu carries a variant with voiced initial -gōkkiri. See §2.4.

In addition to specific collocational restrictions, certain adverbs such as hayaku 'fast' or sūra-sura 'smoothly' will normally modify only verbal predicates; sūgōku 'awfully', on the other hand, freely occurs with adjectives and also with at least some verbal predicates (hasir-u, isōgu, benkyōo suru, ...). A few adverbs are so limited as to be bound intensifiers; thus iippuu(～) seems to occur only in iippuu(～) kawatte iru = iippuu(～) tiga'i 'is eccentric, unconventional'. Hayakū mo 'even a hundred' functions as an adverb idiomatically bound to the phrase hayakō mo syooti da 'knows full well'. The literary adverb iizukūnzo (from iduku n[i]=dōko ni + zo) is usually followed by siran = siramu to represent the meaning 'How should we/ I know?' The adverb ryo-o-ryo 'both (mutually)' appears to be always followed by the quasi adverb āi: Sōren daihyōo, Bēi daihyōo, ryo-o-ryo āi tāzī site yuzurau, koosyo wa keturetu ni itatta(～) 'The Soviet representative and the American representative were unyielding on both sides and the negotiations reached the breaking point'. But ryo-o-ryo is peculiar in that, unlike other adverbs, it will permit adnominal modification, as if it were a noun like sōhōo or ryōohōo(～) 'both'; yet, it is unlike sōhōo in that it can not be marked by ga or ō, and thus is an adverb rather than a noun: Seisan husoku to zyuyoo no ryo-o-ryo āi mātte, itizirushī kākakū(～) no kootoo o Maněita 'With both insufficiency of production and growth of demand mutually interdependent, they invited a marked jump in prices'.

There are a number of adverbs with special shapes (many reduplicative) that refer for the most part to emotional affect; we will call them AFFECTIVE ADVERBS. By shape and origin we can distinguish the following types:

(1) Reduplicated disyllables such as niko-niko 'smiling' that coexist with the non-reproduced disyllable in a discontinuous structure of the pattern C1 V1 q/n C2 V2 'ri (thus nikkōri 'smiling'): hāki-haki : hakkiri 'brisk, clear(cut)'; mēki-mēki : mekkiri 'remarkably, noticeably'; ūka-ūka : ukkaniri 'inattentively, absentmindedly'; biku-biku : bikkūri 'startled'; yuku-yuku ('as one goes') >) 'by and by, eventually, in the future': yakkūri 'slowly'; nobi-nobi : nonbiri 'carefree'; böya-boa : bon'yā 'vague'. With nigori: simi-zimi 'thoroughly, seriously': simiri 'seriously, quietly'. Without q/n: sūra-sura 'smoothly, easily': sūrāri 'smoothly; slender'.

(2) Similar morphemes that occur only in the -q/n'ri form: assāri 'simple, plain'
(but Shimmura lists asa-asa ‘simply, lightly’); dosséri ‘ever so many/much’; dosséri ‘massive; dignified’ (dosi-dosi ‘rapidly; constantly; in large numbers’); pokkúri ‘suddenly, all at once’ (póka-póka ‘warm; repeatedly drubbing’); sukki ‘completely, totally’; sokkúri ‘entirely; exactly; intact’–as prepopular/adjetival noun (p. 1051) ‘just like’.  

(3) Similar morphemes that occur only in the reduplicated form: dossi-dossi ‘rapidly; constantly; in large numbers’; kóro-kóro ‘rolling, chirping’; sêka-sêka ‘fidgety, restless’; úzya-úzya ‘in swarms’; zóku-zóku ‘feeling chilled/thrilled’. *Two-mora monosyllables*: gün-gun ‘steadily (progressing), vigorously’; dón-don ‘ boom-boom; rapidly, steadily’. 

(4) Disparate dissyllables: teki-paki ‘ briskly, speedily’; tira-hora ‘ sporadically’. 

(5) Iterated morphemes (see p. 790): kawari-gawari ‘in turns, one after another’; masú-masu ‘more and more’; miru-miru ‘in the twinkling of an eye’; misu-misu ‘before one’s eyes’; nakau-naku ‘in tears’; nûru-nuru ‘slippery, clammy’; osuru-osoru ‘in fear; hesitant’; ózu-ózu ‘fearfully’; tuku-zuku ‘thoroughly, earnestly’. 

(6) Iterated verb imperfects (see p. 411): (a) vni. / adv.: aki-aki ‘growing weary’; korí-kóri, korí-góri ‘learning to one’s sorrow’; músi-musi ‘being muggy, steamy’; ózi-ózi ‘fearfully, timorously’; súbe-sübe ‘growing smooth, sleek’; ûne-ûne ‘undulating’. (b) adverb: kawari-gawari ‘in turns’; kasane-gasane ‘repeatedly; wholeheartedly’; naki-naki ‘in tears’; oi-oi ‘gradually, by and by’ (nonpredictable). (c) subjective adverb with optional to: ari-ari ‘vividly’; hare-bare ‘unclouded; cheerfully’; hie-bie ‘cold’; hore-bôre ‘fondly; enchanting, fascinating’;¹³ seven-‘about to wither’; nobi-nobi ‘feeling relieved’; (?) nóme-nóme, óme-óme ‘shamelessly’; sae-záe ‘refreshingly, cheerfully’; simi-zimi ‘thoroughly’ (see above); úki-úki ‘lighthearted, jaunty’. Other iterated verb imperfects are prepopular nouns (nobi-nobi with delay after delay, ...) and there is one derived adjective, nare-nare ‘intimate’. 

(7) Iterated adjective bases (sometimes with attenuated meanings) that can be subgrouped according to privileges of occurrence as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBGROUP</th>
<th>Adv + V</th>
<th>+ to</th>
<th>+ to site iru</th>
<th>+ N</th>
<th>+ to site N</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) gotu-gotu ‘rough, stiff’</td>
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<td>(also adjectival noun) koro-noro ‘sluggish’</td>
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<td>yuru-yuru ‘loose, slow’</td>
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<td>(b) ao-ao ‘vividly’</td>
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<td>hosu-boso ‘slender’</td>
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<td>maru-maru ‘plump’</td>
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<td>nuku-nuku ‘warm’</td>
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<td>uto-uto ‘drowsy’</td>
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<td>(c) hiro-biro ‘vive wide open’</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>samu-zamu ‘cold’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siro-siro ‘white’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹³7. Guromyko ga enzetsu shi suru tokki te hore-bôre simasu ne ‘When Gromyko gives a talk, it’s fascinating to watch’ (Tk 2.119b).


§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBGROUP</th>
<th>Adv + V</th>
<th>+ to</th>
<th>+ to site iru</th>
<th>+ da no N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(d) kowa-gowa(−) 'timid'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibu-sibu(−) 'reluctant'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiká-zika(−) 'near; soon'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usu-usu 'faint, slight'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) haya-baya 'early; prompt'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karu-garu 'light; easy'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taka-da ka 'high' (cf. takada ka(-) 'at most')</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yasu-yasu 'easy'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma-uma 'neatly, proficiently'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= (manma-to)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) (inoti) kara-gara 'barely'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) atu-atu 'heated; passionate'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the last item, a newish word, would appear to be a precopular noun, probably defective (since there is no "atu-atu ni 'heatedly'"); a straightforward example: ... atu-atu no tokoro o tabēru no daga ... 'They are eaten when they are piping hot' (SA 2680.124d). The words in Subgroup (c) are like subjective adjectival nouns, but the tāru form does not occur; tīma-tīma 'small and round' (? < tī{isākute} ma[ru]) seems to belong here, but there is no adjective tīma-. The one word in Subgroup (f), kara-gara, is a predicatable adverb. The remaining subgroups are at the same time ordinary (i.e. objective) adverbs and SUBJECTIVE adverbs, in that they enjoy the option of taking the subjective essive to. With a few exceptions (as noted above) these are not predicatable; they are pure adverbs. The word aakaaka-to with its obligatory to is a subjective adverb; so, usually, are hukābūka-to 'deeply' and dēkadēka-to 'in large letters = conspicuously'. Other subjective adverbs will be found among the mimetic and quasi-mimetic words of §21.7. The adverbs in Subgroups (a), (b), and (c) are used alone with suru as if they were intransitive verbal nouns (and they are so noted in MKZ); we might regard this as an extension of the intransitive use of suru as seen in such expressions as to to suru 'a sound is made', nioi ga suru 'it smells', kanzi/ki ga suru 'has the feeling that', etc., but I believe it is better to think of them as the result of optional suppression of the subjective essive, i.e. as ellipsis Adv {to} site iru. The aspect class of the resulting phrase is, like that of sugurérū, DURATIVE-STATIVE.

There are dialects that use the iterated adjective base as a regular form of the adjective paradigm (for example, on the island of Miyako in the Ryūkyūs); perhaps the forms listed above are relics of a similar process. There is one additional group of affective adverbs—with the grammar ADV {to}, ADV {to} site iru, ADV {to} sita N—that are made by placing compound-noun accentuation on an iterated noun: musume-musume 'girl-like, girlish[ly]', kodomo-kodomo 'childlike, childish[ly]', etc. Examples: ... sonna byoon-in byoon-in sita kao tu de wa nakkatta 'didn't have such a terribly sick (man) look' (Fn 210ab); ... monzen(−)

138. In the temporal meaning ‘soon’ (also 〜ni).
139. And asa-asa is apparently used as a synonym by some; I recall seeing asa-asa to harēru ‘(the weather) slightly clears’ in Kb.
140. And the derivative oo-ōtuatu(?) in oo-ōtuatu no sāityuu de atta ‘were in the midst of a passionate love affair’.
ni iru o-boosan ga syoobai-syōobai site ite hu-yukai datta monō desu kara ... ‘I was displeased at the commercialism of the monks in front of the temple gate’ (Shiba 48).

Under the heading “affective adverbs” we have put together a number of different kinds of words, some of which are not—by our criteria—adverbs at all. Theiterated verb infinitives of Subgroup 6a above are probably to be taken as bound verbal nouns (intransitive). You may occasionally run across the subjective to where the scheme above would fail to sanction it, e.g. with oi-ōi(°) in this example: ... oi-ōi(°) to tuyó aiyaku o kanzí-dášita ‘gradually started to feel a strong attachment’ (SA 2661.33d). You will also find oi-ōi(°) ni and kasane-gásane ni, as if these were precopular nouns rather than—or as well as—adverbs.

The following list of Japanese adverbs is extensive but not exhaustive. The items are arranged to display semantically similar sets in a rough sort of way. The major subgroups are:

1. adverbs of TIME—but excluding most adverbializations of time nouns like ima, zén’ya, kónó-sái, konó-aidá, konó-goro(°), konó-saki, konó-kata, sákkon(°); mimei(°) {ni} ‘early in the morning’; seizén {ni} ‘while still alive, before (one’s) death’, sigo {ni} ‘after (one’s) death’; gózitu(°) ‘some future date, later’; áru-hí ‘one day, once (upon a time)’—cf. Sonna áru-hí, ... ‘On one such day’ (Endó 91), áru-ban ‘one evening’, áru-toki ‘one time’, áru-tuki áru-hí ‘a certain day of a certain month’ (R), etc.

2. adverbs of DURATION—but excluding many time and quantity nouns.

3. adverbs of SPEED—but excluding such conversions of adjectives and adjectival nouns as háyaku and niwaka ni.

4. adverbs of FREQUENCY—but excluding sikiri ni/to ‘frequently’, and numeral + -dó, -kái, -tabi, and máiniti(°), maisyun, maigetu = mai-tuki, mainen = mai-tosi, ... .

5. adverbs combining TIME + FREQUENCY.

6. adverbs of PLACE or ORDER—but excluding place nouns and relational nouns such as koko, tikáku, sóba, tokoródókoro, etc.

7. adverbs of DEGREE (and QUANTITY)—but excluding quantity nouns.

8. adverbs of MANNER—but excluding many infinitive conversions of adjectives (-ku) and adjectival nouns (ni) such as itízu ni ‘wholeheartedly’ (cf. itízu na kangaé/hító) and gooin ni ‘by brute force’.

9. adverbs of EVALUATION.

10. adverbs of LOGICAL RELATION—such as reason, source, contrast, concession, reaffirmation, commonality, addition, option, etc.

11. adverbs of SENTENTIAL RELATION or modality—such as assertion (and prediction), prohibition or refusal, doubt, conjecture, desire, supposition, comparison.

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141. Not included, for example, are the deictic adverbs kóó, sóó, áa, and dóó; to-kaku; ...; many of the direct adverbializations of §9.1.13; and idiomatic phrases such as konó bún íde/ni kó ‘at this rate’ (§13.2), kúru kímo kúru hí mo ‘day after day, day in day out’ (§27), hi ití-ní to ‘every day’ (= hi-bí ní), toki ni ‘on occasion; at the time; by the way’ and toki to site {wa} (= toki to suru to) ‘sometimes’. Also missing are directional adverbs. Japanese adverbial phrases of direction are typically made up of relational place noun in the allative {ni/é/máde}; when an adverbialized adjective (or, perhaps, directly adverbialized noun derived from an adverbialized adjective?) is used to express direction—as in Mígí no hóo e tooku isó nageru ‘throws the stone far to the right’—it is probably best treated as a mutative use of the adjective infinite. MKZ is said to carry some 1555 entries labeled “adverb” (Kógobumpó no mondai-ten 185).
(12) adverbs with MULTIPLE MEANINGS from the above groups.

Preceding each item are four notes on distribution: w means wá can follow; m means mó can follow; d means dá and/or dé and/or ná can follow; and n means nó can follow (to adnominalize the adverb). When the adverb is cited with optional {ni} or {to}, the information on distribution is intended to apply to the raw adverb unless otherwise stated; in general, when to or ni is added, the adverb will enjoy greater freedom with respect to focus.

LIST OF ADVERBS

(1) Adverbs of TIME

- m d n mokka ‘at present’: Mókka no kyúumu da ‘It is a pressing matter of the moment’.
- w m d (n) mókka-no-tokoro ‘for the time being’
- w m d n ima-n{fo} toko{ro} ‘for the present, for the time being, as yet’
- w m d n sénpan ‘recently’
- w m d n káhán ‘recently’
- w m n kázitu ‘the other day, recently’
- w m n kono-tokoró ‘lately’ (cf. saikin {ni}, a time noun)
- w m d n kokontokó, kokontokoró ‘recently, lately, of late’: Atasi mo kokontokó wážuka san-yonen no aida ni, syoogi te monó ga un-tó tuyoku nátta ‘I’ve improved my chess game a lot of late, just within the past three or four years’ (Tk 3.140b).
- w m d n sendatté ‘the other day, recently’ (for Hamako Chaplin atonic everywhere)
- w m (d) n sasizume ‘(for/at) present’
- w m d n sasizutu ‘(for/at present’
- w m n sasiatari, sasiatatte ‘(for/at) the present’
- w m d n sasiatari-no-tokoró ‘(for/at) the present’
- w m d n ikken ésita tokoró ‘at first glance; seemingly’ (ikken is also a transitive verbal noun ‘glance at’)  
- w m d n ori-kara ‘just then’
- w m d n arakazime ‘in advance’: Arakazime no utiawase ga átta ‘(ra)și  ‘Apparently there were arrangements in advance’.
- w m d n móo ‘already; now’
- w m d n háya, móhaya ‘already; now; so soon’
- w m n senkoku ‘a little while ago; already’
- w m d n sákki ‘a while back’
- w m d n sáki-hodo ‘a while back’: Ż ‘(§ 2.4) = ū kara ‘since/from a while back’
- w m d n sáki ni (=ízen) ‘earlier, previously’; as a noun saki is always atonic: sáki ni iku ‘goes first (in advance)’.
- w m d n kánete ‘previously’: kánete no nozomí ‘(keikaku ‘a desire/plan of prior standing’, kánete kara ‘for some time past’.
- w m n kátute, kátte ‘at one time (in the past), formerly’
- w m n zyúurai ‘hitherto’ (cf. zyúurai-dóori ‘as in the past, as before’)
§13.7. Adverbs

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i-zen ıt sitê ‘as ever/before’

(y) ı ı (n) yagâ-te ‘before long’: yagâ-te no kotô ni ‘before long’, yagâ-te wa (KKK 3.191, SA 2655.29d)

— — — —

hodô-naku ‘before long, soon’

— d (n) ma-mô-naku ‘soon’: sore kara ı no zyuuni-gâtu izyuu go-niti ‘the 25th of December, which was soon after that’ (Agawa 1:171b).

— — d (n) tookâ-razu ‘in the near future, before very long’

— — — —

yuku-yuku ‘by and by, eventually, in the future’

— — — —

sooban ‘sooner or later’

— — — —

tûî ni ‘finally’

— — — —

yoo-yaku ‘finally’

— — — —

sûnde ni

— — — —

sûnde-no-kotô {ni/ide} ‘any moment (now/then); very nearly’

— — — —

sûnde-no-tokorô {de} ‘very nearly’

— — — —

tôotoo ‘at last’

— — — —

tôdo ‘at last’ [literary] ı42

— — — —

tôdo-no-tumari ‘in the end, as the final outcome’ (wa, Fn 2.182b)

w m d —

sâigo ni ‘lastly, finally’

w m d —

saisyo ni ‘first’

w m d —

hazime ni ‘first’

w — d —

dâîiti ni ‘first’

— — — —

tûide(‘) ‘next, secondly’

— — — —

tutô ni ‘early, long ago’

w m d n

sên, moo sên ‘before’: sên no wâihu ni ‘by my former wife’

(Tk 2.104b): sên wa hizyoo ni yôku kita ‘before, they used to come quite often’ (Tk 4.295a). But is sên {ni} a time noun?

sen-no-uti wa = mûto wa ‘originally, formerly’ (Tk 3.189b) ı sên no utî(‘) wa ‘my former home’

— — d —

tokku(‘) ni ‘long since’ı43

tîu ni

— — d n

îtu-no-mâ-ni-ka ‘before one knows it’

w — (d) —

mizen ni ‘before it happens (forestalling)’

— — d (—)

notî-hodo ‘later on’ (but notî is a time noun)

— — — (n)

kôonen(‘) ‘in later years; later on, afterwards’

w (m) ? n

syûorai ‘in future’ (also a noun ‘the future’)

— — —

îza ‘at the (critical) moment’

(2) Adverbs of DURATION

w — d n

sibâraku ‘for a while’

w — n

toobun ‘for the time being, temporarily; for the present’

w — ? (n)

zânî ‘for a short time’ [literary]—also noun?

142. From tôdo ‘a fully grown grey mullet {bora}’, because the fish is called different names at different stages of growth.

143. But there is also tokkû no mukasi ‘long ago’; these expressions are variants of tôku ‘early’ (the infinitive of a literary adjective tô- ‘quick’ < ‘sharp’).
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

w m d n ittoki(’) ‘for a while’—or is this a noun?
w m — — katotokī(’) ‘(not) even for a moment’—or is this a noun?
w — — (n) hitómazu ‘for a while, for the time being, temporarily’
— — — n naga-nen {ni watatte} ‘for a long time’
— — — (n) nagaráku ‘for a long time’
— — — — hisásiku ‘for a long time’ (NOTE: Like its synonym hisasiburi ni/de, hisábsi ni/de ‘after a long interval’ is a precopular noun.)
w m d n nágaku ‘for a long time, lengthily’ (§9.1.11)
— — — n nénrai(’) ‘for some years now’: nénrai(’) no nozomi(’) ‘a hope held for some years now’
— — — (n) tosígoro ‘for some years now’—≠ tosi-goro ‘age (of/when)’
(w) — — n senpán-rai ‘for some time now/past’
— — — n kahan-rai ‘for some time now/past’
— — — n TIME QUANTITY + ‘ra i ‘for ... now’: suu-kágetu ‘suu-kágetu-rai ‘for some months now’, etc.
— — — n TIME + ‘zyuu ‘all through’: kyóó ‘zyuu ‘all through today’, hitó-ban ‘zyuu ‘all through the night’

w — d n nénzyuu ‘all through the year’
w m d n nengara-nénzyuu, nén-gara nénzyuu ‘all year around’
(—) (d) n syúuyaya ‘all day (and all night)’
— — — n syúuyya ‘all night long’ (also atonic?)
w — d n yodoosi ‘all night long’
— — d n yoppite(’l) ‘all night long’ [< yoppitoi < yó hitó- yo ‘one night of night’]
(w) — d n yomosugara ‘all night long’ [literary]
w m d n tunézúne(’) ‘all the time, always’
— — — d hikkirī-nási ni ‘without letup’
— — — — nóbetu {ni}, nóbetara(’), nóbetu-makúnasi ni ‘continuously, uninterrupted’
— — — — taezu ‘constantly’
w ? d — tuzuite ‘continuously’
w ? d n tuzukete ‘continuously’
w m d n húdan {ni} ‘constantly; usually, customarily, habitually’

(3) Adverbs of SPEED

w — d n sassóku ‘at once’; Sassóku ni mo (*Sassóku mo/ni) sirábete mimasyóo ‘Let’s check right away’.
— d n sokkoku ‘instantly, this instant’ (also sokkoku ni wa)
w — d tádati ni ‘immediately’
(w) — (d) — sássá to ‘at once, as quickly as possible’

144. But PLACE + ‘zyuu yields a place noun (sekái ‘zyuu o ryokoo sita ‘traveled the world over’) and TIME + ‘zyuu yields a time noun (kotosi ‘zyuu ni-i ‘at some time during the year’).
145. Also used as a time noun, a synonym of tuíne: Tunézúne(’) ga taisetu da, Tunézúne(’) o taisetu ni suru.
§13.7. Adverbs

- - - - to-tótó-to ‘at once, as quickly as possible’ (< tókú to tókú to ‘sharply sharply > quickly quickly’)

w (-) (d) - tati-dókoro(\textcircled{1}) ni ‘instantly, on the spot’

w - - - gěnka ni ‘promptly, at once’

- - d n támatí \{ni\} ‘instantly, in an instant’

- - - (-) iti-háyaku ‘promptly, quickly’

- - d - masságura ni ‘impetuously, at full speed’

w - d n ikinári ‘abruptly’

- - d - míru-ma ni ‘in the twinkling of an eye, in an instant’

- - (-) (n) kyunvuku ‘hastily, hurriedly’

w - d - yániwa ni ‘suddenly’

- - d n totu-zen \{ni\} ‘suddenly’

- - - - ga-zen ‘suddenly’

w m d - kyun’ ni ‘suddenly’

w? - d ? hyoi tó ‘suddenly, unexpectedly’

- - - sá-tó(-) ‘suddenly’

- - - dót-tó(-) ‘bursting out suddenly; stampeding’

w - - - ói-sore-to ‘readily; on short notice’

w m d n yáku-kú \{to\} ‘slowly, taking one’s time’

- - - dándán \{ni/to\} ‘gradually’

w - (-) - zóyó ‘a little at a time, gradually’

(4) Adverbs of FREQUENCY

w - - - ittan ‘(just) once’

- - - - issai ‘once or twice’

w m d n itido-narázu ‘more than once’

- - - - n? märe-mare \{ni\} ‘seldom, rarely’ (cf. märe(-), adjectival noun)

w - d n sába-sába ‘often’

w m d n asi-sígeku ‘often, frequently’

- - - - oo’oo \{ni\} sité ‘frequently, not seldom’

- - - - dòsi-dòsi ‘in rapid succession; in large numbers’

(\textcircled{-}) (\textcircled{-}) - zókú-zókú \{-\} ‘repeatedly, successively’ (~ tó, Tk 4.277)

- - - - kasanéte ‘repeatedly’; hi o kasanéte ‘over a period of many days’

w - d (n) hutatalbi ‘again, twice’

w m d n koto-arátémé ‘again’

- (\textcircled{-}) d n mata ‘again’ (= hutatalbi); cf. mata ‘what is more, at the same time’, máta(\textcircled{-}) ‘and/or’, máta-wa ‘or else, and/or’ (CONJUNCTIONS); máta-no-hi ‘tomorrow; another (later) day’ (TIME NOUN).

- - - - mata-mo-ya ‘again (undesirably)’

- - - - mata-máta(\textcircled{-}) ‘again, repeatedly’ (= kasanete)

- - - - mata-zóro(\textcircled{-}) = mata-site-mo ‘yet again (gratuitously)’

w m d (-) tyóku-tyóku, tyóï-tyóï ‘now and then; often’

w - d n yori-yori ‘from time to time’

w - d n tokidoki ‘sometimes’
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

- d n  tokiori(”) ‘sometimes, off and on’
- d n  tokitama ‘occasionally’
- (d) n  oriori(”)  {ni} ‘occasionally, on occasion’
- —  —  —  été {site} ‘often’
- m d  sigesige {to} ‘frequently, often’—where you expect *sigesige no hoomon you find sigesige {to} sita hoomon ‘frequent visits’.
- d n  tabitabi ‘often’
- —  —  —  māmā ‘often’ (as in māmā aru ‘it often happens’)
- d n  saisain ‘over and over’
- (d) n  saisaisi ‘over and over again’
- (d) n  saisai ‘often’
- (d) n  (nennen)-saisai ‘year after year’
- —  —  —  asana-yūuna ‘morning and evening’ (= āsa-na yū-ua-na)
- —  —  —  asana-āsana ‘morning after morning’ (= āsa-na āsa-na)
- —  —  —  hīnī-hīnī(“) ‘day after day, every day’
- —  —  —  yōna-yōna(“) ‘night after night’
- —  —  —  hīnimasī(“) = himasī(“) ni ‘(more) by the day, daily’
- —  —  —  mētta ni ‘(not) rashly = (seldom)’
- — d n  zuizī ‘at any time, at all times; from time to time, on occasion’ [literary]

(5) Adverbs combining TIME + FREQUENCY
- d n  kanēgāne(“) ‘often before’
- d —  sāra ni ‘new’

(6) Adverbs of PLACE or ORDER
- d (n)  harūbāru {to} ‘afar; at a distance’
- — d n  tugitugi {to/ni} ‘one after another; in succession’
- (d) n  hitotu-hitotu, hitotu-hitotu ‘one by one; individually’
- d (n)  itī-ītī ‘one by one; separately; in detail’
- (-) n  kawaru-gawaru, komōgōmo [literary] ‘one after another, by turns’
- — — — (-)  tikūzi ‘one after another, in order, successively’ [literary]
- — d n  zyun-gūri(“)  {ni} ‘in order’

(7) Adverbs of DEGREE (and QUANTITY)
- d n  issāi ‘absolutely; wholly’ (also noun)
- — d  sukkāri ‘wholly’
- — d n  suōbe ‘wholly, generally’ (also noun)
- d (n)  nokorazu ‘all, entirely’
- — d  nōbe ‘in all, in toto’: nōbe hyakū-nin no gakusya ‘a hundred scholars in all’.
- d n  kotogōtoku ‘all, completely’
- — n  arakata ‘mostly, on the whole, for the most part’
(—) (—)  ?  arittake ‘all there is, the whole thing’ (followed by ō only as the result of ellipsis: īnoti no arittake [no monō] 0 katamukēru ‘devotes one’s whole life’).
§13.7. Adverbs 807

w (m) — — sémete ‘at most/least: just’ (sémete mo N; sémete wa, Tk 2.240a)
— — d (n) kyokuryoku(‘) ‘to the utmost, as best/most one can’
— — (--) n koto-nô-hoka(‘) ‘exceedingly, exceptionally; unexpectedly’
— — d — — mekkiri ‘remarkably’
— — d n amari {nî}, amari ‘overly’

w (m) — — hündan ni ‘lavishly, lots’
w — d — yokei {nî} ‘much; too much’—also yoke: Yoke uranai n desu yó ‘We don’t sell much of it!’ (Tk 4.73b); yokei is both an adverb and an adjunctive noun (yokei na kotó ‘an uncalled-for remark’).

(--) (--) — — wánasa to, wánasa-wánasa to ‘in droves’ (cf. wansa-gáaru ‘chorus girls’)
— — — — taráhuku(‘) ‘eats one’s belly full’ (=manpuku, hara-ippai)
— — — — táta ‘lots; many; more and more’ [literary]
— — — (n) issoo ‘all the more, still more’
w m (--) (--) — — sikotama ‘quite a lot’
— — — — tanmári {to} ‘quite a lot’
— — — (n) kánari ‘fairly; quite’—also adjunctive/precopular noun (~na/na
N).
— — — — kékkoo ‘quite (a lot)’ (~omosirói ‘quite interesting’)—also
adjunctive noun ‘splendid; satisfactory’.
— — — — sukonakárazu ‘quite a lot’ (N ga ~ áru ‘has quite a few N’) —
but óoku ‘much, many’ is a pure noun.
— — — — warai {nî} ‘comparatively, rather’
— — — — híkaku-teki {nî} ‘comparatively, rather’
— — — — sigoku ‘exceedingly’
— — — (n) zu[ba]-núkete ‘extraordinarily’
— — — — sukóburu ‘extraordinarily, most’
— — — — kiwámete ‘extremely’
— — — — góku ‘extremely’
— — — — góku-góku(‘) ‘extremely’
— — — — hanahada ‘extremely’ (=hanahadasiku: ~wa, Nagano 1966.89)
w m — — kyokután ni ‘extremely’
w m d n yoku-yoku ‘extremely much; thorough(ly)’
— — d n daibu ‘mostly’
— — d — táisoo ‘very’—also adjunctive noun.
— — d — taihen ‘very’—also adjunctive noun.
— — d — zúibun {to} ‘very’—also adjunctive noun; Zúibun to osoi hanasi

146. This follows the data in MKz²; NHK appears to give a[n]mari for the adverb and anmari for the adjunctive noun, K has anmári for the adjunctive noun. Since the word comes from the noun amári ‘surplus’, derived from the infinitive amári ‘be too much’, we could treat the ‘atomic’ adverb as having an automatically cancelled final accent (in the absence of *~wa/mo). But if amári ni/ná is atomic, the basic form of the adverb must be atomic, too. Cf. ‘ámari, §2.4.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

da ‘It’s a [tale =] situation much delayed (in coming about)’ (SA 2672.60).

ūōi ni ‘greatly’
tái-site ‘greatly’
gái-site ‘in general’
ittai ni ‘in general’—cf. ittai (LOGICAL RELATION)
tote-mo ‘utterly; quite’
tón-to(‘) ‘entirely; (not) at all’
zettai ni ‘absolutely (not)’
zenzen ‘completely, utterly’
ikkoo ni ‘(not) at all; absolutely, quite’ (also under 12 below)
hōbo ‘nearly’
hotóndo ‘almost; nearly’ (also quantity noun = hotóndo zénbu ‘almost all’)
kăre-kore ‘around, about, nearly’ (from ‘[while saying] this and that’)
yāku ‘almost, about’
mūryo ‘no less than, as many as, approximately’
aramasi ‘almost, about’ (also noun ‘gist, summary’) 
zt-tō ‘roughly, approximately; briefly, sketchily’
ooyoso ‘almost, about’
oyoso ‘almost, about’
kokoromoti ‘slightly, a little’ (d = nāra)
isāsaka ‘slightly, a bit’
sukōsi ‘a little’ (quantity noun)
ıkurā-ka ‘somewhat’—cf. ıkura ka ‘some amount’ (quantity noun)
ıkubun ıkā ‘in part’—also quantity noun ‘some’.
yāya ‘slightly’
itigai ni ‘all-out, sweepingly’
ne-kōsogii(‘) ‘entirely’: ne-kōsogii(‘) ni wa.
arázārai(‘) ‘every last thing’
moo ‘(some) more’ (+ quantity), ‘(continuing) some more’ (+ affirmative), ‘(not continuing) any more’ (+ negative); cf. móō(‘) ‘already; now’
móoto ‘more’
masimasu ‘more and more’
māsīte(‘) = māsīte ya ‘much more/less’
mōto-mo ‘most’ (cf. mōto-mo ‘of course’)
itiban ‘most’ (cf. iti-ban ‘number one’)
simizimi ‘kept’ ‘keenly; fully’
heikin ‘on the average’
nāo ‘still (more/less)’
nāo-sara(‘) ‘all the more/less’

hitotoori ‘cursorily, roughly, briefly; (as) usual; (tentatively) all’
See also the words for ‘especially; merely; at most’ etc. under LOGICAL RELATION.
(8) Adverbs of MANNER

w (m) d n sot-tō 'softly, stealthily'

w (m) d n nainai(-) uatori 'privately, by oneself, quietly, secretly' (≠ nai
nai suru 'all gone, finish, put away' [babytalk])

w (m) d n gun-gun utori 'steadily forward'

(w) (m) d n kossōri utori 'stealthily' (w: kossōri to wa hanašanai)

w – (d) n omote-muki 'openly, publicly'

w – – – den-tō(-) 'conspicuously (placed)'

(w) (m) d n koro-koro utori 'rolling, chirping'

(w) (m) d n sōyo-soyo 'gently' (w: sōyo-soyo to wa hukanai)

(w) (–) – – kitin-tō 'accurately, punctually, neatly'

w (–) – – hakkiri utori 'clearly, exactly' (m: hakkiri mo kikanakatta)

w (–) – – tyan-tō 'perfectly, neatly'

– – – hira-hira utori 'fluttering'

– – – kā-tō(-) 'suddenly arising, opening up'

– – – kan-zen utori 'boldly'

– – – suti-tō 'straight (out), up quickly, relieved'

– – – sekaseka utori 'restlessly'

w (–) – – atahuta utori 'in a hurry' (said to be from awate-hutameku
'fluster oneself')

– – – (n) hitāsura(-) utori 'intently, wholeheartedly'—pure adverb and
also adjectival noun, as in hitāsura(-) na taido 'an intent
attitude'.

w – d – waza-to 'on purpose, deliberately'

w – d (n) waza-waza 'on purpose, deliberately'

(? ?) d n husyo-busyo utori 'reluctantly, unwillingly'—both adverb and
precopular noun: husyo-busyo utori harau 'pays reluctantly',
husyo-busyo no taido 'a reluctant attitude'.

w m – – kūyo-kuyo 'worrying, moping' (~ suru, ~ sinpai suru)

w – d – hitori-de ni 'spontaneously'

– – – sozoro utori 'somehow in spite of oneself'

w – – – zit-tō 'fixedly'

– – – hakarazu-mo 'by accident'

– – – hyōt-tō 'by chance'

– – – d n guu-zen 'by chance'

w m d – guu-zen ni 'by chance'

– – – – sētu ni 'earnestly'

– – – – n tātte(-) 'insistently'

w m d – muge ni 'bluntly, flatly'

– – – – rūru utori 'minutely, in detail, continuously'

w m (d) – tūbusa ni 'in detail, fully'

(w) – (d) n tiku-i 'in detail, item by item'

– – – yūu ni 'gently, amply'

w (m) – – syūun-ku 'persistently'

– – – akuseku utori 'sedulously' (also intransitive verbal noun, N ni
akuseku suru 'worries about N; is eager for N')
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

- d (−) zubāri 《tō》 'boldly'
- d n namazi[i], namazi-kka ‘rashly; imperfectly’—also namazii 《nî》, namazi-kka 《nî》, adverb and precopular noun.

w d (n) sijite ‘forcibly, by force’
w m d − tu’yoku ‘hard, vigorously’ (§ 9.1.11)
- − − mitimiti ‘while on the way, while walking (= aruki-nagara).’
- − − sitataka ‘heavily (beating, drinking, scolding ...), hard’
w − d − tuketuke 《tō》 ‘(speaking) harshly’—instead of the adnominal with nó you will find tuketuke 《tō》 sita ii-kata ‘harsh manner of speaking’.

(w) (m) − − zoku-zoku 《tō》 ‘feeling chilled/thrilled’
(−) − − − suttamonda ‘wrangling’ (suru, ~ no ageku/sawagi; ~ {suru koto} wa go-men dá)

? − − − yassa-mossa ‘in disorder/trouble; helter-skelter’ (~ to, ~ suru)

(9) Adverbs of EVALUATION

− − − iyá ni, ‘yá ni ‘disgustingly; strangely (= myō no ni); terribly (= báka ni)’
− − d osorōsiku ‘terribly, frightfully’
w m d (mono-)sūgōku ‘awfully, terribly’ (also DEGREE)
w m d − mezurasíku ‘unusually, exceptionally’
w m d − subarasíku ‘wonderfully, gloriously’ (shades into DEGREE)
− − − n tobikiri ‘most, best’ (shades into DEGREE)
w m d − hagesíku ‘violently; passionately’
w m d − yasasíku ‘nicely’
− − − (n) isso ‘rather; preferably’
− − − móro ni ‘completely, thoroughly; in a jumble’
− − − roku ni ‘(not) satisfactorily’
− − d n máda-si-mo ‘preferably, rather’
w − − − midari ni ‘rashly; without good reason (or permission); excessively’
w (m) d − mōri ni ‘forcibly; unreasonably; excessively’ (also MANNER?)
(w) − − − (n) mūriyari(*) 《nî》 ‘forcibly’
w − − (d) − mūyami ni ‘rashly; excessively’ (also MANNER?)
w − − (d) − yatara ni ‘indiscriminately; excessively’
w − − (d) − mūyami-yatara ni ‘rashly’
w − − (d) − musyoo ni ‘inordinately’
− − − − sanzan 《nî》, sanza-(ppara) ‘severely, harshly’ (sanzan is also an adjectival noun)
− − − n ippasí ‘(properly) enough, like other people, just as good/much as everyone else’
w (m) d n ūmaku ‘happily, successfully, nicely, smoothly; adroitly’

147. Like totyuu and aida-zyuu, this can also serve as a postadnominal, directly adverbialized as a predicatable adverb; in that usage, mitimiti can be followed by dá, nó, mō, and perhaps wá. An example with mó: kāeru mitimiti MO kangaeta no da ga ... ‘he thought about it on his way back (too)’ (Fn 213b).
§13.7. Adverbs

- d n saiwai ‘happily, fortunately’
- m saiwai ni ‘happily, fortunately’
- m hukōo ni ‘unfortunately’
- d n ainiku ト ト ‘unfortunately’—also adjectival noun ‘unfortunate’
- m rippa ni ‘splendidly’
- mingoto = migoto ni ‘admirably’
- tädā-de-sae ‘even under normal circumstances; (more/worse so) than ever’ (Okitsu 1.334)

(10) Adverbs of LOGICAL RELATION

- d n kāetto ‘contrariwise’
- (n) músiro ‘rather’ (n: músiro no kotō)
- nāraba ‘if possible, preferably’
- yahāri ‘also; nevertheless’
- d n nān da ka ‘somehow (or other), sorta, somewhat; for some (unknown) reason’ (cf. Y 385-6)
- (n) an-nō-zyūoo ‘as expected’
- tīnami(‘) ‘by the way’
- ma-no-atarī ñi ‘before one’s eyes; actually’
- gēn ni ‘actually’
- (−) ge nī ‘truly’ (~mo is literary)
- zītū nī ‘truly’
- án nī ‘tacitly, implicitly’
- máśa nī ‘precisely; just’
- syōsen ‘after all’ (n: syōsen no tokorō; syōsen wa, Tk 2.188a)
- kekkyoku ‘after all; in the last analysis’ (kekkyoku no hanasi)
- hikkyōo ‘after all; virtually; in substance’
- tootei ‘after all; absolutely; ultimately’ (tootei no kotō de wa nai)
- hītē-wa ‘and by extension; moreover, furthermore’
- kēdasi ‘after all; probably’
- umaretuki ‘by/from birth’ (also noun, postadnominal—see §13.2)

148. Occasionally gānrai functions as pure noun ‘(by) one’s origin’: N wa gānrai ga, Tookyōō-zin na no de arimasu ... ‘N is a Tokyoite by origin’ (this may be idiomatic).
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

- - - n sómo-somo 'to begin with; in the first place; wh(atever) ...!;
  well, now'
- - - n símote 'all told, in total' (usually followed by a sum of money)
- - - n awaásete 'altogether, in all'
w d - issei ní 'unanimously'
w d - aí-tomo ní
w d - tómo(−) ní
w m d - issyo ní
(− (d) n tomódomo(−) {ní}^2^ 'together'
- - (d) n morotomo {ní}^2^ 'together'
- - - ryoo-ryoo (áí ...)'both (mutually)’—see p. 798.
w - - - [o-]tagáí ní 'mutually, reciprocally'\(^{149}\)
w d - tende(n)(−) ni 'separately, respectively; each'
w m - - kakubetu ní 'individually'
- - (d) n sorézore, meiméi, onóono 'each, severally, respectively'—but
  also nouns: kono sorézore ní wa ‘to each of these’
- - - sunawati
- - - sóku (= sunawáti)
- - - (n) masásiku (n: masásiku no tokorö) 'precisely, nothing but'
w - - n tori-mo-naósazu
w - - (n) tómari 'id est; in brief' (n: tómari no tokorö hanáši)
- - - - hito-yonde 'what is called, what people call'
- - - - narabi ni 'and, additionally, both together'
w m d n matá-no-náši (−) 'alias; also known as'
m - ? wákete 'most of all; all the more; in particular'
- - - (n) toriwake[-te] 'especially'
w d - - tóku ní 'especially'
- - - - kóto ní 'especially'
- - - - nakánzuku 'especially; in particular (among the many)' (= náka
de mo)
- - - n itidan 'especially, conspicuously' (also noun)
- - n hitósio 'especially; all the more, much more'
- - - n hitókiwa 'especially, conspicuously'
- - - - tán ní 'simply, merely'
- - d n táda 'merely' (see §3.1 for other uses)
- - - n tatta 'only, just'
- - - - táká-ga 'merely, only'
- - (n) takádák(−) 'at highest/most' (n: takádák(−) no tokorö)
- - (n) séizei 'at the outside; at most, to the utmost' (n: séizei no
tokorö)—also séize (Tk 4.52a).
- (m)d n gíri-gíri 'at the lowest limit' (m: gíri-gíri mo gíri-gíri)
- d n moppára(−) 'mainly, exclusively' (moppára(−) no tokorö wa)

149. There is an adnominal form [o-]tagáí nó 'reciprocal', but the expected *tagáí dá 'it is reciprocal'
seems to be always replaced by o-tagáí dá. In o-tagáí o ríkai(−) si-áu 'mutually understand each other'
the word is used as a noun.
§13.7. Adverbs

- ómo ni ‘principally’
- náo-nao ‘still; additionally’
- betu ni ‘(not) especially’
- betudan ‘(not) especially’

(11) Adverbs of SENTENTIAL RELATION: ASSERTION AND PREDICTION

- dóo-sité mo ‘by any/all means; surely; eventually; all things considered’
- kanarazu ‘for sure, inevitably’ (= kanarázü ya)
- kanarazü-simo ‘(not) necessarily’ (~ no kotó/hanasi)
- ikiói ‘necessarily, inevitably, perforce, a fortiori’ (also noun ‘force’)

- tikátté(“) ‘for sure’ (tikátté no yakusoku—or is this the gerund?)
- sasuga: sasuga wa ‘naturally enough’ (Sasuga wa Tokugawa san desu ‘That’s just like you, Mr Tokugawa’, Tk 3.209b); sasuga nó (see §13.5, p. 752), sasuga {ni} (§ 13.7, p. 788).

- hatasiteru-ka-na = hatatsite ‘sure enough’
- mattakú ‘truly, indeed; I must say’ (also DEGREE ‘wholly, utterly, perfectly’)

- naru-hodo ‘true/truly enough’
- motiron ‘undoubtedly; (as a matter) of course’

- zóngai(“) ‘contrary to (or beyond) expectations’; cf. ángai(“) under 12

- tamásaka(“) ‘unexpectedly’ (also FREQUENCY ‘seldom, very occasionally’)

- igai-ya mo-igai ‘surprisingly enough’
- tásika ‘if I am not mistaken’ (often said when trying to recall things)—also adjectival noun ‘certain’, cf. tásika ni ‘certainly, for certain’
- tekkiri ‘surely, clearly, I (must) conclude that’

DENIAL

- kessite ‘(not) ever; absolutely (not)’ (also PROHIBITION)
- tàete ‘(not) at all, (not) in the least’
- tóte-mo ‘utterly (not)’ (also DEGREE)
- náni-mo(“) ‘(not) in any way’
- tító-mo ‘(not) in the least’ (= sukoshi mo + NEGATIVE)
- másaka ‘surely (would not)’—conjecture + denial
- manzara ‘(not) wholly’—or is this DEGREE?
- tootei ‘absolutely (not)’
- tói-zo ‘(not) at all, (not) ever’
- kaimoku ‘(not) at all’
- ikkoo {ni} ‘(not) at all; absolutely, quite’ (also DEGREE)
- maru-de ‘(not) at all’ (also COMPARISON)
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

maru-[k]kiri ‘(not at all)’
ten-de ‘(not at all)’
kára-[k]kiri, -[k]kisi ‘utterly, quite, totally’
ikkána(“), itukána(“) ‘(not) on any account’ [old-fashioned] = dóo-sité mo

PROHIBITION or REFUSAL
kessite '(not) under any circumstances; (not) ever’ (also DENIAL)
dán-zité(“) ‘positively (not)’

DESIRE
zé-hi ‘by all means’ (< zé ga hí de mo ‘even if right be wrong’, cf. Fn 187a)
dóo-ka ‘please’
dóo-zo ‘please’
nani-tozo ‘please’

SUPPOSITION
mósí ‘if’; mósí ya/ka {sitára, suru to} ‘if perchance’
mósí mo ‘if, perchance’ (mósí mo no kotó ga areba/áttara ‘in the unlikely event’)
d?n n máń’iti ‘if’
yósi ya ‘if’

COMPARISON
átáka-mo, ádáka-mo ‘just (like)’
tyoodo ‘just (like)’ (d: Sázú ga tyoodo nára [= tyoodo yókereba]
iró ya katati wa kamawanái ‘If the size be right, I don’t care about the color or cut’.)
sá-mo ‘just (like)’
maru-de ‘just (like)’ (also DENIAL)

MISCELLANEOUS
nani-bun: ~ {tó mo} ‘please, by all means’; ~ {ní mo} ‘in any event, at any rate, anyway’; ~ no ‘some (amount/sort of); a definite’

hitótu ‘just (to see), a bit; please’ (also quantity noun ‘one; one year old’)
ái-naru-beku-wa ‘if possible; if it’s all right’
nasi-u-békunba ‘if possible’ (Shiba 96)
sokó-haka-to-náku ‘in a general sort of way; vaguely, somehow’
(haka is a Kyóto variant of hoka = sika, cf. Inokuchi 286, 291)

(12) Adverbs with MULTIPLE MEANINGS

PLACE ‘nearby’ (koko kara ziki no gakkoo)
SPEED ‘immediately’
MANNER ‘readily’

SPEED ‘immediately’ (súgu ni mo; koko kara súgu no gakkoo)
MANNER ‘readily’
§13.7. Adverbs

- d n nakanaka \{tō\}_{150} \text{DEGREE} ‘considerably; (not) anywhere near enough’

- d n hu-to \text{SPEED} ‘at once, in an instant’

- d n dóo-yara \text{DEGREE} ‘barely’

- d (n) máda (imada, imada-ni) \text{TIME} ‘(not) yet’: Syokuzi ga máda no hitó wa imasén ka ‘Isn’t there anyone who hasn’t eaten yet?’

- d n yat-tó \text{TIME} ‘at last’

- d n katugatu \text{MANNER} ‘with difficulty’ (or is this a combination of \text{TIME} + \text{MANNER}?)

- d n háruka \{ni\}_{152} \text{PLACE} ‘far off’

- d n syóttyuu, sízyuu \text{DURATION} ‘from start to finish; the entire time’

- n itiioo \text{FREQUENCY} ‘once’ (itiio mo nioo mo ‘again and again’)

- d n dóo-mo (1) \text{DEGREE} ‘very; ever so much’—whence, by ellipsis of ~ [sumimasén], ‘thank you’ and ‘excuse me’.

- d n dóo-síté mo, dóo-sít’átte ‘(not) on any account, willynilly’; (= nán to sité mo) ‘at any cost; inevitably’

- d n nán to itté mo ‘eventually, come what may’

- d n dóo mite mo ‘to all appearances’

- d n tyót-to \text{DURATION} ‘a little while’

150. Kono “motiron” ni wa nakanaka to hukumí ga arimásu ... ‘In this “of course” there is quite a lot of hidden meaning ...’ (Tk 4.159). Older men and dialect speakers also use nakanaka ni; in Tk 3.137a it occurs in a sentence with zyaróo = daróó.

151. Kekkyokû, hu-to desyóo ná ‘After all, it is by chance’ (Tk 2.103b). NHK has hú-to(“) = hú-tó.

152. Háruka is also an adjectival noun.
816 § 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

**EVALUATION** 'well /but ... ' (hesitancy or reservation)

**SENTENTIAL** (desire) 'please'

**DEGREE** 'generally; for the most part; practically; almost; substantially'

**LOGICAL RELATION** 'strictly speaking; originally; from the start'

**SPEED** 'suddenly, at once'

**DEGREE** 'markedly, by far'

**TIME** 'first of all; well now'

**DEGREE** + **EVALUATION** 'about, fairly (well)'; (+ **NEGATIVE** ) 'hardly'

**LOGICAL RELATION** 'anyway, anyhow' (= **tó ni-kaku**)

**DEGREE** 'unexpectedly (much)'

**SENTENTIAL RELATION** 'contrary to (or beyond) expectations'

**DEGREE** 'just (a short time /distance)'

**MANNER** 'by mistake /chance, carelessly, inadvertently'

**SPEED** 'suddenly'

**DEGREE** 'exceedingly'

**FREQUENCY** 'often'

**EVALUATION** 'nicely, well; with ease, readily'

**TIME** 'at last'

**LOGICAL RELATION** 'really'

**FREQUENCY** 'lots, in profusion'

**DEGREE** 'much, lots'

**EVALUATION** 'nicely, well; with ease, readily'

**TIME** 'at last'

**LOGICAL RELATION** 'really'

**FREQUENCY** 'often' (= **asi-sígeku**)

**DEGREE** 'exceedingly'

**FREQUENCY** 'repeatedly'

**DURATION** 'for a long time'

**FREQUENCY** 'usually, ordinarily, always'

**DURATION** 'all during /through'

**PLACE** 'directly, all the way'

**DEGREE** 'by far'

**DEGREE** 'by far, way': **ún-tó** takáitókó zya ...

'when you’re way high up' (Tk 4.44a)

153. Mázu-wa 'be that as it may'—in letterwriting; also: Mázu-wa búnan desita 'No harm done' (Tsukagoshi 76).

154. Also an adjectival noun 'unexpected'.

155. Yóku mo has the special meaning 'it is amazing (a wonder) that; how can it be that', a sentential adverb showing incredulity: Yóku mo watasi o damásita wá né 'How could I be so taken in!' (Kotoba no uchû 1967/8.25a).
§13.7a. CONJUNCTIONS

Certain adverbs and adverbial phrases apply to the sentence as a whole; among these we find a number of connectors that show some logical relationship between two sentences. Typically the CONJUNCTION, as we can call such a phrase, serves to introduce the second sentence. The first sentence may be explicit or implicit—summarizing a prior situation; it may be stated as a separate complete sentence or it may be reduced or conjoined to form a complex sentence, with the conjunction serving to remind us of its origin. The conjunction is set off from both sentences by an underlying major juncture on each side; the juncture, however, will sometimes be reduced or even suppressed, depending on the cohesion of the two sentences, on the accentuation and length of the conjunction itself and of the immediately adjacent phrases, and on the speed of utterance. (Thus we find arreraaisi wa B; arreraaisi wa B.) The conjunction is a kind of interpolation, like an interjection, and is like a minor sentence in itself. Elsewhere in this study you will find the suggestion that sentence-initial adverbs, including the conjunctions described here, might be treated as TRANSITIONAL THEMES with respect to the immediately following sentence. The use of conjunctions is apparently more common in modern written Japanese than in the older texts (Terase 101b).

Below is a list of common conjunctions, arranged according to seven semantic categories: (1) co-ordinate (AND ALSO), (2) sequential (AND THEN/NOW), (3) consequential (AND SO), (4) disjunctive (OR ELSE), (5) adversative (BUT), (6) corrective (CONTRARIWISE), and (7) explanatory (ID EST). We might wish to add a few other categories such as concessive (GRANTED THAT), temporal (SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH—sore to tóma/dóozi ni), and comparative (BY COMPARISON WITH—sore ni kurabete, sore yöri mo, etc.), but these are less commonly expressed with a single word. On sentence introducers in general, see §24, where most of the expressions given below should be mentioned.

LIST OF CONJUNCTIONS

(1) co-ordinate conjunctions (AND ALSO)
sosite—also sequential
sore kara—also sequential
sikásite, sikári sikásite (Tk 3.)
also sequential?
§13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

sore ni
soro ue
máta(")
‘and/or, and again/more’
(N_{1} \sim N_{i}; N \text{mo} \sim \text{also’}

máta ‘what is more, at the same time’\textsuperscript{156}
(cf. máta ‘again’, adverb)

kátu
kátu(-)máta
narábi ni
náisi
óyobi(")
yahári

náó
sará ni
omake ni
hiíté-wa
awásete
másite(")
siká-mo
[sore ni] kuwaérú ni, kuwaúrú ni =
kuóóru ni (see §13.8a)
katágata ‘at the same time; coincidental-
ly’—see §9.1.7.(9b).

(2) sequential conjunctions (AND THEN/NOW)
sosité—also coordinative
sore kara—also coordinative
[sore] de—also consequential
[sore] de wa
tokoró-de\textsuperscript{157}

(soro) kuwa éru ni, kuwaúrú ni =
kuóóru ni (see §13.8a)
katágata ‘at the same time; coincidental-
ly’—see §9.1.7.(9b).

(3) consequential conjunctions (AND SO)
[sore] de—also sequential
dsó-mo
dsó-mono

(4) disjunctive conjunctions (OR ELSE)
sore to mo
tádasi wa
arúi-wa
háta—as in A ka B ka, háta C ka

(5) adversative conjunctions (BUT, AND YET)
[dá] ga
sóó dá/désu ga
[sore] dá ga
[sore] désu ga
[sore] de arimássu ga

\textsuperscript{156} Notice also the use in Watakusi no yuuuzin no (I) mata II sono yuuuzin to iu hitó ga ... ‘My friend,
a person who is HIS friend ... = A person who is a friend (in turn) of a friend of MINE ...’ (R).

\textsuperscript{157} Cf. Tokoro dé ... ‘As/At the place ...’. Tokoró-de “usually introduces a shift in subject” (BJ
2.304 n. 26).

\textsuperscript{158} As in Sore ga desu yó, kyouzú-kai no iken wa, tatimá gyakuten sité sámáta n desu ‘But
then the view of the association of professors suddenly reversed’ (SA 2671.30a)—desu yó is inter-
polation; you will also find Sore ga né ... .
§ 13.7a. Conjunctions

tokoró-ga\textsuperscript{159} sikáru ni
[sore] dé mo tádasi
dó mo [sore] d’átte táda (Táda, ... ‘But, ...’
sono-kuse = sore de ite mottó-mo
da no ni = sore ná no ni motiron
sikási, sikási-nágara; ga sikási muron

(6) corrective conjunctions (CONTRARIWISE)

káette kátette
sore dóbokora ka ta
tómúsiro

(7) explanatory conjunctions (ID EST)
sunáwati motomoto
masásiku ittai
tori-mo-naósazu haté wa
túmari, tumařú tokoró\textsuperscript{1} hito-yonde
[sore] to iú no wa mata(\textup{-})-no-na [wa]
[sore] to iú kotó wa iú náreba
kekkyókú itté míréba \{’in a word, so to speak’
kekkyókú-no-tokoró īwába(\textup{-})
tootei ikóoru ’equals, is equivalent to\textsuperscript{160}

Conjunctions are often used to signal a direct, paratactic conjoining of noun phrases:
... gyooretu máta(\textsuperscript{-}) gyooretu no pabirion, ... ‘row upon row of pavilions’ (SA 2676.109a);
... go-nen mósoiku-wa zyúu-nen no kígen ga ... ‘a term of five or ten years’ (SA 2686.44d).
In the following sentence the conjunction máta(\textsuperscript{-}) is used to mark an intensive iteration
of a free verbal noun before attachment of the auxiliary: ... tyóoyaku máta(\textsuperscript{-}) tyóoyaku
site háttatu sita ’it developed leap after leap[ing]’ (SA 2664.81b). With an intransitive
verbal noun such as we see here, the direct-object marker ó is optional before the
auxiliary suru, so that our example is simply an extension of noun conjoining: VN máta(\textsuperscript{-})
VN [ó] site.

The literary conjunction kátu ‘and’ is frequent in modern writing and links a variety of
things; it seems to be particularly favored to join adjectival nouns (especially those of
Chinese origin). The prior adjectival noun will appear with one of the ‘and’-forms of the
copula, typically dé: ... hituyoo ni site kátu yuukoo na zí ga ... ‘characters that are neces-
sary and effective’ (Ōno 1967.177—ni sité = dé). But the copula connector can be sup-
pressed, leaving a direct conjoinment: ... goohoo kátu tekisei na monó ’what is lawful
and proper’ (SA 2688.25c); ... máda wakái ga yuunoo kátu miryoku-teki de ári ... ‘he is
still young but is capable and personable’ (SA 2688.90e); ... kikai-teki kátu rakuten-teki
hándán wa ... ‘a mechanical [= automatic] and sanguine judgment’ (SA 2688.42b); Naïyoo
wa, gutai-teki kátu rinsyoo-teki de, ... ‘The content is concrete and clinical, and ...’ (SA

\textsuperscript{159} With interpolation: Tokoró-ga desu né, ... (SA 2662.19d); Tokoró-ga de aru (SA 2672.122b—
with final period; ‘However.’). Cf. Tokoro ga ’The place [as subject].

\textsuperscript{160} Mósi iti-ónsu I KÓORU sánzyuu kyúu-doru datta to sité mo, iti-wari no moomé de aru ‘Even if
it were one ounce of gold equaling thirty-nine dollars, there would be a profit of ten percent’ (SA
2676.44b). This is also an adjectival/precopular noun ‘equal’.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

2653.128a); Sekkusu no kaihoo wa, móhaya sekai-teki káutu rekisi-teki na zížitu to itte i daroo 'Sexual liberation can now be called a worldwide and historic reality' (SA 2688.119b). The following passage conjoins an adverbialized adjective to an adverbialized adjectival noun with the aid of káutu: ... mótto-mo kokugo ni husawásiku, káutu heimei ni kore o syóki(−) suru ... 'writing these in a way most suitable for Japanese and (most) simple' (Shibata in Óno 1967.47). The next example is presumably an adverbialization of a phrase that consists of two adjectival nouns conjoined with the conjunction káutu: Sono kóto o sottyoku káutu tan-teki ni hyoomei sita monó ga ... 'What has demonstrated this fact frankly and bluntly ...' (Kaneda in Óno 1967.288). That is, I assume an immediately underlying structure sottyoku [de] káutu tan-teki da—rather than sottyoku [ni] káutu tan-teki ni with the conjoining of two adverbialized adjectival nouns; cf. § 13.5a.

The somewhat more literary usage káutu fwa} V 1 -i káutu fwa} V 2 has a meaning very close to that of paired representatives V 1 -tári V 2-tári suru: ... kawá no káutu kie, káutu arawárete taérú kóto no nái suihoo ... 'the bubbles of the river that incessantly vanish and (re)appear' (SA 2676.93b); ... senpái wa, yama-óku no syyógakkóoku sika dekínai kóto o, káutu wabi, káutu házíta ga ... 'my older friend was alternately apologetic and shamefaced that he could only introduce me to a remote primary school but ...' (Ig 78); Káno-zyo wa káutu wa naki, káutu wa kóe o hurí-sóbette sakebimáasu 'She sobbs and wails' (Ig 78). Very similar is the pair nakábá(−) {wa} ... nakábá(−) {wa} ... 'half ... (and) half ...; partly ... (and) partly ...': Sore wa bóku(−) o nakábá(−) íbu si, nakábá(−) kyoosei site ita 'That was half pacifying me, half coercing me' (Ig 78); Sore kara bóku(−) wa nakábá(−) nemuri, nakábá(−) mu-isiki no zyootai dátta 'Then I was in a state half asleep, half unconscious' (Ig 78); ... nakábá(−) wa sore o omoi-nágara nakábá(−) wa sore o wasure-nágara, ... 'while half remembering that and half forgetting it.' (Ig 78); Matúnaga wa nakábá(−) wa kooki-sín nakábá(−) wa kyo-ei-sín kara kono suzigaí−(−) ni sanseí sita 'Matsunaga agreed to the scheme partly from curiosity, partly from vanity' (Ig 78); Atarásíku tukútte iro anó-hito no ié wa, nakábá(−) yooohuu, nakábá(−) wahu no syareta monó da 'His newly built house is a fancy thing, half western-style, half Japanese'. Sometimes only one of the 'partly ...' pair will appear: Nakábá(−) yooódán to site warukúti o ii–au 'We exchange insults, half in joke'.

A noun or (noun+dá) in a series can be introduced by yáre to mean 'whether (it be) ... or (whatever) ... or what with ... and ... (all) ...'—usually something bad: Yáre sutó da, yáre tin’age da to, urúsái kóto bákarí iu 'They talk trouble, whether it be strikes or raises or whatever'; Yáre kenkokú-kinénbi, yáre kootei-tanzýóöbi, yáre sooyúú-setu, yáre kókokú–sai tóo–too, samážama no syyuskusí–zitú ga tikázuku góto ni, ... 'What with Foundation Day, what with Emperor’s Birthday, what with Double-Ten Day, what with Crop Prayer Festival, and so on and so on, every time one of these various holidays approaches, ...' (Ig 78).

The word purásu(−) 'plus' is borrowed from English as a noun meaning 'advantage': Motíron, purásu(−) to mainasu o tómó(−) ni móút songyoo mo áru 'Of course some industries will have both advantages and disadvantages' (SA 2685.25d); Én kíriage no purasumínasú 'The advantages and disadvantages of devaluing the yen' (SA 2685 heading). But purásu(−) is also used as if a conjunction: ... kentíkú–hi purásu(−) hyakumán–en de ... 'for construction costs plus a million yen' (SA 2659.118b); ... iti–síon purásu(−) iti–bóon (or iti–bóaon) 'one consonant plus one vowel'. This conjunction-like behavior is an extension of the use of purásu(−) and mainásu as prenumeral adverbs: purásu(−) san 'plus three, three over (count), up three', mainásu zyúusan 'minus thirteen, thirteen under (count), thirteen short,
§13.8. Precopular nouns

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down thirteen'.\(^{161}\) An underlying juncture will surface with longer numbers: mainasu I sánbyaku I sánzyuu ‘down 330’. I have even come across ‘purasu as a quasi-restrictive in hyaku-zikan ‘purasu ‘one hundred hours plus’, but this may be a nonce usage borrowed from English. (The expression purasu-áruhwa ‘“plus alpha” = and a bit over/more’ is added at the end of a number, often in sport measurements, usually set off by a juncture.)

The word kén ‘additionally (functioning as)’ can be used as a conjunction: ... résutoran I kén I hótetu ‘a combined restaurant and hotel’ (SA 2689. 126c); ... pán-ya I kén I kasi-ya ‘a bakehouse and confectionery’ (SA 2683.63a); ... syusyoo I kén I gaisyoo ‘prime minister and at the same time (his own) foreign minister’; Nízyuu is-sai no Súusan wa, googoo-dánssa kén kásyú de aru ‘21-year-old Susan is a (combination of) gogo-dancer and singer’ (SA 2656.134b); ... mizugi no kaisétu-sya kén móderu no katawarai(·) kodomó-táti ni suiei o osie wa no ado da ga ... ‘in addition to being a promoter and model for swimsuits she teaches swimming to children, we hear, and ...’ (SA 2640.42); Tatami-síki no byoositu wa sinsitu kén hokori-ppói saygoyo-ba kén syokudoo yatta ‘The mat-carpeted hospital ward served at the same time as bedroom and dusty workroom and dining room’ (SA 2670.32c) –yatta from yaru. But often the juncture before kén will drop and the conjunction is attached to the preceding noun as a suffix (preaccentuated), forming a nonce kind of pseudo adnoun: Kono heya wa, osocetumá-kén imá-ken syosai to iu tokoró de, ... ‘This room is a living room combined with a study, and ...’ (SA 2678.156).

The word tái ‘versus’ is a similar conjunction, often used in giving athletic scores or the like; but it usually attaches to the preceding noun to form a pseudo adnoun:\(^{162}\) sinhonkátai roodó-sya no toosoo ‘the struggle of labor against capital’; ni-tái ití no tokutén(·) de kátu ‘wins by a score of 2 to 1’ (Kenkyusha); sán-tá i san désu ga ‘it’s three to three (and ...)’. This might be regarded as a reduction of ... ni-táí-súru ‘in confrontation with = as against’. The digit following ‘tái will sometime lose its accent, with the juncture dropping; in the case of itit-áití ití one to one’ the syntactic reduction is lexicalized as a precopular noun: ititái-ití no tatibá de ‘on a one-to-one footing’ (Nagano 1968.152), ititái-ití de hanasi-au ‘talk one-to-one’ (MKZ).

13.8. PRECOPULAR NOUNS

In examining the many types of nominal sentences we find it necessary to differentiate those types which adnominalize by converting dá to nó—including pure nouns and predicable adverbs (such as sibáru ‘for a while’)—from adjectival nouns (such as sízuka ‘quiet’), which adnominalize by converting dá to ná. Certain words are like predicable adverbs but never occur directly adverbialized, becoming adverbial always by way of the copula infinitive (or essive) ni. These words we can call either ‘quasi adjectival nouns’ (since they behave so much like adjectival nouns) or, as here, PRECOPULAR NOUNS, in recognition of the fact that they (like adjectival nouns) are always followed by some form of the copula, with certain exceptions to be noted below.

161. An example: Kongetu wa, sénetu yori mainasu sén nihyakù-en óoku no riéki ga átta ‘We had ¥1200 less profit this month than last’ (V 1967a.103).

162. In §2.4 we treat ‘tái as a quasi-restrictive. But for Hamako Chaplin in some uses there is no prior-accnt cancellation or preaccentuation: Wásédá táí i Keiio no baai ‘in the case of Waseda vs. Keio’, Keiio táí i Wásédá no baai ‘in the case of Keio vs. Waseda’; dansei táí ‘I dansei no baai to I zyosei táí I zyosei no baai to de mo, I ... ‘in the case of male vs. male and also in the case of female vs. female’ (Nagano 1966.72).
The precopular nouns differ from the adjectival nouns in following the regular adnominalization pattern, converting dā to nō; they differ from adverbs in that they normally require nī when adverbialized. (But the nī is optional after the negative precopular noun -azu that comes from the literary negative infinitive, §9.5; such words are treated either as precopular noun or as adverb.) The word tama ‘occasion’, for example, occurs in Tama dā kara ‘Because it is only occasional ...’, [taihen] tama nī ‘[very] occasionally’, and tama no yasumi/niti-yōobi ‘an occasional holiday/Sunday’; we conclude that tama is a precopular noun. Another example is ippan ‘general, common, average’ as in goku ippan no hitōbito ‘extremely average people’ (SA 2670.103e)—note the modification by an adverb of degree—and ippan nī ‘generally’; ippan nā ‘is ordinary’ is also possible. (A synonymous adjectival noun is made by attaching the suffix -teki: ippan-teki na N.) But ippan can also be used (like zenbu ‘all’) as a quantity noun in expressions of the type N [no] ippan ‘the whole of N’; kokumin ippan ga ‘all the nation’ (Ōno 1967.285); syākai ippan nī wa ‘in the society as a whole’ (R). A similar expression is N [no] zenpan as in syākai zenpan ga ‘the whole society’. There are a number of other expressions with the prefix zen- ‘entire’, such as Nihon zen-vido ‘all Japan’; but Nihon-zenkoku ‘all Japan’ is usually tightened into a compound noun instead of appearing as the expected Nihon zenkoku. On these expressions, see §25.

In the following sentences the word uttetuke ‘just right, most suitable’ appears to be a precopular noun: Kono si goto wa kare ni uttetuke dā ‘This work is just right for him’; Kāre nī uttetuke no sigoto dā ‘It is just the right work for him’; Sono sigoto ni uttetuke no hitō ‘He is just the man for the work’; Uttekute yza nā ‘It is not the most suitable’; Uttekute na mōn ka ‘Surely it is not the most suitable’ (nā because of mōn). But there seems to be no adverbial *uttetuke ni (or *uttetuke) ‘most suitably’. In this respect, uttetuke is like byooki ‘ill’ (see below); both lack the adverbial form. Similarly defective are motté-no-hoka(‘) ‘outrageous’ and hatu-mimi ‘hearing for the first time’ as in Hatu- mimi [no hanasi] dā ‘It’s news to me’; there is no *motté-no-hoka(‘) [nī] ‘outrageously’ or *hatu-mimi [nī] ‘as news’. The two words tokubetu ‘special’ and betu-betu ‘separate, apart’ are precopular nouns with all three forms dā, nō, and nī; but the dā forms of bēkkō(‘) ‘separately’, sāra ‘newly’, and hatu ‘first (time)’ are seldom heard. You will find all three forms for nanāme ‘aslan’ and its Tōkyō-dialect equivalents hasu-kaï and for omoi-ōmōi ‘as (each) one pleases’—omoi-ōmōi no sutāru de ‘each in his own style’ (CK 985.378). In sya nī kamaeru ‘assumes a stylishly slanting pose’ the word sya must be an adverbialized precopular or adjectival noun (equivalent to nanāme ‘aslan’), but the word seems to be limited to that one expression.

Most precopular nouns belong also to at least one other class. For example, byoodoo as an abstract noun meaning ‘equality’ can be specified as subject or object (byoodoo gā/ō); but byoodoo dā has two meanings “it is equality” and “it is equal”, and the latter indicates a precopular noun, subject to the adverbialization byoodoo nī ‘equally’ and the adnominalization byoodoo no ‘equal’. (But the word is also sometimes treated as an adjectival noun: byoodoo na sugata nī ‘in equal respect’—SA 2670.52b.)

From meaning alone we would assume that byooki dā ‘it is an illness’ or ‘he is sick’ is a precopular noun as well as a regular (abstract) noun, but we fail to find the adverbial *byooki nī ‘in a sick manner’163 that we expect by analogy with gēnki nī ‘in a lively/

163. That is said with byooki no yōo nī. In byooki nī nāru ‘becomes an illness’ or ‘becomes ill’ nī is the mutative conversion from dā, not the adverbial; see §9.1.11.
healthy manner' and byoodoo ni 'equally'. If we reinterpreted our semantics we might attribute the "ambiguity" of byooki da to the usual residual vagueness of Japanese toward the subject, considering 'He is ill' to be something like 'As for him, it is (a case of) illness'. But unlike most abstract nouns byooki can be modified by adverbs of degree—Taihen byooki da 'He is very ill'—and that is a point of behavior shared by few nouns that are not clearly adjectival or precopular. So it would seem best to treat byooki as both a pure noun (abstract) 'illness' and a precopular noun 'ill' that, like uttetu ke 'suitable', simply lacks the adverbial form. As it turns out, we actually have two classes of precopular nouns: those which are virtually adjectival nouns (and often can take nā instead of nō as an option) and those lacking the adverbial form, most of which are derived from verbs or nouns. Other examples of the latter include mae-muki 'forward-looking' as in mae-muki no zyuutaku-sēisaku 'forward-looking housing plans' (SA 2684.126d), motte-no-hokai(‘) 'outrageous', motte-ko'i 'ide(ally suitable)', and a number of the quasi-restrictives in §2.4. (But not all precopular nouns lacking the adverbial are derived; honnen 'natural, innate' as in honnen no sugata 'one's innate character' is a Chinese loanword.)

References to COLOR can be made with adjectives, with adjectival nouns, with precopular nouns, and with abstract nouns; the same word will sometimes allow more than one treatment. A large number of color terms are made up of a free noun + -iro, the suffix form of iro 'color': akane-iro 'madder red', ama-iro 'flaxen', anzu-iro 'apricot', bara-iro 'rose', daidai-iro 'orange-red', enzi-iro 'dark red', gin-iro 'silver', hai-iro 'gray', kaaki-iro 'khaki (color)', kaki-iro 'persimmon', kaba-iro 'birch (= tan)', kikyoo-iro 'dark violet', kiniro 'gold', kitune-iro 'tawny, tan', kogane-iro 'copper', kohaku-iro 'amber', komugi-iro 'wheat', kon-iro 'dark blue', mizu-iro 'water green, pale blue, aqua', momo-iro 'pink', namari-iro 'lead-gray, leaden', nibi-iro 'dark gray', niku-iro 'flesh-color', nizi-iro 'iridescent, opalescent', onando-iro 'grayish blue, sky blue', sorai-iro 'sky blue, light blue', tamago-iro 'egg-shell = light tan; egg-yolk = yellowish', tita-iro 'milk-color = cream', toki-iro 'pale pink', tya-iro 'brown'. These words, like byooki, belong both to the class of abstract nouns and to a class of precopular nouns that are defective in lacking the adverbial form; tya-iro ni can mean only 'to brown(ness)', as a dative or allative, or 'into brown(ness)', so as to be brown' (mutative or putative §9.1.11), not 'brownly, in a brown manner'. Some color names that do not end in -iro have the same two-class grammar: midori 'green', murásaki 'purple', kurenai 'crimson', kassyouku 'brown', and the modern terms burā 'brown', burū 'blue', pī'ku 'pink', burakkī 'black', howāito 'white', and gur[i]nu 'green'. Color words with the intensive prefix ma(q/n)- are usually treated as adjectival nouns: makka 'crimson', massō 'deep blue, ghastly pale'; mattayāiro 'quite brown', makkiro 'quite yellow', makkuro 'jet black', massiro 'pure white'. But on occasion you may run across these words used as precopular nouns (adnominalized with nō instead of nā); and the last two freely form adjectives, makkurō and massirō. The word ki-iro 'yellow', like other color names that contain iro 'color', is both an abstract noun and a precopular noun; unlike the others, it is

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164. Similar to byooki in grammar, kitoku means 'serious, critical' as a precopular noun and 'critical condition' as an abstract noun: hāhā no kitoku o kiita 'heard about mother's serious condition'.

165. For some color names the suffix is optional: moregi-[iro] 'light green', hi-[iro] 'scarlet', ... . Notice that while only certain colors can be expressed with adjectives, there is a noun available for each color, and in certain situations the noun must be used (BJ 1.284-5): when an object has more than one color (āka to siro no hatā 'a red and white flag'); when the color is named (ō o erabu 'selects blue'); or when the color is modified (usu āo no kabe 'a light blue wall'); kōi āka no kami 'dark red paper').
also freely used as an adjective kiirō is yellow'. None of the color words—whether
precopular or adjectival nouns—use nī as an adverbial, only as a mutative, a putative, or a
case-marker; and the use of the infinitives of the color adjectives (kiirō, makkūrō, massiūrō) is similarly limited. Akaku yotte iru 'is red-faced with drink' is mutative.

Precopular nouns—like adjectival nouns, adnouns, and adverbs—can not be modified
by any adnominal phrase: in usui mizu-iro no penki 'light water-green paint' the color
word is used as an abstract noun. Precopular nouns are most commonly found in adnomi­

tal position, and it is often questionable whether the predicative form is in use: we find
zekkō no hikō-biyori 'ideal flying weather', zekkō no tyānsu 'an excellent chance',
zekkō no konō-sonō 'under perfect conditions', and nezumi ni tōte zekkō
no esa(-) 'the best bait for rats', but we are unlikely to run across zekkō da 'it's ideal/
excellent/best'. A precopular noun that appears only in the adnominal form can be called
HIGHLY DEFECTIVE; other examples are zantei 'provisional', tokutei 'special, specific',
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HIGHLY DEFECTIVE; other examples are zantei 'provisional', tokutei 'special, specific',
...
Some precopular nouns have individually LIMITED distributions: dai-nasi 'ruined',
from the phrase dāi da nai 'lacks a base', occurs only in the mutative conversion dai-nasi
ni naru 'gets ruined' and dai-nasi ni suru 'ruins'. Compare monkū-nāsi 'perfect, satisfac­
tory', from the phrase mōn no monkū ni nā 'has no complaint', which occurs in all copular forms—
adnominal nō, adverbial nī, and finite dā (etc.)—though there is no *monkū-nāsi sono­
mōnō 'perfection itself'. Issyō-kuta 'mishmash, jumble' is common in the mutative (N o
issyō-kuta ni suru 'makes a jumble of N') but it also occurs with dē, dā, and nō. A number
of the adjectival and precopular nouns and certain adverbs of limited distribution act as if
they were free nouns in entering into compounds of the type N + N, especially those
which are in origin Chinese binoms: byoodoo, zyūurai, tyokusetu, ippan, ...

Some words are adjectival nouns and at the same time either precopular nouns or
adverbs, depending on whether nī is required for adverbialization; they adnomalize some­
times by converting dā to nō (precopular noun) and sometimes by converting dā to nā
(adjectival noun). In modern writing there is a certain amount of wavering between the
two categories for these and a number of other nouns. The difference will correlate with a
subtle difference of meaning for certain words; the precopular noun emphasizes quantita­
tive description where the adjectival noun concentrates on qualitative description. When
the writer presents us with samazāma(-) no zyooohoo 'all sorts of information' (SA 2677.50a)
he is taken to mean something like 'much information of many kinds'; if he had written
samazāma(-) na zyooohoo it would have been taken to mean 'highly varied (pieces of) in­
formation'. But it is difficult to see any difference in meaning between the two versions of
akusitu no/na 'inferior' and tōkusyu(-) na/na 'special'.
Nor does meaning or context
determine whether you say kara/karappo no N or kara/karappo na N 'empty N'; an example
of the latter: nakāmi no kara na syuugi-zūtumi 'a congratulatory envelope empty of
contents' ( Fn 175b).

The following words can be treated as adjectival nouns, as precopular nouns, or as ad­
verbs (i.e. directly adverbialized without nī as well as with it): sootoo 'reasonable, fair, 
considerable'; iroiro 'various', samazāma(-) 'various'; matamati(-) 'various', moromoro
... tatami no zō no iroiro o ... go-ran itadaki-tai 'I'd like you to look at the variety of characters used to
write the word tatami' (Nagano 1966.28). Okutsu 1965b has the title "Nō` no iroiro 'Various kinds of no'.

166. Dōkuzi(-) 'original; individual, personal' is normally treated as a precopular noun, but you
may occasionally see dōkuzi(-) na N in print. Zime 'self-evident' is similar.

167. Both iroiro and samazāma(-) occasionally turn up as pure nouns meaning 'the varieties':
... tatami no zō no iroiro o ... go-ran itadaki-tai 'I'd like you to look at the variety of characters used to
write the word tatami' (Nagano 1966.28). Okutsu 1965b has the title "Nō` no iroiro 'Various kinds of no'.


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'various, all' (in modern writings largely limited to the adnominal moromoro nō/nā); kānari 'fair, passable', takusān 'much', wāzuka 'few, scanty', kotō-sara(−) 'deliberate; especial', ŭisāsaka 'slight'. According to Mio 149 the following also belong in this list: hontoo, toozen, zyuubūn, amari, sokkūri, ŭinmi 'kind', hitorimea, sizen, betu, kangaedōri. But (Mio 147) the following do not: muron, motiron, zissai, ookata, sekkekū, karisōme, ooyosu, yobo-yobo, hazeimeti, sūbete. (These are mostly adverbs; he also includes kānari and wāzuka—but see above.) Kāzu-kazu (in) large numbers; numerous' is a quantity noun (Gotisoo no kāzū-kazu ga naramisita 'Lots of goodies were lined up') that can be predicat ed (Kāzu-kazu na no ni odorōita 'I was amazed at the number') and directly adverbialized (Kāzu-kazu itadakimisita 'I received many') as well as adnominalized (Kāzu-kazu no N). The word toriđōri(−), from a reduplication of the infinitive tori 'take', means 'to each one's taste' or 'various', and it is usually treated as a pre copular noun; the expression irō toriđōri(−) no/ni 'in all sorts of colors', often heard in advertising, contains an ellipsis: irō [ga/no] ... .

The word tokūi(−) 'special, favorite' can be either an adjectival noun or a precopular noun; with different meanings ('prosperity, regular customer, ...') it can also be a pure noun. (See note at beginning of § 13.6.) Dōoītu 'identical' is a precopular noun (but you may occasionally find it treated as an adjectival noun in print); as an abstract noun it means 'identity'. The vexing word sizen means both 'nature' as an abstract noun (so that sizen nō can mean 'of nature') and 'natural, spontaneous' as an ambivalently adjectival/precopular noun (sizen nā/nō N); toozen 'natural, reasonable', on the other hand, is not an abstract noun and only displays the grammar of an adjectival/precopular noun (toozen nā/nō N). In colloquial usage both sizen and toozen can be directly adverbialized, though it is common to use ni; thus they are adverbs as well as adjectival/precopular nouns. A similar grammar characterizes tyokusetu 'direct': tyokusetu nā/nō N, tyokusetu {ni}.

A number of words belong to the class of abstract nouns as well as to the class of adjectival nouns: gān-ko means both 'stubbornness' and 'stubborn'; shinsetsu means both 'kindness' and 'kind'; sīkakū means both 'a square' and 'square' (as in the mutative sīkakū ni kīru 'cuts it square'), the latter treated as either an adjectival or a precopular noun and also forming an adjectival sīkakū 'is square'—similarly manmarū(−) na/no N, manmarūi 'is perfectly round'. As an abstract noun 'present fashion' ima-yōo is obsolete but it continues to function as a precopular noun 'modern'.

The word sūgu is an adjectival noun (sūgu da, sūgu na N) now largely replaced by a prefixed version masśūgu 'straight; direct; honest' with the adverbialization masśūgu {ni} (thus it is also an adverb). But in the common meanings 'directly' (= tyokusetu) and 'immediately' (= zīkī ni) we find only the forms sūgu and sūgu ni; and in the common meaning 'right (nearby)' it is an ordinary predicable adverb with the forms sūgu, sūgu da, and sūgu no N—as in Tē o nobāseba sūgu no tokorō ni taipuraitaa ga āru 'I have a typewriter right at hand' (but the adnominalized form is usually replaced by sūgu soko/sōba no N). In the latter meaning zīkī is also a simple adverb, but in the meaning 'immediately' it is more commonly said as zīkī ni. Zīkā 'immediately' usually occurs as zīkā ni, but it is also found in noun compounds such as zīkā-dānpan 'direct negotiations'—to be derived, however, from zīkā ni dānpan suru [koto]. (Zīkā-tōrihiki 'spot transaction' has a similar derivation.)

There are a few instances of direct conjoining of two of those words that are both adverbs and adjectival or precopular nouns: iroō iroō samazāma/matimati(−) 'various and diverse, syūzyu matimati(−)/iroō 'various and sundry'; syūzyu samazāma(−) no sooī ga
áru ‘there are various and sundry differences’ (Ôno 1967.5); syûzyu zatta na/no gyûôzi ‘various functions’, ... ¹⁶⁸ syûzyu and zatta belong to the same classes as samazâma—adverb and adjectival noun—but the predicative forms appear to be little used.¹⁶⁹ In each of these conjoinings there is an underlying minor juncture, usually suppressed only when the first word is atonic. In daisyoo samazâma no N ‘N in various sizes large and small’ daisyoo ‘large and small (sizes)’ could be regarded as a precopular noun (but defective for there is no adverbial *daisyoo ni ‘largely and small’) or as an abstract noun, for it appears elsewhere as a pure noun.

The surface sentence Iroiro mondai ga áru can have at least two immediate sources: (1) an ellipsis of Iroiro {na/no} mondai ga áru ‘There are various problems’; (2) a permutation that shifts the adverb back (leftward) from its location in Mondai ga iroiro áru ‘There are all sorts of problems’. The surface sentence Takusan mondai ga áru has only the latter type of source, being a permutation from Mondai ga takusan áru ‘There are a lot of problems’. The difference is clearly seen by the unacceptability of *Takusan mondai dá kara ‘Because they are a lot of problems’ despite the acceptability of Iroiro mondai dá kara ‘Because they are (or: it is a matter of) problems of all sorts’. Any quantity word will behave like takusan: Iti-mai kamî ga áru = Kamî ga iti-mai áru ‘There is one sheet of paper’ is quite acceptable but *Iti-mai kamî dá kara (= Iti-mai no kamî dá kara ‘Because it is one sheet of paper’) is not. With the ellipsis, iroiro {na/no} N becomes a pseudo adnoun; cf. the remarks on sasuga {no} N on p. 788 (§ 13.7).

The phrase hutatu-tigai no áni ‘the brother two years older’ might lead us to think that AGE-tigai words are precopular nouns, but in fact they are abstract nouns ‘being apart in age by ... (years)’ as can be seen from the sentences Hutatu-tigai ga óói ‘A discrepancy of two years in age is common’ and Hon-no hitotu-tigai ga óói ‘A mere one year difference in age is common’. (But kentoo-tigai is both a verbal noun ‘guessing wrong, miscalculating’ and an adjectival noun: kentoo-tigai na koto /kantô /hanasi ‘a mistaken thing/idea/matter’.) Some precopular nouns will appear to be pure nouns meaning ‘one who is ...’ but these are best treated as ellipsis of PcN {no} hito /mono /ga/o. An example is yuru-hun ‘with loosely worn loincloth = week-kneed, irresolute’ as in yuru-hun {no} ga óói ‘there are many who are week-kneed’; cf. yuru-hun {no} sei-ka ‘a namby-pamby political figure’ (Tk 3.276b). Some precopular nouns are seldom, if ever, found except as the first member of what looks like a noun compound, reduced from an elliptical structure of the type mentioned above: kamitu-syâkai ‘overcrowded society’ (SA 2689.49c) ? < kamitu {no} syâkai.

The class of precopular nouns, like that of adjectival nouns, includes a number of different types of lexical formation:

(1) Most words with the negative prefix mu- ‘without, lacking, -less’ are precopular nouns; for those that are adjectival nouns, see p. 764. The prefix attaches to:

(1a) A native Japanese word: mu-tôdôke ‘without notice/leave’ (tôdôke being a noun derived from the transitive infinitive tôdôke); mu-hizuke ‘undated’; ... .

¹⁶⁸ Also sikâzika kâkukaku(·) no N ‘such-and-such N’. Of the words for ‘various’, iroiro suggests interesting variety, matimati(·) undesirable variety; the others are rather neutral.

¹⁶⁹ An example in adnominalized form with the literary naru (= de áru) where we would expect ná: ... syûzyu naru atasasi réi o mi-dasu kotô ga dekiru ‘we can spot various new examples’ (Ishigaki Kenji 33). The expected form appears in syûzyu na mén ni ôîte(·) ‘in various aspects’ (Kotoba no uchû 1967/4.11).
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(1b) A single, usually bound, morpheme of Chinese origin; the resulting word is best treated as a primitive lexical item: müseki ‘without registered domicile’, musakü ‘without resources, resourceless’, mūteki ‘invincible’, müsüoku1 ‘colorless’, müsüoku2 ‘jobless’, müzi ‘unpatterned, solid-color’, mukan ‘lacking office’, mūryoo(‘) ‘free of charge’, ...

(1c) A free noun of Chinese origin, usually containing two morphemes: mutyaikurikü ‘nonstop (flight)’, mu-kankëi ‘unrelated’, mu-syōzoku ‘unattached’, mu-teiken ‘lacking a fixed opinion, vacillating’, mu-risoku ‘free of interest’, mu-bōobi ‘defenseless’, mu-zyōoken ‘unconditional’, ... (The negative prefixes hi- and hu-, on the other hand, usually make adjectival nouns; for exceptions, see p. 764.)


(3) Chinese reduplications: betu-betu ‘separate, apart’; (with nigori) syūzyu ‘sundry’, ...

(4) Single morphemes that were free adjectives in Chinese: dai ‘great; large(r)’ as in Watasi no dai no hiiki no ana[unsaa] san da ‘He is an announcer who is a great favorite of mine’ (SA 2678.46ab) and dai no tuki ‘an odd (= 31-day) month’ and Songai ga dai datta ‘The damage was great’, but this is also an abstract noun as in dai o nāsu ‘achieves greatness’; ...

(5) Color names with the suffix -iro (from the noun iro ‘color’): see above.

(6) Iterated verb infinitives: see § 9.1.1b.


(8) Adjective base + the suffix -me ‘tending to be, a bit on the ... side, somewhat’. These should be entered as separate lexical items in the dictionary. Below are listed 26 examples that I have found or elicited; not all are in current dictionaries. Some speakers treat all these forms as atonic; others accentuate the final syllable (~-me) for those derived from tonic adjectives.

170. As in haenuki no Edoko ‘a Tokyoite born and bred’, haenuki no gunzin ‘a military man to the core’, kono daigaku no haenuki no kō-zukai ‘a janitor whose world is confined to this university’. Notice the common ellipsis in Osaka [no] haenuki no shinbun ‘a truly Osaka newspaper’ (Tk 3.288a) and Nikkatsu [no] haenuki no hitō desita kara nē ‘He had spent his whole life working for Nikkatsu, you see’ (Tk 3.238b); cf. § 25. Nakau 80 has an example of an accusative-marked haenuki, which can perhaps be treated as an ellipsis of haenuki [no hitō/kotō].
atu- ‘thick’: Sutēeki wa atu-me no hōo ga umāi ‘Steak tastes better a bit thick’.
ātu- ‘hot’: Onsitu ga atu-mē(〜) da kara, tyoosetu site morai-tai ‘The hothouse is a bit on the hot side, so I’d like to have it adjusted’. [The form is little used.]
hayā- ‘fast’: Okure-sōo da kara haya-mē(〜) ni arūku ‘I will walk fast since I’m about to be late’.
hi- ‘low’: Kakine wa hiku-mē(〜) ni sita hōo ga me-zāwari ni narānai desyou ‘If we lowered the fence a bit it wouldn’t look so bad’.
hiro- ‘broad’: Asobi-ba o hiro-mē(〜) ni tōtte sekkei suru yōo ni ‘Plan your playground on the wide side’.
hōso- ‘narrow, slim’: Dōa o hoso-mē(〜) ni akete, nozoita ‘I opened the door a narrow bit and peeped’.
hukā- ‘deep’: Kono ryōri wa huka-mē(〜) no hati ni motte kudasāi ‘Pile this cooked dish into a fairly deep bowl’.
hutō- ‘fat’: Gesui no pāipū wa huto-mē(〜) no ga tukatte āru yōb da ‘For sewers, pipes that are fairly big around seem to be used’.
kara- ‘spicy’: Natū wa kara-mē(〜) ni azitukē(〜) o suru yōo ni ‘In summer, spice your food on the hot side’.
karu- ‘light in weight’: Hazime no aidā wa karu-me no rakētto de renshūu sita hōo ga rakū desyou ‘At the beginning it would be easier if you practiced with a racket on the light side’. [Little used.]
kata- ‘hard’: Sukōsi kata-me ni yuderārete ita ga ‘It [= the macaroni] was boiled a bit on the hard side but ...’ (SA 2685.122a)—ni is the mutative conversion of the copula ‘so as to be’.
mizikā- ‘short’: Kodomo-huku wa mizika-mē(〜) no hōo ga kawaii ‘Children’s clothes are cuter when on the short side’.
naka- ‘long’: Yoko wa naka-mē(〜) ni, usiro wa mizikakū kāto site kudasāi ‘Cut it [= my hair] long on the sides and short in back’.
nurū- ‘( lukewarm)’: O-hūro wa nurū-mē(〜) ni yu-kāgen site kudasāi ‘Have the water in the bath on the warm (rather than hot) side’.
ōo- ‘much, many’: Kuriimu o oo-mē(〜) ni ireta kōohii ga sukī da ‘I like coffee with a fair amount of cream in it’; Kūmō ga oo-mē(〜) desu ‘It’s quite cloudy’.
ōoki- ‘large’: Nān de mo tasyoo ooki-mē(〜) ni tukūtte okēba matigai nai ‘It would be no mistake to make everything more or less on the large side’.
oso- ‘slow’: Sigoto wa osō-me da ga seikaku na yōo da ‘The work is a bit slow but it seems to be accurate’. [Little used.]
sukūnā- ‘scarce, few’: ... hutuu yōri mo sukuna-mē(〜) ni kimerarete imasu ‘... have been set at fewer than usual’ (SA 2665.101e).
tāka- ‘tall’: Moo sukōsi taka-mē(〜) ni bōoru o nagēreba, aite ga komāru daroo ‘If I throw the ball any higher, my partner will be in trouble’.
tīsa- ‘small’: Tīsa-mē(〜) no bōtan(〜) o takusanā tüketa oobaa wa waka-muki desyōo ka ‘Would an overcoat with lots of smallish buttons be suitable for a young person?’ [Little used.]
tūyo- ‘strong’: Soko wa, motto tuyo-mē(〜) ni hiite ‘Put a little more force into your playing of that passage [on the piano]’.
usu- ‘thin’: Yōru no o-tya wa usu-me ni tatēnai to, nemurenaku nāru ‘If I don’t brew the tea at night on the weak side, I find I can’t get to sleep’.
yāsu- ‘cheap’: [Bōku(〜)] wa zyakkān sukuna-mē(〜) no hōo ga ii. Kontikusyōo to
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raibaru-issiki o moyaseru no wa kyūyūrō desu kara né. Zibun o kānri suru syūdan to site, sukōsō yasu-mē(−) no kyūyūrō wa arigatai." [For me it's better to be on the scant side. What fuels a feeling of rivalry with the next bastard is salary, you see.] As a means of my controlling myself, a salary that is a bit on the cheap side would be appreciated" (SA 2681.28e).

yawarakā- ‘soft’: Kore wa kiwāmete yawara- kā-mē(−) ni hukkūri to taki-agēru ‘This [= the rice] they cook up very soft and puffy’ (SA 2676.116d).
yōwa- ‘weak’: Hi-kagen wa yōwa-mē(−) ni site, nāgaku niru kōtō ‘To be cooked for a long time over a low flame’.
yūru- ‘loose’: Hiroku wa yūru-mē(−) ni tukuṭtā hōo ga rakū ni kirareru ‘If you make clothes on the loose side they can be worn more comfortably’.

At least one verb infinitive yields a precopular noun of this type: hikae-mē(−) ‘moderate’ comes from the transitive verb hikae-ru ‘refrains from, is moderate/temperate in’. Like other precopular nouns, these words do not normally become subjects or objects; on occasion you may find gā (and perhaps ō) immediately following, but only as the result of ellipsis: Haya-mē(−) [ni suru hōo] ga ii ‘It would be better [to do it] a bit on the fast side’. The word haya-mē(−) is also used as an adjectival noun ‘early’ as in ... haya-mē(−) na hirū o taberu to sugi ... ‘right after eating an early lunch’ (Kb).

These precopular nouns should not be confused with a few pure nouns that are derived from an adjective base + the noun me ‘eye’, notably the two words oo-me ‘large eyes = taking a generous view’ as in Kore kara ki o tukemāsu kara kōndo dakē wa oo-me ni mite itadakemasēn ka ‘Won’t you kindly overlook this one time since I will be careful from now on?’ and usu-me ‘narrow eyes’ as in Nemutta hūō o site usu-me o akete mite ita ‘While pretending to be asleep I was watching through narrow eyes’. Semantic extensions from ‘eye’ are found in some nouns based on verb infinitives (or on nouns derived from verb infinitives): kiki-me ‘effect, efficacy’, hakari-me ‘weight, quantity; scale’, agari-me ‘an upturn in the market’, sagari-me ‘a downturn in the market’, ... . Another semantic extension is found in the suffix that derives ordinal numbers and other expressions of points in serial order such as: kisētu no kawari-me ni itu mo ... ‘always at the change of seasons’, where -me is attached to the infinitive of kawaru ‘it changes’; perhaps wake-mē ‘dividing line, part(ition), crisis’, wakare-mē ‘turning point, parting of the way’, sakai-mē ‘boundary line, crisis’, and sini-mē ‘moment of death’.

The ordinal numbers (‘first, second, third ...’) are made by attaching (-)−me to a numeral + counter.¹⁷¹ The result is a noun: hutatu-mē [= hutatū −mē] ga owaru to ‘when the second one is finished’, mittu-mē [= mittū −mē] o hazimeru ‘begins the third one’. It could be argued that these ordinal numbers are precopular (rather than pure) nouns if we explained the occurrences as subject and object by assuming an ellipsis hutatū −mē [no f no+ 1 ga the [one (that is)] second]; but below we will see other evidence that the ordinals are pure nouns. Ordinals made on numbers that contain the general counter -tū only go up to ‘ninth’ (kokonotu ‘mē’); you will recall that the series for general counting (and for counting years of age) uses -tū through ‘9’, tō for ‘10’, and then switches to the Chinese numerals with no overt counter: zyuuitō ‘eleven things’ or ‘eleven years old’. For ‘tenth’ and higher ordinals you use the Chinese numerals with the counter ‘ban

¹⁷¹. And that is what underlies the idiom hutakoto-mē ni wa ‘at every second/other word = constantly’. Except for such idioms, we will space −mē as a quasi-restrictive.
§ 13. Adnominalizations; Adnominal and Adverbial Words

‘number’ followed by (-) -mé as if making a single counter -banmé: (zyuu-banmé or zyuuban-mé =) zyuú-ban -mé ‘tenth’, zyuui-ti-ban -mé ‘eleventh’, hyaku-ban -mé ‘hundredth’, etc. You are free to use this option also for the lower numbers: ní-ban -mé = hutatú -mé ‘second’. The Chinese ordinals are also in use, especially in compounds; they are made by attaching dái- to the Chinese numerals, with or without ‘ban -mé: dái-ni or dái ni-ban -mé ‘second’. As the last example shows, dái is attached as a pseudo adnoun when the number is more than two morphemes long: dái nizik-ka ‘Lesson 20’, dái sănbyaku sănzyuu (or dái sănbyaku sănzyuu-ban -mé) ‘330th’. Like other elements attached to numbers, what appears phonologically to be a prefix or a suffix will sometimes turn out to be in grammatical relationship with a larger constituent, which may contain several phonological words: in the expression sén sănbyaku sănzyuu săn-ban -mé ‘333rd’, the ordinalizer -mé refers to the entire phrase marked by the counter ‘ban ‘number’, so that both elements enjoy a greater domain than that of the usual type of suffix. Counters (including ‘ban) and the ordinalizer -mé are thus very similar to the quasi-restrictives of §2.4. When two ordinal numbers are conjoined it is sometimes possible to omit the first ‘mé: seperti là ní -mái yon-kái -mé ni means the same thing as san-kái ‘mé [ni] máta-wa yon-kái -mé ni ‘on the 3rd or 4th time’ (major juncture is appropriate both before and after the conjunctions náisi and máta-wa). The example below (from Shiga Naóya, quoted from V140) puts an ordinalized number in the indefinite form by attaching [da(tta)] ka and then modifying that structure with the sentence adverb tábun ‘perhaps’ (tábu hutukata ‘mé ka ni ‘on perhaps the second day’); but what makes the example of particular interest is that we must treat either the incorporated number hutuka ‘two days’ or—more likely—the ordinalized number hutukata ‘mé ‘second day’ as a transitional epitheme that is modified by an adnominalized sentence: Tómi ga sono súzyúyot o ukérú tamé ní nyyuin sita tábun hutukata ‘mé ka ni bōkù(−) wa Yamada no iē o nige-dasite simatta ‘On perhaps the second day after Tomi entered the hospital for the operation I fled the Yamada household’. If, as I believe proper, we take the ordinalized number as the epitheme, it will not be possible to consider ordinals as precopular nouns, since those do not epithematize.172 Another example: kāette kita mikka ‘mé de ... ‘it was the third day after I got back and ...’ 173

You may also encounter a use of the suffix -mé as an abbreviation of the counter -monmé, an old measure of weight equivalent to 3.75 grams and hence most common with the hundreds; hyaku-mé = hyaku-monmé is about 13 ounces. (The ordinalizing suffix -mé is contained within the counter -monmé.)

The ordinalizing suffix is thought to be a semantic extension of ‘eye’ conceived of as a notch or scale mark on a measuring rod. But the suffix that makes the precopular nouns meaning ‘somewhat’ is said to be an abbreviation of mie ‘appearance’, a derived noun from the infinitive mi-e ‘appear’, itself an old passive-type derivative from the transitive verb mi(-) ‘look, see’. (Mé ‘eye’ itself is somehow related.) A quite different suffix -mé can be attached to a noun that refers to a person in order to show contempt: baka-mé ‘fool’, bakamono-mé ‘fool’, beraboo-me ‘damn fool’, hyakusuyo-mé ‘country bumpkin’, koziki-mé ‘damn beggar’, usotuki-mé ‘liar’, dorobooneko-mé ‘damn alley cat’, bakayaro[o]-

172. And this argues heavily that (-) -mé is, after all, a quasi-restrictive.
173. The matter would appear to be settled by the following example, where ‘mé is marked as an accusative: Sake ga kūru to kāre wa ip-pon ‘mé o nomi-hazime, ... ‘When the rice wine came, he started drinking the first bottle ...’ (Endō 259). But see the suggested explanation as ellipsis (above).
mē 'sonuvabitch', yowamushi-mē 'damn coward', namakemono-mē 'damn lazybones', etc. We also find koitume- 'this bastard', soitu-mē 'that bastard', and aitu-mē 'that bastard' (but not *doitumé-'what bastard'), along with yatu-mé 'bastard, damn guy'. Most such words are fixed, but new creations come into being every now and then, perhaps ephemerally: hakutu-mē 'damn imbecile' (SA 2685.22d), Wagamama-musume-mē! 'Wilful damn daughter!' (SA 2260.122a—heading). Writers will sometimes use watakusimē- 'wretched me, wretch that I am' as a lively humble form. One etymology suggested for this suffix is a contraction of muré 'group, flock'; another possibility is that it may somehow be related to the noun mē = me-su 'female', usually encountered as a prefix me(n)-, opposite of [w]ō = [w]o-sū 'male'. The prefix is often associated with the word yatū, which is probably a truncation of yatuko = yakkō 'slave' from yā-tukō = iē no ko 'child [= person] of the house', -tu being an old (locative-)genitive marker.

§13.9. PREDICATIVE AND ATTRIBUTIVE FORMS BORROWED FROM THE LITERARY LANGUAGE

A modern Japanese verb or adjective remains in the same form, whether it appears at the end of an adnominalized sentence or not. But the modern copula de āru will (except in formal speech) contract to dā when not adnominalized—and then it will sometimes drop; when the nominal sentence is adnominalized, the copula appears as nā or nō, depending on the nature of the nouns on either side, as we explain elsewhere.

The older literary language maintained a difference in form between PREDICATIVE and ATTRIBUTIVE (= adnominal) functions for adjectives and for many verbs. The predicative and attributive endings differ in shape for the imperfect and for the various perfects. But consonant-base verbs did not mark the difference in the imperfect: tori [ga] naku 'the bird sings', naku tori 'the bird that sings'. There is a complication in the case of ōru 'stays', āru 'is', and verbs derived from them—such as sikāru 'is so', habēr-u 'serves a superior', the objective copula nāru, and the subjective copula tāru—in that the INFINITIVE (ōri, āri, sikāri, habēri, nāri, tāri) is coopted to serve most, but not quite all, the predicative functions; that is why these verbs are usually listed in dictionaries of the literary language in the shapes ending in ...i which is called the "predicative" though it is identical with the infinitive. (The traditional analysis assumes two different endings that sound the same; a better analysis is to state the syntax as requiring substitution of the infinitive for the predicative-attributive under specified circumstances.)

Even in colloquial contexts, you will sometimes run across these distinctively marked predicative and attributive forms; they have been borrowed into the colloquial from the literary and are sometimes used to lend a special flavor of bookishness or cuteness to what is being said. Below we will look at some examples, listed by word classes.

Examples of the adjective PREDICATIVE form (A-sī): Genkin-huyoo-zidai, māsa ni tīkāsī de āru 'The cashless era is now upon us' (SA 2660.25b); Tēnki wa yōsi, kaze wa nāsi, bura-tūku no ni motte-kōi no hī da 'The weather is fine, there is no wind, it's the perfect day to stroll' (Kb 335a); Tokoro-sēmasi to naranda o-kage de kodomo wa ukkāri kake-dasu kotō mo dēki ya sinai 'Owing to [play-equipment] things being all crowded up, the children can't enjoy a good free run' (SA 2666.108e); Uri-tāsi—Kā-tāsi— 'Wanted to sell—Wanted to buy—' (SA 2688.36c); Zyōsi to syoozin wa yasinai-gatasi to iiinā su ga ... 'They say that women and children are hard to raise, but ...' (SA 2678.139c); E-yāsuki
monó wa usinai-yōsusi ‘(What is easily got is easily lost =) Easy come, easy go’; Ōbi ni mizikasai tasuki(“) ni nagasi ‘(It’s too short for a sash, too long for a sleeve-tie =) It is good for neither one thing nor the other’; Kyuu-kabu-ziko ōosi ‘Sudden curve—many accidents’ (roadsign); Yōsir ‘OK!’; ‘Nan de mo yōsir ni ... ‘Indiscriminately (regardless of what it may be) ...’; ‘Dāre de mo yōsir ni ... ‘Indiscriminately (regardless of who it may be) ...’.

When an adjective base ends in the syllables si or zi, haplogy suppresses the ending itself: yorosī[si] ‘it is all right’, onazī[si] ‘it is the same’. These shorter forms are the standard usage from the earliest texts, but the full forms in -si-si and -zi-si are attested in texts of the 11th and 12th centuries (Satō 1.173). For A1-sa wa A1-si ‘is ever so A, is A as A can be’, see §14.7. The phrase itasi kāyusi ‘it hurts and it itching‘ is used idiomatically to mean ‘is ticklish, delicate’; it is often reduced to a single word, the precopular noun itasi-kāyusi (no mondai ‘a delicate problem’).

Examples of the adjective ATTRIBUTIVE form (A-kī): Hūruki yōkī zidai to iu na ‘Don’t talk of the “good old days”’ (SA 2676.114c); ... kono yōkī huusuyuu ga ... ‘this excellent practice’ (SA 2685.62e); ... yōkī aite ‘a suitable partner’; ... sono yōkī mēn, ... ‘a good feature about it’ (SA 2664.90d); Yōkī imi de no Makaverisuto ‘He is a Macchiavelian in the best sense’ (SA 2651.71d); Yōkī papa de no nōkū, yōkī otto de mo nai bōku(“) o tūma ya kodomō-tāti wa dōno-yōo ni mite iru daroo ‘I wonder how my wife and children look at me who am neither a good daddy nor a good husband’ (SA 2658.59c); ... āsiki kīgōo(“) ga ryōosin-teki kīgōo(“) o taosu no de aru ‘the evil businesses drive out the conscientious businesses’ (SA 2688.45d)—āsī is the usual literary equivalent of wāru ‘bad’ (the predicative form suppresses the ending: kīgōo(“) [ga] āsī[si] ‘the business is evil’; ... toki sōsen ... ‘distant ancestors’ (Tk 4.264a); ... takumāsiki nīnsoo ‘a strong face’ (Tk 4.238); Orokāsiki zyosei wa—‘And the FOOLISH woman—?’ (Tk 2.105a); Iyōiyo āyasiki innén(“) dēsu nā ‘More and more mysterious connections, humm’ [jocular] (Tk 2.72b); Kyooyoó tākā interi-hūzin to site ‘As an intellectual lady of high culture ...’ (SA 2664.102d)—the literary language often drops the subject marker ga, as here after the first word; Kāre ni totte, itiban omoide [ga] ōōkyōoku(“) de āru ‘For him it is the song with the most memories’ (SA 2652.67c); Tīkāki kōro mo, ... sinde simatta ‘As a recent example, ... died [neglected]’ (CK 985.362); Yāsuki ni tūku ‘We take the line of least resistance’—also, perhaps, said as yāsuki o nusūmu (Tk 3.137a); ... Sinatōra to obōsiki eiga-haiyuu ga ... ‘a movie actor who would appear to be a [fictionalized] Sinatra’ (SA 2679.118d); ... eiga(“) no gīyuu ‘rāsiki monō o ... ‘things that are like movie techniques’ (SA 2635.59a). See also aru-māzīki = aru-māzī ‘unbecoming, unlikely’, §15.12a.

The attributive often appears with direct nominalization, equivalent to colloquial A-i no ...: Tūmari, taikiō-ōen ni tūute wa utagawāsiki wa bas-se yo to iu rōnri na no da ‘In short, the logic is to punish whoever is suspect with regard to air pollution’ (SA 2649.43c); ... ōi(“) mo wākaki mo ‘both the aged and the young’—ōi(“) is a noun ‘the aged’ derived from the infinitive ōi ‘age, get old’; Hūruki ga uti(“) ni mo hurūi onnā ni wa, ... ‘For a woman who is the most old-fashioned of the old-fashioned ...’ (SA 2784.118d)—on the literary genitive (hūruki ga uti(“) = hurūi no no uti(“)) see §3.11.2.

Most commonly in the colloquial usage the attributive-marked form is a brief epithet; observe the phrase ending with the colloquial takai right before the literary wākaki in the following sentence: ... tōooi wa syusu no homarē(“) ga takai wākaki gakuto de atta ‘at that time he was a young student whose talent was highly praised’ (SA 2651.28b).
Quite common are the predicative and attributive forms of nai—nasi and naki, respectively:

NASI: Sinin(-) ni kuti nasi ‘Dead men [have no mouths =] tell no tales’; Súupu wa, nasi?—Náis desu, ée. ‘How about soup: none?—There wasn’t any, that’s right’ (SA 2658.124). Direct adverbalization of ... náis is common: Íma de mo née, atakusi no utí(-) tte iú no wa, rázió(-) wa náis, kúro-síro no buk-kowaré no térebi síka náis n desu ‘Even now, you know, at my house there’s no radio, there’s just a busted black-and-white television’ (SA 2676.46c). Predicates with náis are often treated as if preocpular nouns (da/ni/no): Kore náis de wa, kónnitó no Mitúbísi wa nákatta to ieyóó ‘We can probably say that had it not been for this we would not have the Mitusbíshi of today’ (SA 2689.18d); ... yuuáku-séi tte no wa, kodomó dé mo náis otona dé mo náis no zidai désu kára née, ... ‘Since the junior high school student is at an age that is neither child nor grownup, you see ...’ (Tk 2.270b); Náze hitókoto no renráku mo náis ni, bóku(-) no tó-ai mo náis ni, sore ga okonawaretá no ka ‘I wonder why that would have happened without one word of contact and without my even being present’ (SA 2656.63c); Nán no setumei mo náis ni ‘Without the least explanation ...’; ’ ... i-si [ga] náis ni ... ‘with no other recourse’ (Tk 3.254a). Cf. ... “dáke de náis ni = ... “dáke de nákú [te] ‘not only ... but’, §8.1, §9.1. You will also find direct nominalizations: ... síin(-) ni kuti [ga] náis o ií kóto ni surú wáké de wa arimásen ga ... ‘I do not mean to take advantage of the fact that the dead can not speak, but ... ‘.

NÁKI: ... aizyóo náki kekkóon ‘a loveless marriage’ (Tk 2.262b); ... kakumeí náki kakumei ‘a revolution without revolution’ (SA 2680.103c); Íma, Óóbei(-) dé wa, mití nákí mití o kuruma de háíshú ouhóóodo-réésingu ga dai-yúúkoo [de arú] ‘Very popular in Europe and America now is “off-road racing” in which you drive the car on a roadless road’ (SA). The attributive náki serves as an adnoun meaning ‘deceased, late’ as in Watási no nákí tísh mo ... ‘My late father ...’ (SA 2671.117b) and Íma wa nákí Leonard Bloomfield ‘The late Leonard Bloomfield’. The accentuation indicates that certain phrases are best regarded as lexical primitives: kokoró-náki sinrýákú-sya ‘the heartless invaders’ (= kokoró-ná < kokoró [ga] ná); ... itáizí-kýúúsen no yámú-náki ni itáta(-) ‘reached the point where a truce is inevitable’ (SA 2656.147c) (= yámú no ga náí ‘there is no stopping’).

In Nízyúû-nen no nágaki ni watatte ‘over the long period of twenty years’ (SA 2665.9) we might think that nágaki is a noun derived from the literary attributive, but in Zyúû-nen no nágaki néngetu ‘Ten long years’ the word is clearly functioning as an adjective. The noun omóki(-) ‘weight, dignity’ derives from omó-ki ‘(which is) heavy’. There are a few nouns derived from the A-si forms; notably men’s names such as Tádasí, Másasi, Hírosí, Yásusi, etc., and the words karasí ‘mustard’ from kára-si ‘is piquant’, susí ‘vinegar rice’ from su-sí ‘is sour’, árási ‘storm’ from árá-si ‘is rough’, and perhaps akasí ‘light’ from aká-sí ‘is red/bright’ and omósi ‘weight’ from omó-si ‘is heavy’. In Káre-ra no koodoó no yóó-asi wa betu ni site, ... ‘Aside from the merits of their activity’ we find a noun derived from a juxtaposition of the two literary predicatives yóó ‘is good’ and ási ‘is bad’; a similar example is the preocpular noun itási-káyu-si (no N) ‘delicate, awkward, ticklish’ from itá-sí ‘is painful’ and káyu-sí ‘isitchy’. The idiomatic phrases áru ka náki ka no N ‘hardly any N’ and áru ka nási no N ‘few if any N’ function as if prenouns. And the atonic noun roku-de-nási ‘a good for nothing’ derives from the phrase roku de ná-sí ‘is not satisfactory’.

An alternative version of the adjective attributive is A-káru, a contraction of A-ku áru, which you may occasionally run across: ... tanosíkáru ‘békí syokutaku ‘the dining table
that ought to be delightful’ (SA 2652.140c). In wakakárisi hi ‘the days when (one was) young’ we find a literary perfect A-kárisi, a contraction of A-ku ári-si; the same word is found in this example: Mukasi bóku(”) ga wakakárisi kóro, Kámáta no éki de bizin ni átta ‘Once long ago when I was young I saw a beautiful girl at the station in Kamata’ (Tk 2.294a). For the negative forms A-karánu and A-karakárú (etc.) see §8.6. Here are two examples: e-yasukaráru monó ‘something rarely come by (met with)’; e-yasukarakárú zén’i no hitó ‘a person of rare goodwill’ (Kb 411a.5).

In the following examples the infinitive ári functions as the literary predicative: ‘Wàre ári to omóu yuè ni wáre ári’ ‘Je pense donc je suis’ (Tk 3.156b); ... situmei no osoré ári [= osoré ga áriu] to ganka-byoótoo ni nyuuin saseretara ‘He was hospitalized in the ophthalmology ward with the diagnosis that there was danger he might lose his eyesight ...’ (SA 2656.28b); ... zyóši puro-resu ni sonó-hitó ári to sirareta hitó ‘rasii ‘seems to be a person well known in women’s wrestling’ (SA 2678.151c). A common idiomatic turn is to predicate a series of N ári phrases: Gensoku ári, reigai ári, kyooyo ári de, ... ‘What with rules, with exceptions, with dispensations, ...’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.276); Riíto ári, hekison ári, onsen ári, yamá ári minato ári da ga, sýbete tûóysa ni tóttte wa mítí no basyó de ári, minami kara kitá(”) e Nihón o tabí sita kíkoo de áru ‘There are faraway islands, there are isolated villages, there are hot springs, there are mountains, there are ports, and all of them are unfamiliar (= brand new) places for the author who gives us a journal of traveling Japan from south to north’ (SA 2665.94a); Sísoo ya kóodó no mén de mo, mînsei-kei ári, “sanpâ-kei” ári, “hippii-anakisútó-kei” ári de, makoto ni hyakka-séihoo no oomóúkî(”) ‘[Among the “underground folksingers”] from the viewpoint of ideology and behavior, what with the existence of the socialist group, the ultra-leftists and the “hippie-anarchist faction” it truly takes on the appearance of “let a hundred flowers bloom”’ (SA 2637.98c). Cf. §14.6 (p. 904).

Examples of other ári-type verbs: “Síkári” to kotaèrú ‘Answers “Yes”’; Senzen no Róosutyáirudo ni site sikári ‘For the pre-war Rothschilds that’s the way it was’ (SA 2664.44a).

Below are examples of the copulas.

nári: Tokí wa kane nári ‘Time is money’; Gyaku mo móta(”) sín nári, dësu ka ‘Is it a case of “The opposite also holds true”?’ (Tk 4.45b); Kodómó-tâti wa ákanbéè. Toozen nári. Nán no hentetu mo náí bûrânkó ni, dâre ga íma-sara(”) nori-tai monó ka ‘The children make faces [of displeasure]. Small wonder. Who wants to ride on a perfectly ordinary old swing?’ (SA 2666.198e).

náru: Nékkí-kyuu naru aidéa wa ... ‘The idea of a hot-air balloon ...’ (SA 2647.4); Sósite sonó-hitó wa watasi o goógoó-kúrábu naru tokóró e turete itta ‘Then he took me to a place that was a gogo club’ (SA 2660.134b); ... sootoo nárú kingaku ‘an appropriate sum’ 9SA 2680.121c); ... Íma kara roku-nen mãé, mãá mánsony naru monó ga konna ni hukkyuu suru izen ni, ... Some six years ago now, before the “mansion” apartment-house had yet spread like this, ...’ (SA 2679.158); ... byooni e hâiru to iu “Mítí naru tokóró e no yori-mítí” o sita kótó ni yotte, gaíkóoku-ryókoo o sita tokí ni másáru(”) tô mo otorônai(”), iroi o no kyoukoon o etá ‘By making the “side trip to an unfamiliar place” of entering the hospital I gained all sorts of edification that was neither better nor worse than when (= if) I took a trip abroad’
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(§ 13.9. Predicative and attributive forms) ... nite hi naru monó datta ga ‘it was a thing that was similar and yet (= but) different’ (SA 2645.47a); ... nite hi naru monó datta ga ‘it was a thing that was similar and yet (= but) different’ (SA 2641.10). In the example ... wa-ga kuni no gakusya no uti(=) naru bünkka no seisei ni ... ‘in the culture formation among the scholars of our country’ (SA 2659.114b) narú is presumably to be taken as equivalent to colloquial de-aru = nō, rather than as ni1 ōaru with locative ni.

naránu (see also §8.6): ... hadaká-uma naranu mai-káa de ... ‘in a private automobile that is a far cry from a bareback horse ...’ (SA 2666.121e).

nara-áru (see also §8.6): Niwakshi ni ōite(=) kuruma no nânbaa ga Tookyoo-nânbaa de, “kappe” nara-áru tokoró o kóozi(=) site iru ‘The license number of the car left in front of the garden is a Tókyō number and proudly proclaims that it is not some “hillbilly’s” place’ (SA 2648.35c).

NOTE: The negative equivalent of sentence-final nári is ni áru (cf. §8.5): Íma ya aidéa no nai hito wa hito ni áru ‘Nowadays the person without ideas is not a person at all’ (SA 2652.47b).

nara-ámeru (pseudo-literary causative): ... genzitu ni kanoo nara-ámeru zyookén(=) o ... ‘the conditions that will make it possible in reality’ (Tanigawa 139); ... sono zoogo ó mo kanoo nara-ámeru kisó ... ‘the foundation that makes the very word coinages possible’ (Kgg 43.61).

nári-si (attributive perfect): ... syoówa-syóki tómarí rebyuu-keiéngeki [ga] hanayaaka nári-i kóo no Asakusa-rókkku o haíkei ni sita merodóráma ‘(It is) a melodrama that has as its background the sixth ward [= the entertainment area] of Asakusa at the beginning of the Shōwa period, that is at the time when revues and light theater were popular’ (SA 2657.118c).


tará: ... nári-si konketu de áru kotó o iti-nitú tari to mo wasurerú na ‘And never forget for a single day that you are of mixed blood’ (SA 2656.137).

táru (see also §13.5, §13.5a, §21): ... oyá táru monó ... ‘he who is a parent’; Zyosei táru monó, koo i ku kunren ni onozukara netú ga híóru no wa atarimae desyóo ‘For one who is a woman it is surely only to be expected that an enthusiasm for this instruction should well up spontaneously’ (SA 2645.140); sekai-kéizai ‘zídai no bizinessu-man taru monó ... ‘he who is a businessman in the worldwide-economy era ...’ (Gg 1969/9.66a); ... sókkó no kihón-hoo(=) táru kénpoo no kasei ‘the revision of the constitution which is the fundamental law of the land’ (KKK 25.78b). Yuui-ténpén no hágésii bundan ni átte, sánzyuu gonén-kan mo dái is-sen no sákka(-) táru tíi o kákúho site kita no wa, yooi naránu kotó datta ni tígai nái ‘Surely it was no easy matter for him to have preserved for all of thirty-five years his front-line position in literary circles which suffer a severe turnover of talents’ (SA 2685.104d).

tarasímeru: (see p. 750)
tarakú: used in the colloquial only to quote literary passages such as Oyó1 oyá taraku to mo, ko wa ko tāre ‘Even if the father be not paternal let the child be filial’.

taránu: not used (see §8.6)
tarázaráru (see also §8.6): ... zizyoo wa, sára ni hukuzatu tarazáru o énai ‘matters are bound to be more complicated’ (SA 2664.91a).

tári-si (attributive perfect): Gunzin tári-si monó sura, hansen-úndoo ni sänka(=) site
The colloquial verb suru is the descendant of the literary attributive form; the predicative form is su. You will often find this form used before "bêki, since the literary post-adnominal adjective bê-si/-ki normally follows the predicative form—including the morphological predicative form for âru (etc.), identical with the attributive (as for consonant verbs in general). The polite auxiliary i-"masu is by origin a predicative form and we sometimes find the attributive i-"masuru used in adnominalized sentences (see § 22.1).

Vowel verb bases of more than one syllable (kangae- 'think', kurabe- 'compare', ôti- 'fall, sîi- 'force', ...) drop the final vowel and add -u for the predicative, -uru for the attributive. The predicative form kangâu occurs in ... kungâu "bêki yôti ga âru to omôu 'I believe there is room to think about it' (K 1955.65) and the attributive form kangâru occurs directly nominalized in Tûra-tûra kangâru ni ... 'Upon careful reflection ...' (Kansai speaker Endô Shôsaku, SA 2651.46c). For 'compare' the forms are attributive kuraburu and predicative kurabu, the latter found in this example: Íma o toki-mêku "Môôtâa-syoo" ... ni wa kurabu "bêku mo nai ga ... 'It can not be compared with the "motor shows" that are the In thing today, but ...' (SA 2674.138).

The literary forms of the passive have the ending -(r)aruru for the attributive, -(r)aru for the predicative. Thus the shape kakâru may represent the predicative of the passive of kaku (the attributive being kakkâru, the infinitive kakâre, the negative kakkârezu) and mean 'it gets written' or it may represent the convergent attributive-predicative form of the verb kakâru 'it hangs' (infinitive kakâri, negative kakkârazu); another possibility is that it may represent the attributive form of a verb using the infinitive for most of its predicative functions -- kakâri 'is like this' (an abbreviation of kaku âri), for which the negative is kakkârazu (= kaku ârazu).

Since the provisional form -réba is made by adding eba to the attributive (dropping its final u), the forms for these vowel verbs will be -ureba: Nagamûreba = Nagamêreba 'Upon scrutiny ...' (SA 2660.136d).

The literary forms for 'fall' (infinitive ôti) are attributive otûru and predicative ôtu; for the infinitive házi 'ashamed' the forms are predicative házu and attributive hazûru, as in ... hazûru kotô wa nânî mo nai ga, ... 'there's nothing to be ashamed of, but ...' (SA 2664.28a). The literary forms for 'force'--attributive siûru and predicative siu--were earlier spelled 'sihu(r u)' and the infinitive sîi was spelled 'sihi';--because the cluster of two like vowels came from dropping an earlier labial (originally -p-) that separated them. But some vowel clusters do not result from a dropped labial; instead, what has dropped is

174. The traditional pronunciation of final -au in such forms follows the dialect pattern of vowel reduction and prefers /oo/ but we will follow the orthography (and the modern Tôkyô pronunciation) in writing au. Similarly, the rare case of -eu is traditionally pronounced /yoo/: ureû = ureerû 'grieves' is pronounced /uryôó/; the attributive is ureeru /uryôôru/. The negative is ureezu.

175. But in kangae-u 'bêku mo arimasen 'there is no likelihood of its being thinkable' (Tsukagoshi 76), the predicative is of the auxiliary -uru = -eru; see § 9.1.10.

176. Modern muku(yu) (') is given the literary form mukuyû), with the predicative mukuyû and the attributive mukuyûru, but in earlier times it was apparently muku-, a consonant base (Satô 1.95), and that has apparently survived as the source of mukuwarenu issyoo 'an unrewarded life' (MK2's 1077c).
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-y-. The verb mie- ‘appear’, for example, makes literary forms that are spelled miyùrû for the attributive and miyû for the predicative. Since the distinction between -iù- and -i-yu-
is difficult to maintain, Japanese are often confused about the spellings of some of these words. You may run across such false spellings as *siyu and *siyùrû for ‘forces’ or
*kuwâyû(-) and *kuwàyùrû for kuwà(h)u(-) and kuwà(h)ûrû(-), corresponding to the colloquial kuwàérû(-) ‘adds’. In reading the literary forms, speakers will often follow the patterns of vowel reduction characteristic of dialect speech (where kau ‘buys’ is pronounced ko) and say ku[w]jô(-), ku[w]jôrû(-) for kuwà(rû(-)) and ku[w]jôru(-) for kuwà(rû(-)). The literary conjunction equivalent to the formal colloquial [sore ni] kuwàrû ni ‘moreover’ is kuwàrû ni, usually pronounced kuôorû ni, as you may hear in a public speech.

When we come across a predicative form ending in -u, we cannot be sure from the shape whether it is a consonant verb that would be identical in the colloquial or whether it is a vowel verb, which would be -eru or -iru in the colloquial. Thus “aku” might be the consonant verb ‘it opens’ (colloquial aku), with the same form in the attributive and with the infinitive aki and the negative akazu; or it might be the vowel verb ‘opens it’ with the attributive akuru (colloquial akeru) and the infinitive ake, the negative akezu. Such confusions may be responsible for the ambivalent shapes of certain verbs today. The three infinitives aki ‘weary’, tari ‘suffice’, and kari ‘borrow’ are the same in virtually all dialects. But in Tôkyô these verbs are treated as vowel bases, so that the imperfects are aki'rû, tarirû, and karirû while the negatives are akina'i, taria'i, and karina'i; in western Japan they are usually treated as consonant bases with the imperfects aki, taru, and karu and the negatives akân, tara'n, and karan. The infinitive simi ‘permeates’ is similar in that Tôkyô treats the verb as a vowel base (imperfect simirû, negative simina'i), but in western Japan it is often treated as a consonant base (imperfect simu–in Ósaka also syumu, negative siman). A less obvious case is tare ‘drip’: Tôkyô speakers say mizu ga tare'rû (taranai) ‘water drips (doesn’t drip)’ but the Ósaka forms are said to be mizu ga taru (taranai), apparently homonymous with ‘suffice’ (infinitive tari). (Cf. Maeda 1961.214. Is the Ósaka infinitive for ‘drip’ tari?) The infinitive mór'e ‘leak’ also is treated either as a vowel verb (morérû, moré'nai) or as a consonant verb (môrû, morâ'nai–is the infinitive móri?), and these forms are apparently both in current use in Tôkyô (cf. BJ 2.277 n. 26).178 The verb sinôburû(-) ‘tolerates’ is a consonant base in the colloquial, but a vowel base (attributive sinôburû(-), infinitive sinôbî(-)) in the literary, and it is from the literary that the colloquial borrows the negative in the stereotyped expression V-rû ni sinôbinai(-)`can not find it in

177. Except for the final vowel being i or e, the two kinds of bases show no differences in modern Japanese. But in Hida-gun in Wakayama prefecture the old distinction of conjugation is maintained (K 1966.205). The change from -uru to -eru (and -iru?) began as early as Kamakura times, but verbal auxiliaries such as the passive were slower to follow the change, which became general in the latter part of the 17th century (Y 138). In parts of Shikoku (Ehime prefecture) and Kyûshû such old forms as orûrû = orirû ‘descends’, sugûrû = sugiru ‘exceeds’, and even sinûrû = sinu ‘dies’ are still alive (H 1968.149, 165).

178. In the Nara period (Såto 1.90) the following verbs were treated as consonant bases, though they later became vowel bases as indicated: kâk(e)- ‘hang it’, mák(e)- ‘appoint’ (whence modern makâse- ‘entrust with’, originally a causative), wak(e)- ‘divide it’; momit(e)- later momid(e)- ‘leaves turn color’; todôm(e)- ‘stop it’, hur(e)- ‘touch’, kakû(r)- ‘(vanish =) die’, osôr(e)- ‘fear’, wasur(e)- ‘forget’, târ(e)- ‘drop/drip it’; tar(i)- ‘suffice’. In the Heian period (Såto 1.114) the following were treated as consonant bases: sidâ(r(e)- ‘drop’, tur(e)- ‘follow’ (intransitive; the verb form was transitive ‘bring as company’), môr(e)- ‘leak’, midâ(r(e)- ‘be disturbed’ (also ‘disturb’ = ‘later midâs’); um(e)- ‘bury’; ik(i)- ‘live’.
one's heart to do' (see §14.6). The expression mi/kokóro ni simiru 'penetrates one's self/soul = is deeply felt' is normally treated as a durative-stative (§3.12): ... simite iru and ... simita N, with the gerund ... simite used adverbially to mean 'with deep interest'. But the literary predicative form simu surprisingly turns up in use as a quasi adnoun: ... isso mi ni simu monó ni surú no ni zyuubún datta 'was sufficient to make it something all the more deeply felt' (Kb 124b). Perhaps this is due to the influence of the merger of the attributive and predicative forms in the Ōsaka simu.

One-syllable verb bases that end in i (mi- 'see', i- 'stay', i- 'shoot' or 'cast metal', hi- 'get dry') simply add -ru for both the attributive and the predicative forms, as in the colloquial. (The irregular verb ki- 'come' is normally replaced by a variant, the consonant base kitār-, a contraction of a compound of ki- 'come' + itār- (')reach'). But the one-syllable vowel bases é- 'get' and hé- 'pass' have separate forms in the literary language for the attributive (érú, hérú) and the predicative (ú, hú); the infinitives are é and hé, the negative é-ru and hé-ru. An example of the attributive: tos o hérú (= hérú) hodó ni ... 'as one passes through the years' (SA 2684.138c). The verb dé- 'emerge' has the literary shape éde-: the predicative form is iðú (= ízu), the attributive is idúru (= ízuru), and the negative is iede- ru. The infinitive éde is the source of o-ide, the honorific infinitive used as a euphemism for 'going', 'coming', and 'staying' (§6.4).

We have observed separate shapes for the attributive and predicative of verb forms in other sections: the various negative forms in §8.6; the literary perfects -i-tú/-túru, -i-núrú, and -i-ki/-si in §9.5; and the literary perfect-resultative -érì/-érú in §9.6. We have also seen the quasi-literary causative form V-(a)sime, made from the infinitive V-(a)sime by colloquial patterns; the genuine literary forms V-(a)simu and V-(a)simuru are also sometimes used: ... kánozyo-ra no íssyu no riso-soyúgi no sikarasimu ró tokoró na no de wa nakaróok ka 'I wonder if it isn't a kind of idealism on the part of those women that make them be like that' (SA 2658.52d)—the causative is made on the literary verb séka-r- (< séka- 'is such').

There is also a literary version for the colloquial perfect -tá (§11), the forms being i-táru for the attributive and -itári for most of the predicative uses; the latter is the source of the colloquial representative -tári (§9.4). Examples of the literary attributive: ... kagiráretaru hán'i de ... 'in a limited scope' (Tk 2.333b); Ōitaru Gyaban ... 'Gabain, who has aged ...' (SA 2679.118a); Réi no gótoku no kazarí-táretaru tosí no kure 'It is the end of the year all decorated up as usual' (SA 2657.3); Tugi ni arowáretaru wa (= arowáreta no wa) onná no kao 'It was a woman's face that next appeared' (SA 2660.135d); Arowáretaru wa káta-ya kuro-táí no sora-iro [no] mizugi o kita débu-san 'What has appeared in the one corner [of the wrestling ring] is Miss Fatso wearing a light blue swim suit and black tights' (SA 2678.140e). As the last two examples show, it is common for attributive forms to appear directly nominalized, where the colloquial would call for the nominalizer nó. In the literary language V-rú mo and A-ki mo are sometimes used to mean 'but, however' where the colloquial would have V-rú keredomo and A-i keredomo. Cf. LF 72-3; Henderson 163-4. V-rú ni and A-ki ni are used to mean 'despite (the fact that)'—corresponding to colloquial V-rú no ni and A-i no ni—but also to mean 'where, whereupon'. The perfect predicative form tükétari 'has attached' is the source of the noun tuketari 'a supplement, an accessory'. Étari 'I've got it' is used as an exultant exclamation 'Good (for me)! often in the form Étari ya ō'ō 'Have I got it?—Yeah!' (and Étari ō in Miyara 1954.112); étari tó'bakari and étari kasikósi tó means 'with great eagerness'
§13.9. Predicative and attributive forms

(kasiko -si being the literary predicative of the adjective 'wise, shrewd'); etari-gao("") means 'a look of triumph'.

Occasionally we see the attributive form of a consonant base (indistinguishable from the predicative) used before what looks to be a postadnominal of the shape raku: ... bóku("") gyaku ni toúraku [wa] 'what I inquire, conversely [is]’ (Tk 2.220a); Nozomú raku wa ... ‘It is hoped that ... ’; Osímu raku wa ... ‘It is a pity that ... ’; Utagaú raku wa ... ‘It is doubted that ... ’. These are back-formations by false analogy with some of the forms of an archaic nominalization that is made by adnominalizing the verb to a postadnominal aku (or -ák – the accentuation is unclear) and then obligatorily reducing the forms by contraction and/or crisis:

1. Consonant verbs ... C[u] aku: iw[u] aku = iwaku 'what one says (is ...)'; negaw[u] aku = negawaku wa 'what one requests (is ...)?',180 katar[u] aku = kataraku 'what one tells (is ...)?'; ár[u] aku = áráku 'that (it) exists ...; that (one) has ...'; tir[u] aku = haná [ga] táraku wa 'the scattering of the flowers'.
   (2) Vowel verbs ...r[u] aku: tugur[u] aku = tuguráku 'what is reported (= tugérú no, tugérú kotó); oyú[r[u] aku = oyúráku 'being old';181 kú[r[u] aku = küráku 'coming'; sur[u] aku = sûráku 'doing'; mí[r[u] aku = míráku 'seeing'.
   (3) Adjectives ...-ki aku > -keku: tákakí aku > tákakeku 'being high; what is high'; yásuuki aku > yásuukeku 'being cheap/easy; what is cheap/easy'; hóski aku > hóskikeku 'being desired; what is desired'.
   (4) Verb negative ...(a)n[u] aku = ...(a)naku: sen[u] aku = sénaku 'not doing' (= sinái no, sinai kotó).
   (5) Literary tentative/hortative ...(a)m[u] aku = ...(a)maku: sém[u] aku = sémaku 'not likely/wanting to do' (= sinái daroo, suru "mái). See also >-(a)másí 'wants to (be/do)'< -(a)má[ku hós] < -(a)m[u] aku hósi-, § 15.12a.
   (6) Various perfects:

\[
\begin{align*}
V-i-tú[r[u] aku &= V-i-túráku (= V-tá no, V-ta kotó); \\
V-i-nú[r[u] aku &= V-i-núráku (= V-tá no, V-ta kotó); \\
V-i-á[r[u] aku &= V-ér[u] aku = V-éráku (= V-te iru kotó/no; V-tá no, V-ta kotó).182 \\
V-i-ki-á[r[u] aku &= V-i-kér[u] aku = V-i-kéráku \\
V-i-ki aku &= V-i-kéku \\
V-i-si aku &= V-i-siku184
\end{align*}
\]

(7) Perfect tentative:

\[
V-i-ki-á[m[u] aku = V-i-kém[u] aku = V-i-kémáku (= V-tá daroo).
\]

179. As in ... osímu raku wa, watasi ni yakyyuu no tísiki ga nái 'I am sorry to say I have no knowledge of baseball' (Tk 3.53). Uramú raku wa 'It is regretted that ... ' corresponds to earlier uramú[r[u] aku.
180. A variant: negawáku ba.
181. The modern oiraku 'old age' as in oiraku no kói 'a love of one's later years' is a variant. (The syllable yu is often replaced by i in modern dialects.)
182. As in Kózin iéraku 'Men of old said as follows' (MKZ5 43b).
183. Since this is the predicative form, we would not expect it to turn up, but -ki/-si were used somewhat indiscriminately in early days. Cf. Martin 1967:260 n. 24.
184. The form is irregular; we would expect it to be V-i-séku. See Terase 214, Shimamura 586b.
13.10. PSEUDO ADNOMINALS; PREDICATE-PRONE ADJECTIVES

There are a number of idioms in Japanese that involve a noun derived by attaching the prefix oo- ‘big’ or ko- ‘little’ in such a way that the reference of the size is to the extent of the action of the verb rather than to the noun itself: ko-mimi ni hasamu ‘hears casually’, ko-te o kazasu ‘shades one’s eyes with one’s hand’, ko-kubi o kasigérü ‘cocks one’s head (slightly)’, ko-mata o hiráite/hirogete ‘taking short strides’, oo-mata o hiráite/hirogete ‘taking long strides’, oo-ase o kákù ‘perspires heavily’, ... Ishigaki (58) speaks of these as “pseudo adnominals”. The best way to handle them, it would appear, is as idiomatic lexical items. See also some of the examples with “intensifier” prefixes in §9.1.1a. Ko-básiri ni hasitte ‘tripping along’ (Tk 3.206b) looks similar to these expressions but the verbal meaning is contained within the first word, which also functions as a verbal noun ko-básiri suru ‘trips along, walks quickly’; there is also ko-básiri ni yatte kita ‘came tripping (to meet us)’.

The adjectives suku nai ‘is little in quantity; are few’ and óóí ‘is much; are many’ do not adnominalize quite so freely as other adjectivals. Normally, for example, they will not permit a subject to be extruded as epipheme: Kodomo ga óóí ‘Children are many’ will not readily convert to (?)Óóí kodomo ‘Many children’ for that will be said as Takusán no kodomo or Óóku no kodomo ‘A lot of children’; Kane ga suku nai ‘Money is little (in quantity)’ will not readily convert to (?)Sukunai kane ‘Little money’ for that is said as Sukósi no kane ‘A little money’. But (with or without the subject explicitly expressed) the sentence will permit epiphematization of other adjuncts: [Kodomo ga] óóí hâha ... ‘A mother who has many children ...’; [Kane ga] suku nai tokí ... ‘A time when money is in short supply ...’. And when the epipheme is to be used in a negative sentence, it is possible to extrude the subject of these adjectives: Anmari óóí kodomo no sewá ga dekínai ‘I can’t take care of too many children’. And if the reference is definite (‘THE many/few...’), extrusion of the subject is also possible: Sukunai kane o dóó tukaimasyóó ka ‘How shall we use such a small amount of money as this?’ (= konná ni suku nai no kané). Other examples occur in written Japanese: ... Hukuzawa Yukiti wa ‘Gakúmon no susume’ sonó-ta o suku nai kanzi ni yotte káki, ... ‘Fukuzawa Yukiichi wrote “The promotion of learning” and other works with very few Chinese characters’ (Ôno 1966.232); ... suku naka rânu Ameriká-zin wa ... ‘no few Americans ...’ (SA 2681.34c). Yorosii ‘it is satisfactory (as matters stand)’ is also typically predicative, perhaps because its reference is to a general situation rather than a specific noun subject.
14 NOMINALIZATIONS: GENERAL AND SPECIFIC

Two very common postadnominals are used to nominalize a sentence: kotó makes a general nominalization that is abstract, habitual, or remote; nó makes a specific or definite nominalization that is single, immediate, concrete, or directly perceivable. The basic difference between kotó and nó can be seen in sentences of the type exemplified by Soo kangáérú NO wa toozen no KOTÓ da ‘It is natural to think so’, an identificational sentence with the specific nominalization (soo kangáérú no da ‘to think so’) as the Identified and the general nominalization (toozen no kotó ga ‘a natural fact’) as the Identifier, with the usual thematization and focus (... no da ➔ ... no wa, ... kotó ga ➔ ... kotó da). Notice also: Ká-re-ra no mokuteki wa wataši no kao o miru kotó datta ‘Their purpose was to get a look at [my face = me’ (Endó 197). A detailed discussion of the semantic features that differentiate kotó and nó will be found in Josephs (to appear); he labels the features DIRECT (nó) and INDIRECT (kotó).

There are a number of compound nouns with -goto (= -“koto”) as later member: negai-gotó(”) ‘one’s desire’, warai-gotó(”) ‘laughing matter’, kangae-gotó(”) ‘something to think about; concern’, si-goto ‘work, job’, deki-gotó ‘a happening’, kaké-goto ‘gambling’; sinpai-gotó(”) ‘a matter of concern, a worry’, zyoodan-gotó(”) ‘a joking matter’, soodan-gotó(”) ‘a matter for consultation’, hito-goto ‘other people’s concerns’; asobi-goto zya nái ‘it is not child’s play’.

14.1. KOTÓ

A sentence can be adnominalized to kotó with various meanings that can be summarized as ‘the act/fact/experience of ...’. Nominal sentences convert då to nó: Aitú ga | waruí yáru no l kotó wa l da mo sitte ‘ru yó ‘That he is an evil bastard is known to everyone, I tell you’.

To be distinguished is the use of kotó as an ordinary (though usually modified1) noun ‘facts (about), matter (regarding)’: Senséi no kotó desu ga ... ‘It’s (a matter) regarding the teacher ...’; Hontoo no kotó o l itte kure ‘Tell the real story; Tell the truth’; Sonna kotó wa l ore no sitta kotó zya l nái ‘Such things are no concern of mine’. This is one way to set up a loose theme, as in the first example above; observe how Asitā no kotó desu ga ... ‘It’s about tomorrow (that I want to speak to you) ...’ is very similar in meaning to Asitā wa [nee] ... ‘(Now, as for) tomorrow ...’.

When the sentence adnominalized to kotó is something other than a predicated pure noun, the sentence is usually quotationalized: Okyaku-san ga mieta to iu l kotó da ‘It’s (about the fact) that guests have arrived’;
Kożútumi ga l tyót-to l omoi to iu l kotó da ‘It’s a matter of the parcel being a bit too heavy’; Kónban l damé da to iu l kotó da ‘It’s that tonight is out’. The nominalizations (including those made on predicated pure nouns, N da to iu kotó) need not be predicated; they can be put to use as subject or direct object, often referring to the perception of a fact:

1. Other noun uses need not be modified: Kotó no ikitatu wa ... ‘Details about the matter are ...’; kotó ga | okóreba ‘if an incident should arise’ (SA 2685.99b); Kotó wa, l Nikuson no lnerai ‘doo ni l susumu daroo ka ‘Will the matter go as Nixon aims it to?’ (SA 2679.18b).
§ 14. Nominalizations: General and Specific

Kore da} to iu kotô o/wa siranákatta 'I didn’t know (that) it was this'.

Omoi} it was this'.

Móo kíta} it was heavy'.

Móo kíta daroo to iu l kotô o/wa l kikanákatta 'I hadn’t heard that it was probably already here'.

Hayakkatta to iu l kotô gà l wakkatta 'I realized that it was early'.

Another use of kotô as object is N nô kotô2 o iu 'it refers to N, it means N'. Notice also N to iu no wa S kotô2 da = N wa S to iu kotô2 da 'N means (doing, being) S'. The word kotô2 as an ordinary noun has a number of meanings: 'matter, thing, circumstances, case; incident, event; task, duty, work'. S to iu kotô nara (or S to iu kotô de àreba) means 'if it turns out (to be the case) that S, if it (so) happens that S', as in this example, which offers another S to iu kotô, as well: I ma-mâde I tukatte itê I kôoka ga ñâi to iu l kotô de (àreba), ì kusui o I kae te miru to iu l kotô mo î hô tôu no l hoohoo dêsù 'One method is to change the drug, if it happens that there is no effect from using it to date' (SA 2669.104c).

Some other uses of kotô are described elsewhere: ... tô no kotô2 da, § 21; N o kotô to mo ñâi, § 21.4; ... ni kotô-kaite, § 14.6.2. For sentence-final kotô, see § 15.13, § 16.2.(17).

Kotô is also used in letterwriting as a polite substitute for the particle ga: Watakusi kotô, meaning something like Watakusî no kotô de 'It’s about me', is used at the beginning of a letter where you might expect Watakusî ga; cf. kôso. Another particle-like use is ALIAS kotô11 NAME (with the juncture cancelling the final accent of kotô): Hasegawa Kazuo kotô11 Hayasi Tyoozîro 'Chôjirô Hayashi, later known as Kazuo Hasegawa'; An-Turu san kotô11 [sákka(°)] î Ándoo l Turuô-si ... 'the writer Mr Tsuruo Andô, who goes by the nickname of An Tsuru' (SA 2656.24). Perhaps this usage can be regarded as a shortening of B no kotô no A 'the person A to whom the name B refers'. By “alias” we mean pen name, stage name, nickname, etc. In written Japanese (and in somewhat formal speech) you may come across kotô—followed by major juncture when read aloud—as a thematic signal at the beginning of the sentence, anticipating a phrase that will tell you what the sentence is about; ... KOTÔ l kane N TÀI-SITE WA, ... ‘when it comes to money’ (Tk 3.318); ... KOTÔ l koo i mondai N TÛI-TE WA, ... ‘with respect to this matter’ (Tk 2.67b); ... KOTÔ l gô NI KÀN-SÜRû I kâgîri wa ... ‘as long as the subject is the game of gô’ (Tk 2.74b); ... KOTÔ l seibutu-syâkai no l kotô TO NÀRU TO ... ‘when it comes to a matter of the biological society’ (SA 2677.112e); KOTÔ l kaikai-sìki NI KÀN-SITE WA l Minpoo sîzyoû l hazimatte ñrai to iu l duoitô zîkân-waku, î duoitô gàmen(°), î duoitô ônsëi(°), î duoitô supôônsaa de l hoosoo [suru] to iu kyoorokû-buri [da] ‘In the matter of opening ceremonies [of the Ósaka Exposition], the collaboration—unprecedented since the beginning of the private network (Minkan-koosoo-rênmei = Minpóo-ren)—is such that they will be televised with identical [time frame =] hour-format, identical setting, identical sound, and identical sponsor’ (SA 2670.24d). This kotô always forms a phrase to itself and is never focused by wa or mó.

A number of uses of kotô2 involve adverbialization, with the copula dá converting to the infinitive ni (§ 9.1.11) to produce set phrases such as mazúi kotô ni ‘inconveniently enough, unfortunately, awkward as it happened to be’, omosirôj kotô ni ‘interestingly/amusingly (enough)’, osorôj kotô ni ‘frightening to tell’, kanaii kotô ni ‘sad to say’, arigatô kotô ni ‘happily enough, fortunately’, ursesî kotô ni ‘to my delight’, kokkei na kotô ni ‘comically enough’ (Tk 2.64b), hiniku na kotô ni ‘ironically enough’, iyâ na kotô ni ‘to my disgust, unpleasant to say’, yâkkai na kotô ni ‘annoingly enough’, igai(°) na...
§14.1. Koto

Koto ni ‘surprisingly enough’, tugoo ga ii koto ni ‘conveniently enough’; odorōita koto ni ‘to one’s surprise’, komatō koto ni ‘to one’s distress’ (= wa ‘the trouble is that...’); husi gi na koto ni wa ‘oddly enough, strange to tell’, kom atta koto ni ‘to one’s distress’ (= wa ‘the trouble is that...’); warui koto ni ‘unfortunate’, nāhi yori mo warui koto ni ‘worst of all’; cf. nō warui koto wa ‘worse still’, and the dephrasal adverb Totemō-no-koto-ni ‘While you are about it...’. For expressions with koto ni naru/suru, see §14.1.2. Notice also (§9.3) sinaī koto ni wa ‘unless it happens’ (= sinākereba, sinaī to, sinaī de wa) or ‘so long as it does not happen’ (= sinaī kagiri, sinaī uti(‘) ), and suru koto nāsi ni ‘wa’ with similar meanings (§14.6). With dropping of ni (§9.1.12) we get such direct adverbializations as isso no koto ‘preferably, rather’, nagai koto ‘for a long time’, and hayai koto ‘promptly’—listed by some dictionaries as lexical adverbs; cf. āru-hi no koto ‘one day...’ ← āru-hi no koto datta ‘it happened one day’, Ŝengetu nīzyuu iti-niti no koto... ‘On the 21st of last month...’ (SA 2654.141c). Observe also sünde-no-koto ‘nī or sünde no tokorō de = sū[n]de ni ‘almost, on the point of’ (< intransitive gerund sünde ‘ending’—sūde ni also means ‘already’).

In the imperfect form, V-ru koto da can be used to convey advice (‘the thing to do is to V’): Sāa I horākun koto da ‘I guess what we/you better do is work’; Sonna kēesu ni I āeba, I o-māwari-san ni I tugureru koto desu ‘If you meet with such a case [= run into such an incident], you should tell a policeman’ (SA 2651.111c).

This is the origin of the usage to express an indirect command: Edo o orānai koto da ‘Please don’t break the branches’; Tabako o nomānai koto [da] ‘No smoking, please’; Yokei o na-o-sēkai wa, I sinaī koto da nā ‘You’d do well to mind your own business’ (Hayashi 136). Compare V-ru monō de wa nāi ‘It is not the [proper] thing to...’: Hito o yubi-sāsu I monō de wa lārimasén ‘You shouldn’t point at people’ (Hayashi 172). Perhaps this is the likeliest source for the expression V-ru koto to suru ‘I will make it a point to V, I’ll be sure to go even if it rains tomorrow’. Somewhat different is S koto to suru to ‘If [we suppose/assume/know that] S’; Asit kara α Tooyōo ni tuku koto to suru to, watasi wa erekī made mukae ni ikaneba naranai ‘If he is to arrive in Tokyo tomorrow I’ll have to go to the station to meet him’.

The meaning of TIME no koto da ‘It’s a matter of TIME’ is ‘happened (or will happen) at a time’: Žyuu-nen māe no koto da ‘It happened ten years ago’, Asatte no koto da ‘It will take place day after tomorrow’ of this is the source of yat-to no koto de (= yat-ødō) ‘at long last, barely, narrowly’—and its synonym yooya ku no koto de (= yooya ku) —together with some of the direct adverbializations of... no koto above. Dekiru koto nara means ‘If (it’s) possible; If I can’; Dōdo sita koto [da] ka means ‘What happened?’ or— interpolated in a narrative—‘what-do-you-know-but; somehow (or other)’.

One interesting usage of koto, can be called the ITERATIVE CONCESSIVE: S, koto

2. Isso no koto, I zie-tai o I yamete simaoo, tō wa I kangaēnakatta ‘You didn’t think of quitting the Self Defence Force as preferable [to resistance while a member]?’ (SA 2662.24c).

3. Nagai koto I koko ni ne te i te... ‘having slept here for a long period’ (SA 2672.23b). This use of A-ku as the equivalent (in a few instances) of A-ku is reminiscent of the use of V-lānakū wa nāi as a variant of V-lānakū koto wa nāi, p. 394.

4. But this sentence would be more comfortable with koto ni nāru to. And V-ru koto ni suru ‘decides to (makes it a point to) V’ is more common than V-ru koto to suru, though their meanings are virtually identical.
wa S1 ga/kedo 'as for doing/being S1 it is true that S1 but' (§17.4-5). More often than not, the sentence is repeated without the adjuncts: Tegami o kaku koto wa | kaku ga ... 'I'll write the letter, never fear, but ...'; Kore moli yasu koto wa | yasu n da kedo, Ill | moin da | ne 'This also is cheap enough, all right, but it's a good one' (Tk 4.294a); Wakaru koto wa | lwakaru kedo ... 'I understand, all right, but ...'; Iki-tai koto wa | iki-tai ga ... 'I want to go, all right, but ...'. Various changes can be run on the resulting sentence, and the input can be negative, desiderative, etc., but it must be imperfect: Iki-tai koto wa | iki-takatta ga ... 'I wanted to go, all right, but ...'; Iki-taku nai koto wa | iki-taku nai ga ... 'I don't want to go, it is true, but ...'; Yari-sugiru koto wa | yari-sugita ka mo | sirenai ga ... 'I may have overdone things a bit, but ...'; Kodomo wa | genki na koto wa | genki desu ga ... 'The child is healthy, all right, but ...'; Kare wa | tomodati na koto wa | tomodati da kedo ... 'He is a friend, true, but ...'; Hontoo na koto wa | hontoo da kedo ... 'It's the truth, to be sure, but ...'; Omosiroi koto wa | omosirokatta kedo ... 'It was fun all right, but ...'. An adjectival noun permits optional dropping of [na koto]: Mizuka | na koto wa | mizuka da ga ... 'It IS quiet, all right, but ...'. The repeat must have the same polarity (negative or affirmative) as the input, if the result is to be interpreted as the iterative concessive, since this construction will not let you say 'it is not true that ... but' or 'it is true that not ... but'. On the other hand, if koto is taken as the ordinary noun (meaning 'doings' or the like) all sorts of combinations can occur:

Watasi wa | suru koto wa | suru ga, Ill | sinai koto wa | sinai 'I do what I do and I don't do what I don't do', or: 'I do what [someone] does ...' etc.

Watasi wa | sinai koto wa | sinai ga, Ill | suru koto wa | suru 'I don't do what I don't do and I DO do what I do', or: 'I don't do what [someone] doesn't do ...'.

Hito no sinai koto wa | suru ga, Ill | suru koto wa | sinai 'I do what others don't do but don't do the things others DO do'.

Hito no suru koto wa | sinai ga, Ill | sinai koto wa | suru 'I don't do what others do but do do things others don't do'.

Watasi wa | suru koto wa | sinai ga, Ill | sinai koto wa | suru ningen da 'I'm a person who doesn't do the things that are done but does the things that aren't done'.

Watasi wa | sinai koto wa | suru ga, Ill | suru koto wa | sinai ningen da 'I'm a person who does the things that are not done but doesn't do the things that ARE done'.

Watasi wa | suru ga, Ill | suru koto wa | sinai 'I do the things I want to do and don't do the things I don't want to do'.

Watasi wa | suru ga, Ill | suru koto wa | suru n na 'I don't do the things I want to do but do the things I don't want to do'.

A sentence like Nai koto wa | nai ga could be taken either as the iterative concessive 'There are none, it is true, but ...' or it could be taken as the experiential nominalization of §14.1.1 'It never happens that we are out of them but ...'. Perhaps these meanings can be disambiguated by juncture,6 in any event, substitution of mo for wa will make the

5. In contrast with S1 mo S1 'really S' which can take an input that is perfect: tabeta mo tabeta 'really ate' etc. Cf. pp. 758, 900. But some speakers will permit the perfect in the input when the iteration is perfect, especially for the copula: N datta/na koto wa | N datta kedo.

6. According to BJ 2.282-3 there are speakers who make a difference in juncture between Ikanai koto wa | nai 'It isn't that I'm not going' and Ikanai koto wa | nai 'I always go'. A similar example: Titiga kaeranai koto wa | nai 'It never happens that father fails to come home' (= 'Father always comes home') or 'It isn't that father fails to come home'.
§14.1. Kotó

meaning clearly experiential. (Two other meanings could be interpreted from Nái kotó wa nái ga ..., ‘There are no matters that are lacking, but ...’ and ‘What matters are lacking are lacking, but ...’) Cf. §9.1.1a, §14.6.6.

In place of kotó wa or kotó [wa] you may hear the assimilated form kotáa or a shortened version kotá. In rapid speech you may run across other forms:

... kotó da → kótta: iyá na lókta ‘It’s something I don’t like’ (Kb 161a); [i kotá l né ‘Nice, isn’t it’ (Tk 3.32a); Hontoo no kótta ‘It’s true’ (Kb 106b); Nán no kótta l wakaránai ‘Heaven knows what it is all about’ (Tk 3.310b); Anó-hito no l kótta kara ‘Because it is about him’ (Kb 99a); Móo, l amnari l gaisyutu sainai kótta l ná ‘I don’t go out much any more’ (SA 2792.32c); Koo iu toki wa l waru-ágaki l sainai kótta ‘At such a time there’s no point in [useless struggling = fretting’ (SA 2676.92a); ... tái-síta l kótta l ná ... ‘it’s a terrible thing, you know’ (Kb 196b).

... kotó daroo → kotár [o]: Sónna kóttaráo to l omóttal yó ‘I thought something like that would happen’ (Kb 175a); ... korya l tote-mo hu-kánoo ná l kóttáaro ná ‘this, I think is quite impossible, you see’ (Tk 3.217b).

... kotó datta → kotáttata: Examples sought.

... kotó desu → kotésu: Gá, l ano oto kó no kotésu, ... ‘But it’s about him ...’ (Kb 131b); ... kore wa l i kotésu l né ‘this is something good (to do)’ (Tk 4.109b); Oosaká-zin nol l ii-ssó na kotésu l né ‘It’s what you’d expect an Osakan to say, all right’ (Tk 4.229b).

... kotó desýoo → kotésyoo [o]: Mái[a], l sónna kotésyoo l né ‘Why, I guess that’s the way it is, all right’ (Tk 4.60a); ... hutuu no baai ni wál nái kotésyoo l né ‘I guess it wouldn’t happen under ordinary circumstances, would it’ (Tk 3.15b).

... kotó desíta → kotésíta: Kinodókú na l kotésíta l ná ‘That was a shame’ (Fn 162a).

... kotó desíte → kotésíte: Examples sought.

... kotó de → kótte: Sónna kótte l i sia ga l dekimáusu ka ‘With such things happening, how can you have a good game?’ (Tk 3.59a); ... Nihón l dáke ni l áru l kótte l né ... ‘is something that happens only in Japan’ (Tk 3.36b); Kore wa l móó l taisetu na kótte ‘This is now an important matter’ (SA 2669.50b—speaking is Inamura Tetsuzó, born in rural Ishikawa prefecture in 1887; on sentence-final dé, see §9.2.1a).

... kotó Zyaa nái → kotýyaa nái: Dá kará l iwan kótýyaa l nái ‘Now you see what I was talking about!’ (Hayashi 165) —iwan[u] = iwanai; Dé mó l betu ni l atasi to húhuu datta l wáke zya l nái kara, l sítta kóttýa l nái ‘But since he wasn’t my husband it was none of my business’ (SA 2666.44d).

... kotó Zyaa (= de wá) → kotýyaa[a]: Sónna kóttýaa, ... ‘In such an event ...’ (Tk 4.220ab); Hontoo no kóttýaa l néé ‘It’s NOT true’ (Kb 162b); Sónna táí-síta l kóttýaal néé n dá ‘It’s no big deal’ (Kb 151a). But there are dialects (such as that of Mie, Zhs 4.44 and 48) where kóttýa(tta) is a contraction of kotó da(tta), or perhaps of the dialect equivalent kotó zya(tta). An example: Abrá-tubó kara l tenzyoo nozoku tó wa, l kími mítai na l yátu no l kóttýa ‘Staring at the ceiling from the oil jar, just what I’d expect from a rascal like you!’ (Y 403).

Some of these contractions will also be found for compound nouns ending in -goto: Wará-gottyaa nái yó = Wará-gotó[-] zya nái yó ‘‘Tis no laughing matter, I tell you’ (Okitsu 1.270).

7. In some dialects kotýyaro[ó]: Imá-goro wa, l sá-zo l séesí l sít’óru l kóttýaro ‘You must feel relieved these days’ (Y 358).

8. In dialects also kotúsu (from kotó dasu), kótésu (from kotó dasu), and kón desu (from kotó ndesu, in which [nd] represents a dialect pronunciation of /d/); cf. Y 455.

An adnominalized sentence + koto ga aru means 'it sometimes happens that S' or 'there exists the experience that S'; an adnominalized sentence + koto ga nai means 'it never happens that S' or 'there lacks the experience that S'. The juncture before koto usually drops. The resulting sentences require some special tricks of translation, as shown below:

(1a) yobu koto ga aru 'we sometimes [DO] call'
    yobu koto ga nai 'we never [DO] call'
    hayai koto ga aru 'sometime it is (IS) early'
    hayai koto ga nai 'it is never (NEVER) early'
    genki na koto ga aru 'he is sometimes healthy'
    genki na koto ga nai 'he is never healthy'

(1b) yobu koto ga atta 'we sometimes called (DID call), used to call'
    yobu koto ga nakkatta 'we never [DID] call, didn’t use to call'
    hayai koto ga atta 'sometimes it was (WAS, used to be) early'
    hayai koto ga nakkatta 'it was never (NEVER, it never used to be) early'
    genki na koto ga atta 'sometimes he was (WAS, used to be) healthy'
    genki na koto ga nakkatta 'he was never (NEVER, he never used to be) healthy'

(1c) yonda koto ga aru 'we have (on occasion) called, we called once'
    yonda koto ga nai 'we have never called'
    hayakatta koto ga aru 'it has (on occasion) been early, it was once early'
    hayakatta koto ga nai 'it has never been early'
    genki datta koto ga aru 'he has (on occasion) been healthy, he was once healthy'
    genki datta koto ga nai 'he has never been healthy'

(1d) yonda koto ga atta 'we had (on occasion) called, we had once called'
    yonda koto ga nakkatta 'we had never called'
    hayakatta koto ga atta 'it had (on occasion) been early, it had once been early'
    hayakatta koto ga nakkatta 'it had never been early'
    genki datta koto ga atta 'he had (on occasion, once) been healthy'
    genki datta koto ga nakkatta 'he had never been healthy'

(2a) yobanai koto ga aru 'we sometimes don’t call'
    yobanai koto ga nai 'it never happens that we don’t call = we always (unfailingly) call'
    hayaku nai koto ga aru 'it sometimes fails to be early'
    hayaku nai koto ga nai 'it never fails to be early'
    genki zya nai koto ga aru 'he is sometimes not healthy'
    genki zya nai koto ga nai 'he never fails to be healthy'

(2b) yobanai koto ga atta 'we sometimes didn’t call, we used to fail to call'
    yobanai koto ga nakkatta 'we never used to fail to call'
§14.1.1. Experiential nominalizations: kotô ga arû/nâi

*hayaku nai kotô ga âta ‘it used to fail to be early, it sometimes failed to be early’
hayaku nai kotô ga n âkatta ‘it never used to fail to be early’

gênki zya nai kotô ga âta ‘he used to be (was) sometimes not healthy’
gênki zya nai kotô ga n âkatta ‘he never used to fail to be healthy’

(2c) yobanâkatta kotô ga arû ‘we have (on occasion, once) failed to call’
yobanâkatta kotô ga nai ‘we have never failed to call’

*hayaku nâkatta kotô ga arû ‘it has (on occasion, once) failed to be early’
hayaku nâkatta kotô ga nai ‘it has never failed to be early’

gênki zya nâkatta kotô ga arû ‘he has (on occasion, once) failed to be healthy’
gênki zya nâkatta kotô ga nai ‘he has never failed to be healthy’

(2d) yobanâkatta kotô ga âta ‘we had (on occasion, once) failed to call’
yobanâkatta kotô ga nâkatta ‘we had never failed to call’

*hayaku nâkatta kotô ga âta ‘it had (on occasion, once) failed to be early’
hayaku nâkatta kotô ga nâkatta ‘it had never failed to be early’

gênki zya nâkatta kotô ga âta ‘he had (on occasion, once) failed to be healthy’
gênki zya nâkatta kotô ga nâkatta ‘he had never failed to be healthy’

Nominal sentences with pure nouns are not excluded from these expressions, though examples are less easily come by: byoonin na kotô mo arû (or: byoonin de arû kotô mo arû) ‘I have my share of illness’, roodoo-sya datta kotô ga arû ‘I know what it is to be a worker (for I have been one in my day)’, ...

Further conversions can be applied to the resulting sentences provided the conversions are acceptable for arû and nai to begin with, including ari-sugiru and nasa-sugiru, ari-nâgara and nai nagara, etc.8a The focus on kotô can be highlighted (kotô mo arû etc.) or subdued (kotô wa arû). It is rare, however, to find focus applied to the possession verb: ...
kotô ga âri wa/mo/sae suru or ... kotô ga nâku wa/mo/sae arû. Two or more experiential sentences can be conjoined: Koo iu turi-kata wa îmita kotô mo [înakereba] îkiita kotô mo nai ga, î ... ‘Such fishing methods I had neither seen nor [had I] heard of, but ...’ (SA 2672.98a). It is even possible to make a second kotô-nominalization on top of one already made, as we can see from the following concoctions (the negation is shown in the schematic patterns on the left):

+ + Yobu kotô ga arû kotô mo arû ‘It also happens that we sometimes call’.
+ - Yobu kotô ga nai kotô mo arû ‘It also happens that we never call’.
+ + ?Yobu kotô ga arû kotô mo nai ‘It also never happens that we sometimes call’.
+ - ?Yobu kotô ga nai kotô mo nai ‘It also never happens that we fail (ever) to call’.
- + Yobanai kotô ga arû kotô mo arû ‘It also happens that we sometimes don’t call (sometimes fail to call)’.
- - ?Yobanai kotô ga arû kotô mo nai ‘It also never happens that we sometimes don’t call (sometimes fail to call)’.
- + ?Yobanai kotô ga nai kotô mo arû ‘It also happens that we never fail to call’.
- - ?Yobanai kotô ga nai kotô mo nai ‘It also never happens that we unfailingly call = We also sometimes fail (forget) to call’.

If the number of negatives is odd, the purport of the sentence as a whole will be negative; if even, affirmative. See §8.3. The eight sentences listed above can have any or all of the

8a. Also subject-exaltation: Irâsita kotô wa o-ari desu ka ‘Have you (ever) been there?’
three predicates in the perfect, so that there are $8 \times 3 = 24$ possible sentences involving the perfect. In conversation these involved sentences, often with multiple negatives, turn up more frequently than you might expect, for the recursiveness is a handy rhetorical device.\(^9\)

Although in S kotó ga áru (etc.) the kotó will normally refer to a possessed EXPERIENCE, sometimes the reference will be to a FACT whose existence is being asserted (or denied): Takái kotó\(^{(1)}\) mo l nái ‘There’s nothing expensive about it’ or ‘It isn’t expensive at all’; Zenzen naku-naru tte kotó wa l nái ga, l usúkú wa l nárú l né ‘It isn’t that it completely disappears (or: It never completely disappears) but it DOES grow faint, doesn’t it’ (Tk 4.274b); Taberarénaí kotó\(^{(1)}\) wa l nái no l yó ‘Oh, it’s not that I haven’t been able to eat’ (Kawabata: Saikai). Free translations sometimes stray from what a literal interpretation might produce, especially in certain contexts such as ikura ... sité mo ... si-sugíru kotó wa nái ‘(however much you ...) you can’t ... too much’ or ‘it is impossible to (you will never) over-do’. To bring out the meaning ‘never’ you can preface the sentence with the adverb kesíte or with iti-dó mo ‘once even’; to bring out the meaning ‘ever’ you can begin with iti-dó\(^{[1]}\) ‘once’; to bring out the meaning ‘sometimes’ you can start off with tokidoki ‘sometimes’ or tama ni wa ‘on occasion, every now and then’ or synonymous phrases. Remember that ... -tari suru (§ 9.4) also often translates as ‘sometimes’.

In addition to S kotó ga ÁRU you will find other predicates implying existence or possession, especially these:

- S kotó ga óói, S kotó ga sukú-naku nái ‘There are many (no few) instances where S = It often happens that S’ or ‘Often S’ (= yóku S).
- S kotó ga sukunái, S kotó ga óoku nái ‘There are few (not many) instances where S = It seldom happens that S’ or ‘Seldom S’ (= anmári S NEGATIVE).
- S kotó ga itizirúšiku nái ‘It is not unusual for it to happen that S’.

The subject particle ga may drop in rapid speech (at least in certain contexts), leaving suru kotó [ga] nái, and that is susceptible to still another interpretation ‘there is no necessity to do it’ = suru kotó [wa/mo] nái. This is not to be confused with suru kotó zya nái ‘you shouldn’t do it’ from suru kotó da ‘you are supposed to do it’. To recapitulate:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘never does it’} & \quad \begin{cases} 
\text{suru kotó ga nái} \\
\text{suru kotó nái} \\
\text{suru kotó wa/mo nái} \\
\text{suru kotó zya nái} \\
\text{suru kotó de wa/mo nái}
\end{cases} & \quad \text{‘there is no need to do it’} \\
\text{‘ought not to do it’}
\end{align*}
\]

With kotó taken as the ordinary noun kotó\(^{2}\), of course, there is a third meaning for suru kotó wa/mo nái ‘there is nothing to do’, epiphenomenizing the extruded object (kotó o suru). But an intransitive verb would not be liable to such an interpretation: Isógu kotó\(^{(1)}\) wa l nái l yó could only be taken as ‘There’s no need to rush = Don’t rush’ (? < ‘after all there’s nothing to rush ABOUT/FOR’) or, conceivably, as ‘We never rush’ or ‘We do NOT rush’. And normally Ánta ga l kuti o dásu kotó\(^{(1)}\) wa l nái (Hayashi 172) will be taken as ‘There’s no need for you to butt in’ though conceivably it could mean ‘You never butt in’. There is another meaning of S kotó de mo nái ‘It is not exactly the case that S’, as in this example with a negative S: Kantan ni l gaikoku-go de setuméi dekinái kotó\(^{(1)}\) de mo l

\(^9\) A first-aid technique to help disentangle the syntax: replace the first kotó with toki ‘time, occasion’—S toki ga áru kotó\(^{(0)}\) mo áru ‘there also happen to be times when S’.
§ 14.1.2. Koto ni naru/suru

nai 'It isn't exactly that I can't explain it simply in a foreign language'. Notice also the usage V-ru/-ta daké no koto wa aru 'it is well worth doing (or having done)', from a verbal sentence adnominalized to the postadnominal daké (§13.2).

The meaning of V-(a)nai koto wa nai is sometimes expressed by a variant version, V-(a)naku wa nai (§9.1).


In §9.1.11 we observed that the infinitives of adjectivals (A-ku) and of nominals (N ni) enter into MUTATIVE conversions with naru 'it gets to be' and suru 'makes it so that it is'. These expressions can be formed on imperfect and perfect nominalizations with koto; but when the nominalization is from an adjectival or nominal sentence, the expected forms are often replaced by the simpler expressions of §9.1.11: Ookii koto ni naru = Ōokiku naru 'It gets (to be) big'; Kantan na koto ni suru = Kantan ni suru 'It makes it simple(r)'. There are several meanings:

(1) V-ru koto ni suru means 'decides to do' or 'arranges to do'—as in Soodan no kekka, II Kaire no tobu koto ni i sita ga, II ... 'Upon consultation we decided to fly to Cairo, but ...' (SA 2676.90a); V-ru koto ni naru means 'it is decided/arranged for one to do (or: for it to happen)'. The latter expression is often used in the resultative conversion V-ru koto ni natté iru 'it is (in the state of having been) arranged that V' and this makes a good translation for many sentences that contain the English 'supposed to' where the implication is less one of obligation ('ought, should, must' = si nakereba naranai, si nakute wa ikenai) or advice ('better' = sita hōo ga ii) or likelihood ('likely, expected to' = suru hazu dā) than of prior understandings 'according to arrangements (it will happen that)'. Sotugoyo sitē kara II kaisy ni hārū I koto ni I natté iru 'I'm supposed to go to work for the company after I graduate'. There is a corresponding meaning for V-ru koto ni site iru 'makes it a rule/practice to V' and V-(a)nai koto ni site iru 'makes it a rule/practice not to V': Gōzen(-) 'tyuu wa II tabako o (I) suwanai koto ni I site imasu 'I make it a rule not to smoke in the morning'; Atasi wa I né, II senkyo-ënzen I dake wa II kotowarū koto ni I site imasu yo 'I make it a practice to turn down (bids to make) election speeches' (Tk 2.278b); Soko de II kotira wa II koyā(-) o II tukūtē II roozin(−) ni (I) mihari o sase, II koto ga II okōreba II tatamī zyuū o II tōtte, II ōdasi II sōra e II zyuukoo o mukete da ga, II ikaku-syāgeki I I suru koto ni I site iru 'Then we built a hut and put an old man on guard, with it the rule that if an incident should arise he would immediately take his gun and—but with the muzzle pointed at the sky—fire warning shots' (SA 2685.99b). In addition to these meanings which appear to imply that some agent has decided the course of action or brought about the situation, S koto ni natté iru can also be used with the meaning 'it has come about that; it has become traditional that; traditionally'. Since no agent is implied, the S is not limited to voluntary verbs, but includes adjectivals and impersonal verbs, as in these examples (from Hayashi 132): Natu wa II atū koto ni I natte iru 'Summers are traditionally hot'; Gō-zi de II lowaru koto ni I natté imasu 'It ends at five o'clock (by tradition, by arrangement, by rule, etc.)'.

(2) V-ru/-ta koto ni naru means 'will be doing (will have done)'; with naru perfectivized to natté the translation is 'would be doing (would have done)'. V-ru koto ni naru 'will be doing, will have been doing': Gōgatu de II han-otoshi(1) yōmu koto ni I naru 'I will have read it for half a year by May'. V-ru koto ni naru 'will have lived': Mata yōmeba II ni-dō yōnda koto(1) ni I naru 'I will have read it two times if I read it again'.
V-te iku kotō ni nāru ‘will be (or have been) doing’: Gōgatu de han-tōsi yōnde iku kotō ni nāru daroo ‘I guess by May I will have been reading it for half a year’.

V-te iku kotō ni nāru ‘will be (or have been) doing’: Gōgatu de han-tōsi yōnde ita kotō ni nāru ‘I will have been reading it for half a year by May’.

But V-ru kotō ni nāra will usually be taken as ‘it was arranged that V’ (and that is the source of the resultative nāta iku above): Okinawa de wa sēngo(-) kuruma wa Amerika no yō ni I dōro no migi gawa o hasiru kotō ni nāta ‘On Okinawa after the war it was decided that cars would drive on the right of the road, as in America’.

(3) S kotō ni wa naranai means ‘it can not be said that S; it hardly amounts to a case of S’: Tada muzu kasu(-) kango o takusan tukau kotō ga bunshū o yōku suru | kotō ni wa naranai ‘Just using difficult Chinese loanwords doesn’t mean you are a proficient writer’. Although these expressions are perhaps more common with verbal imperfects, nominal and adjectival sentences can also occur, as can perfects: Isogasii kotō ni wa naranai ‘It can not be said that he is busy’; Isogasii kotō ni wa naranakatta ‘It could not be said that he was busy’; Isogasikatta kotō ni wa naranai ‘He can not be said to have been busy’; Isogasikatta kotō ni wa naranakatta ‘He could not be said to have been busy’. The juncture is often suppressed before the kotō phrase (thus removing its accent): Dozyūo suru kotō wa tasukeru (I) kotō ni wa naranai ‘Sympathy won’t help (her)’.

(4) S-ta kotō ni suru means ‘assumes that S, supposes that S’: Koko ni ita kotō ni suru simas yo ‘Let’s assume/suppose that you were here’.

14.1.3. The circumlocutionary potential: kotō ga dekīru.

One way to say ‘can (do)’ is V-ru kotō ga dekīru. If the verbal predicate is suru ‘does’ you have the option of dropping suru kotō [ga]: benkyoo suru kotō [ga] dekīru ‘can study’, yasu ku suru kotō [ga] dekīru ‘can make it cheap’. The option applies to the honorific infinitive + suru in object-exalting conversions (§6.3): O-negai suru kotō [ga] dekimasu ka ‘Can I ask it of you?’ And the ellipsis can leave a direct object stranded behind: Sore o zikkō suru kotō [ga] dekimai desuyo ‘That would be impossible to carry out’. (The object marking will often be masked by focus: Sore wa/mo ... .)

The resulting sentence can be freely converted into any sentence that dekīru is capable of making; excluded are desideratives (*Iku kotō ga deki-tai → Iku kotō ga dekitara i ‘I wish I could go’), passives (even as honorific—the expected *dekirāeru is replaced by o-deki ni nāru, favors, commands, and exhortations, since “ability” is considered to be outside human control. (But notice that V-ru yō ni nāru can be converted into a potential.) Nuclear focus can be applied to dekīru (V-ru kotō ga dekī wa/mo/sae suru) and, though much less commonly, to the adnominalized sentence or even to both sentences—provided a different focus is applied to each: Hōn o yōmi mo deki wa sinai kusē ni ... ‘Despite the fact that he can’t even read a book ...’.

You can make the output sentence negative (Sore wa yameru kotō ga dekina ‘We can not stop it = There is no stopping it’); it is also possible to build the potential expression on a sentence containing a negative: Ittini’ zyuu tabēnai de iku kotō wa dekīru ‘I can get by without eating all day’ = Ittini’ zyuu tabēnai de sūmu, §9.2.4.(10). In this respect the expression is more versatile than the full or shortened passive-potential (§4.2, §4.4). But the foreign student should be

10. Apparently *V-ru no ga dekīru never occurs, perhaps because ability is conceived of as a lasting possession and thus seldom applicable to only a single event—with, to be sure, a few unusual exceptions: Dōme mo sinu kotō ga dekīru kedo ... ‘Anybody can die, but ...’
aware that native speakers prefer the latter expressions whenever they are possible; in the speech of many Japanese dekiru is largely limited to use with verbal nouns. Often the best translation for an English potential of the type ‘It can get awfully hot in the summertime’ is the propension ‘it is likely to happen’ (§9.1.8): Natu wa atuku nari-yasui.

Notice that nothing prevents you from forming a circumlocutionary potential on a causative (saseru koto ga dekiru ‘can make someone do it’) but you can not do the same on a passive (*sareru koto ga dekiru ‘can have it happen to one’—the English will correspond to Japanese sare-yasui) or on a potential: *dekiru koto ga dekiru, *V-eru koto ga dekiru ‘can be able to do it’—the English will correspond to the simple or focused potential. For special problems with verbal nouns, see §14.3.

In a number of dialects, e.g. Ōsaka, the verb dekiru is pronounced in a variant version deke ru:11 Gootoo san wa II warui koto no deken II hito desu I yo ‘Mr Gōtō is a person who couldn’t do anything bad’ (SA 2662.122b—Ōsaka speaker). Some forms recorded from Hyōgo include deketara (Zhs 4.293), dekete (303), and deke-nahatte (302). In Wakayama dekuru is reported (Zhs 4.371).

14.1.4. Verbal + koto ga + adjective or adjectival noun.

A nominalization of an imperfect verbal sentence can be made the subject of an adjective or an adjectival noun; the meaning of V-ru koto ga A-i (or AN da) is ‘it is A (or AN) to do V’: Sibai o miru koto ga lomosiroi ‘It is fun to see a play’; Inaka de yasu mu koto ga l tanosii ‘It is pleasant to have a vacation in the country’; Sensoo ga okorānai koto ga l nozomashii(”) ‘It is to be hoped that we will have no war’; Ōngaku o l kiku koto ga l sukī da ‘I like to listen to music’; Sonna hito ni l āu koto ga l kirai da ‘I hate to meet people of that sort’. Under “adjectives” we include a few words derived from verbal negatives (cf. p. 384), and that will account for examples such as this: Dān-zite(“), ll sirizōku koto wa ll narimasen ‘We definitely must not retreat’ (Hayashi 172) = ... sirizōite wa ikemasēn. Instead of koto ga you may occasionally find nó ga, usually implying a comparison. There is a slight difference in meaning between Oyogu koto ga yasasi ‘It is easy to swim’ and Oyogi-yasui (= Oyogu koto ga si-yasui) ‘It is an easy swim’, §9.1.8.

14.2 NÓ (DA)

When an imperfect or perfect sentence is adnominalized to the postadnominal nó, the resulting nominalization can be used in at least three different senses: (1) ‘the act of ...’, very similar to koto in meaning, but more specific and often implying a comparison, and less commonly used for koto in the sentences of §14.1.4; (2) ‘the one which ...’, somewhat similar to some of the uses of monó ‘thing, person, one’, but often implying comparison—as in Zyo-gakusei de ll ninsin sitāri suru Nó ga l āoi to l iū no wa, ll ... ‘The fact that there are many who get pregnant as schoolgirls ...’ (Tk 2.284a); (3) ‘the fact that ...; a matter of ...’, etc.

The verbal and adjectival sentences, and all perfect sentences, are adnominalized with no change; but imperfect nominal sentences adnominalize by changing dá to nó. The imperfect copula dá always becomes nó before the postadnominal nó (as before bakāri,

11. This is an instance of sporadic substitution of e for i (cf. English catsup : ketchup) and is not to be confused with dialects which regularly neutralize the distinction. Other Kansai examples are metukeru = mitukeru ‘finds’ and (Tk 4.300a) ooke na = ōoki na.
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daké, dókoro, gúrai, hodó, koto1, món—cf. § 13.2), but that happens before other nouns only when the copula is preceded by an adjectival noun. Speakers commonly shorten nó to n before dát.12 The short form sometimes appears elsewhere, as well: Íma de mo l sonná ngál áru n desu l yó 'We've still got some of that sort' (Tk 4.72a). And sité n no ni/de is a contraction of site irú no ni/de; V-té n né/ná is a shortening of V-té irú no [da] né/ná—as in ... soo iu seisitu o mótte n l né 'has such a character, you know' (Tk 4.290a); V-n né/ná is an abbreviation of V-rú no [da] né—as in ... utí(−*) e l nóko-noko ll agatte kún l né 'comes brazenly up to the house, you see' (Tk 4.296a); V-n no is a shortened version of V-rú no—as in Wakán no ka ná 'I wonder if they understand' (Tk 4.290b) and this excellent example: Su l sono-mónó wáll bóku(−*) wáll minakatta kara, ll kí no l ué ni l án no ká [= áru no ká], ll kí no l sitá ni l án no ká, ll sira-nakatta n da kedó mo 'The nest itself I didn't see, so I couldn't tell whether it was up in the tree or under the tree' (Tk 4.291a). When no is used as a particle, too, it occasionally shortens to n: Bóku(−*) n da 'It is mine'; ... kími n tókó ... 'your place' (KKK 3.10); ... oren tókó ... 'my place' (Tk 3.144a). And notice that bóku(−*) no utí(−*) 'my house' shortens to bóku(−*) n 'tí(−*); dictionaries usually treat this as a single lexical item. Even the nó that functions as one of the shapes of the adnominalized copula imperfect (the other shape being ná = de áru 'which is') can be shortened: Soko n tokóró ... 'The [place =] passage that is there' = 'That bit ...' (SA 266 3.105c); the full example is given below. Another abbreviation to bear in mind is náa for nó [wá]: Omáe mo hatakarú naa l íí ga, ll karada o kowa-šita l naráne l yó [= kowašita wa naránaí yó] 'It's all right for you to work, but you mustn't harm your health' (Fn 118b); ... site okú naa l osii zya náí ka 'Isn't it a shame to ...' (Fn 83a). Cf. the contraction táa for to [wá].

Here are the patterns of the nó-nominalization:

|---------------|-------------|----------------|

These nominalizations are used as full sentences, sometimes to emphasize the factual nature of expositions ('The fact is ...', 'It happens that ...', 'It is the case that ...', '... you see')14 and sometimes, especially with the nominal inputs, just to "pad" a sentence so as to

12. And V-rú nó/dá may further contract to Vín [n] da, so that sún da = sún fndá comes from surú nó/dá. Similarly, áru nó/dá will sometimes contract to án fndá, as in ... káite án desu = ... káite áru no desu 'it is written ...'.

13. But there are dialects which use ... dá n da in place of ... ná n da; Y 435 cites examples from modern fiction.

14. As in this example: Toohin no l hotrándo ga, ll tokáí no l "kakko-i" monó bákari da. ll KORE WA, ll katei-kánkyoo yáll koouyu-kánkei l dáke de l ríiyu-zukera-né, ll syakai-kánkyoo to mo l misetut ni l kanre n site irú NO DA 'The stolen goods are almost all just the "stylish" things from the big city. This
give it extra indirectness or politeness; Kuno remarks that “in formal speech even nó de aru nó de aru appears”’. The use of S nó da is especially common when some sort of reservations may be mentioned (Kare wa koo iu n da ga ... ‘This is what he says, but...’) or be implied or expected, as with the desiderative: Ikī-tai n desu (ga ... ) ‘I want to go, you see, (but... dare I? may I? can I?)’. Sentences of this type are also used to emphasize directions (as in recipes) and in ordering children to do things: Koo suru n da ‘Do it like this’, Soo sinai n da ‘Don’t do it like that’; Nakū n zya nai—damai-nasai [ = damari-nasai ] ‘Don’t cry—be still’ (SA 2820.31d—to a baby). Also, in summing up decisions: Tō-ni-kaku koo surú no da ‘Anyway, this is what we’re going to do’.

Just as any pure noun might do, these nominal sentences (in all three meanings) freely turn into subjects, objects, etc. One common use as direct object is to report the perception (seeing or hearing) of a specific event, handled in English either by turning the subject of the event into the object of the perception (‘I saw him do it’) or by making it into a genitive of the English nominalization (‘I saw his doing it’—rather stiff in modern English and usually replaced by the hybrid form ‘I saw him doing it’): kūmo ga su(-) o kākete iru no o míru ‘sees a spider spin(ning) a web’; sore o itta no mo kikanakatta ‘didn’t hear him say that, either’. Examples of S nó followed by ga, o, and ni: Zibun ga, zibun no kodomo o sikaru no ga, zibun no kodomo o sikatte nāi/dōko ga waru [ka], § 9.2; Soko zna o tokoro o i kiki-morāsita no ga l zanēn de aru ‘I’m sorry that I failed to catch [= hear] that bit’ (SA 2663.105c); Kāno-zyo wa ... watasi no kāeri no o l matē ita no da ‘She was waiting for me to return’ (SA 2639.35a); ... tokī no tāt ono no i wasurete ‘forgetting the passage of time’ (SA 2670.104c); Būtai ga i ti-māmirē(−) dātta no o l obōete iru ‘I remember that the squad was covered with blood’ (SA 2670.46a); ... kono sābetu mo l nakusū no ni seikoo sita ‘succeeded in getting rid of this discrimination, too’ (SA 2674.38d); Tumetai āse no i nagarēru no o l kāre wa l todome-kaneta ‘He was unable to stop the cold sweat from pouring (down his back)’ (Kb 240a).

The nó-nominalizations can be negativized (S [no] zya nai) but it is more common to negativize the underlying sentence, especially in the third meaning (‘the fact that...’).15

A double negative is possible: Tabako o nomanai no [ = nomai na wāke ] zya nai ‘It’s not that he doesn’t smoke’. The sentences can be converted into concessives (S no nāgara—but this sounds strange with verbal inputs), provisionals (S no nara,16 as in Asoko ga sizuka na no nara ben kyōo si ni itte mo i ‘Provided it’s quiet there, we can go there to study’), and representatives (S no dattari, as in Ookii no dattari tiisai no dattari suru ‘Sometimes they’re large and sometimes they’re small’). They can be made tentative (S nó darō) and they can become perfect (S nó datta) even when the input sentence is itself perfect (Yondā no

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\[\text{is not to be attributed only to family environment and companion relations but is closely linked also with the environment provided by society’ (SA 2647.119b). The usual function of S nó da is to EX-PLAIN or PERSUADE. Kuno (1973) provides a good translation for S nó da ‘The explanation (or evidence) [for that] is S’; he also observes that when paired with a request S nó da is often reproachful.}\]

\[\text{15. The highlighted negative can be used in an interesting way: ... mainiti([-]), kurai, in’utu na sora bakari ga tuzuita. Sōo ka to itte hīru no de mo nakatatta ‘... every day only a dark gloomy sky held. Still, it didn’t quite rain’ (Kb 25b).}\]

\[\text{16. V-ru n[o] nara and A-i n[o] nara often shorten to V-ru nara and A-i nara with the meaning ‘if it’s a case of...’; cf. §17.8. Another example: Sinū n nara anna tokorō ga ii nāa ‘A place like that would be nice to choose for one’s death’ (Y 399).}\]
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datta 'It was the one that [or that someone] had called'). You might not expect a perfectivized version with the third meaning—since "facts" are, after all, facts—but you will find examples such as Koo surú no datta no ni ... 'You should have done it this way (but ...)'. The sentences can be extended (S nó da né etc., §15), conjunctivalized (S nó da kara etc., §17), hearsay-reported (S nó da sóo da, §18),17 quoted (S nó da to, §21), and stylized (S nó desu, S nó de gozaimásu, §22).

With further adnominalization it appears possible to get strings of more than one nó: Yobú no no hazu da 'It must be the one that [or that someone] calls'; Ookú no no hazu da 'It must be the big one' or 'It must be the big ones'. Tomodati nó no hazu da 'It must be the friend's'—cf. Tomodati no hazu da 'It must be the friend' ← Tomodati dà; Tomodati ná no hazu da 'It must be the case that it is the friend' ← Tomodati ná no da; Tomodati nó na no hazu da 'It must be the case that it's the friend's'.

Génki no hazu da 'He must be healthy' ← Génki da 'He is healthy'; Génki na no hazu da 'It must be the healthy one' ← Génki na no da 'It is the one that is healthy'; Génki na no no hazu da 'It must the healthy one's' ← Génki na no no [monó] da 'It is the healthy one's' ('It is a thing of the one that is healthy').

Byooki no hazu da 'He must be ill' ← Byooki da 'He is ill'; Byooki nó no hazu da 'It must be the ill one' ← Byooki nó no da (Byooki no monó da) 'It is the one that is ill'; Byooki nó no no hazu da 'It must be the ill one's' ← Byooki nó no no [monó] da (Byooki no monó no monó da) 'It is the ill one's' ('It is a thing of the one that is ill').

For sentence-final nó-nominalization (used as equivalent of ká or yó), see §15.13. Just as S nó ga (= S tokoró ga, §17.5) can mean 'but', you will find that sometimes S nó o also serves as an antithetical transition: Zyotyuu ga, iti-dô, toko e háitta NO O ókite kíta rásiku, sita ni nemaki o ki-kónde i ru 'The maid had apparently gone to bed but then got up, for she was bundled in her night clothes underneath' (Fn 392a); Sposaku-négai ga dété né, iti-dô uti(‘) e káetta keredo mo, okáasan ga "Sekigun-[ha] e itté mo ii ga, uti(‘) ni ite o-kure" to iú NO O, mata uti(‘) o détyatta 'With their request for a police search, you see, he returned home, but though his mother said "You may go to the Red Army [group] but please live at home"', yet he left home again' (SA 2678.48a). A few of the examples on p. 861 might be interpreted as belonging here. The transitional ó, like the transitional gá, is sometimes better translated as 'and' rather than as 'but'. Compare S tokoró o 'whereupon'; S monó-o 'but' (§17.4); Sore o ... 'Despite that, ...' (= Sore ná no ni ...).

The gerund (S nó de) and the infinitive (S nó ni) occur with the expected meanings of the nominalization; from the third meaning ('fact' etc.) there are derived some additional uses discussed in the following sections. Some speakers from outside Tókyó treat nó de and nó ni (especially the latter) as conjunctivalizations (§17) in these additional meanings: they will say Kore dã no de/ni ... instead of the standard Kore ná no de ni ... . And even some of those speakers who use the standard forms will begin a sentence with Dá no ni ... 'However ...'; to be derived by ellipsis from [Sore] dã no ni = standard Sore ná no ni; but Ná no ni ... is also used (SA 2678.113d, 120d). There is no "Dá no de ..., perhaps

17. As in ... kurúsiku ná/n da sóo desu yó 'They say it isn't (so) painful ...' (SA 2650.44cd). There is also S n [o] da sóo hõa ná; cf. p. 757.

18. The kotó-nominalizations also adnominalize: Senso no kotó da 'It's about the war' → Senso no kotó no hanasi da 'It's a story about the war'. And adnominalization is not uncommon for other post-adnominals, e.g. Mita monó no hazu da 'It must the one that I saw'.
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because the causality is but weakly marked; instead, you would begin a sentence with Dá kara ... =Sore dá kara ... 'Because it is that = Therefore'. Cf. the variant treatments of monó (da), § 17.1, and of sóó da, § 18. Another use of the nó-nominalization is in S nó ka 'perhaps because S', § 15.6.

On the use in various dialects of gá for the pronominal nó and also for the sentence nominalization, see § 2.2. A number of dialects omit nó in S nó da, attaching dá directly to the imperfect and perfect forms of verbs and adjectives: Watasi wa gakkoo e ikú da '(It's that) I go to school' (Kgg 82.41a, n.13). This is characteristic of local dialects in Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Yamanashi, Nagano, etc. (Zhs 2.21-2, 7.20); and it corresponds to the literary use of direct adnominalization (= attributive form) + ná, as described in § 15.19. Kyūshū speakers use S tó dyá for S nó da (Zhs 6.16, n.5). Kansai dialects have N n[ó] ya, since yá is there used for dá: ... sonna atukai siyóru no ya = sonna atukai o surú no da 'they give such treatment' (SA 2672.137b—for siyóru < si-i [w]óru, see p. 454); ... iut’óru n ya = itte iirú no da 'it is that they are saying ...'. In place of N ná no ni, Kansai speakers will sometimes use N yá no ni (equivalent to the non-standard N dá no ni), as in this example from the speech of a resident of Sakai (Osaka): Kyóó wa súupaa wa kónde ‘ru hazu yá no ni ... 'Although today the supermarkets should be crowded ...' (SA 2681.131a).

In written versions of Kansai speech, nó (in many but not all of its uses) will often appear as nón: Watakusi nón desu ‘It’s mine’, Kane ga nái no de yóšita (= Kane ga nái no de yameta) ‘As I lacked the money, I decided not to go’. From examples we can see that the Kansai nón = nó is used in several ways:

(1) N non ya = N nó da: Kore dáre non ya ‘Whose is this?’ (Maeda 1965.454b).

(2) S non = S nó: Sitte ‘ru non ka (= Sitte iirú no ka) ‘You know it?’ (ibid.); Kyyusyuu-ryókoo ni déru non to onazi kimoti yá wá (= déru no to onazi kimoti dá wá) ‘It’s the same feeling as leaving for a Kyūshū trip’ (SA 2673.26d; an Ósaka office lady is talking); ... Oosaka no hóo wa ‘itibiri’ iú non ka (= to iú no ka) ... ‘in Ósaka I think they call it “ichibiri” (cutting up)’ (SA 2643.15b)—on omission of the quotation marker tó, see p. 1001; Erái kinodóku ya ná, turete itte kurerú non ka (= kurerú no ka) ‘Why, I’d be mighty obliged if you’d take me with you’ (SA 2669.110b); Íma no wákai hitó wa, hun’íki ni toke-komú non ga hayái desu né. Yoo (= Yóku), iú non ka, kore, ittan, hén na hookoo ni náttara abunáí desu kedo né ‘Young people of the present day are quick to lose themselves in atmosphere. It is often said, but if this should once take a queer direction it could be dangerous, you know’ (SA 2643.15b).

(3) S non = S nó to: Oosaka-ben de yaru yótte ni omosírói tokóró mo áru no tigaú ka náa = Oosaka-ben de yárú no de omosírói tokóró mo áru no to tigaú (= áru no yáa nái) ka náa ‘I wonder if it isn’t that there are some amusing spots because I am using the Ósaka dialect?’ (SA 2643.135a).

(4) S non = S nó ga: Makerú non kirai yá = Makerú no ga kirai dá ‘I hate to lose’ (Maeda 1965.454b).

(5) S non = S nó o: Háí, tésuto súnda si ... Ítu mo watasi ga kono térébi o múte ‘ru non sitte ‘ru kara (= mite iirú no o sitte iirú kara) ‘Yes, my tests are over and ... she knows I am always watching this television program, so [my mother doesn’t worry about my being here in the studio so late]’ (SA 2654.134d).

(6) S non ni = S nó ni: Sonai iut’áttara ée non ni, damátte ‘ta non ka i ná = Sonna ni (itte áttara) itte itára ii no ni, damátte itá no ka ná ‘I wish he’d said something like that, but what did he do but keep quiet’ (Maeda 1965.454b).
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(7) S non de = S nó de: Sore ga gozaimasen no de, kore de ma ni awásit 'okimásita
= Sore ga gozaimasen no de, kore de ma ni awásite okimásita 'As that was lacking, I had
t hem make do with this' (Maeda 1965.454b).

(8) S non = S nó (sentence-final—mostly in the speech of women): Kamahén non =
Kamawánai no 'It makes no difference' (Maeda 1965.454b); Mító kotó ga áru no non 'I've
seen it' (ibid.); Nán de hadasi ni náró non 'Why do they go barefoot?' (SA 2660.134a).

(9) used in addressing persons associated with a shop or the like, equivalent to ...
no hitó/katá: o-mise non 'Mr Shopkeeper', yaoya non 'Mr Grocer', go-kínzó non
'Mr Neighborhood Man', ... (Maeda 1965.454b).

Maeda suggests that Uses 6, 7, and 8 are fairly recent; the others appear to be older.

In place of S non ya = S nó da, you may hear the Kansai forms S nen and S ne (not to
be confused with S né[e]!);19 these are said by Maeda (1965.446a) to come from non ya
by vowel assimilation (→ nen ya → nen) and dropping of the final nasal (nen → ne). An
example: Ikú kotó wa ikú nen kedo = Ikú kotó wa ikú no da kedo 'I'll go, all right, but ...'
(Maeda 1965.446a). Where standard Japanese would have N ná no da, the Kansai equiv­
alent is often N ya nen: Só ya nen = Sóo na no da 'That's right' (Maeda id.). And S nen
can be followed by ná: Nání o surú nen na = Nání o surú no da ná 'What are you doing?';
Há háá, anna hüú ni, kóikí(') ni hárú nén ná, to omóota ga ... (= ... hárú no da ná) 'Aha,
so they go in with such style, I thought, ... ' (SA 2659.131d); Dáre ya nen na = Dáre na no
da ná 'Who is it?' In Tókú you seldom hear nó no da after the polite V-i-másu form, but
you will find the equivalent nen used in Kansai in this way: ... kakkó-eé o moöimásu
nen = kakkó-ii to omóu no desu 'I think it's nice' (SA 2673.26d; Ôsaka office lady speak­
ing). And the final -s[un] often assimilates, so that you will hear V-i-máén nen for V-i-másu
nen (= V-rú no desu) and dên nen for dësu nen (= ná no desu): Yássii to tigámén nen
'It's not easy' (SA 2657.46a); Watási, otóko de kúroo surú no, sukí den nen 'I like to work
for a man' (SA 2657.48d; speaking is Miyako Chóchó, an entertainer born in Tókú but
a Kansai resident since the age of four). The sequence sún nen represents a Kansai version
of surú no da: Sóko de nání sún nen 'What are you up to over there?' (SA 2669.110b). In
the following examples nen is further reduced to ne (and thus runs the danger of misinterpre­
tation as né[e]): ... soko ni hitóto no sén ga arímán ne (= áru no desu) 'There is one
line there' (SA 2657.46a); Simán ne = Surú no desu 'I will do it' (Maeda 1965.441);
Omáhan no sekinín yâ ne de = Omaesan no sekinín ná no de[su] 'It's your responsibility',
(ibid.); Nán de ya ne = Nán de (Náze) na no da 'How come?' (ibid.); Míté n ne = Míté íru
no da 'I am watching' (Mákimura 538a); Onnásu surú ne yattara ... = Onnásu surú no dattara
'If one were to do it the same ... ' (ibid.); Síyáhen ne ya kedo = Síiná no da kedo 'I haven't
done it (won't do it) but ... ' (ibid.); Sóó ya ne ya té = Sóó da to iú kotó da 'That's what
they say' (ibid.).


The nominal gerund N dé has the meaning 'it is N and (so)', hence the meaning of S
n[ó] de 'it is a fact that S and so' or just 'as/since (it is a fact that) S'.20 This is a common

19. Also S n ya nen: Íttá n ya nen = Íttá no [na no] da 'He's gone' (Mákimura 543a).
20. The contraction V-rú n[o] de → V'n [n] de is sometimes heard: súng de = surú no de; án de =
áru no de.
way to link a circumstance to its consequence: Åme ga l húutta no de l sanpo dekinakatta ‘Since it rained, we couldn’t take our walk’ or ‘It rained, so we couldn’t take our walk’; Bókú(−) wa l utí(−) ni (l) kaeri-taku l nátta no de l nigemáita ... ‘I got to wanting to go home and [so] ran away’ (SA 2674.89a). The circumstance and the consequence are rather evenly balanced in emphasis, in contrast with the kará-conjunctialization (§ 17.1): Åme ga húutta kara (húutta monó de, húutta tame) sanpo dekinakatta ‘We couldn’t take our walk because it rained’ places the emphasis on the consequence, with the circumstance offered as a reason.21 According to Mikami 1963.117 kará refers to a SUBJECTIVE reason and nó de to an OBJECTIVE reason; cf. Nagano 204-5. But Mio 267 says that nó de is rather uncommon in Tókyó speech, “usually being replaced by ... món da/desu kara”, so that nó de serves as an elegant variation for S món da kara (or S món de?).

Observe also S nó ká =S séi ka ‘perhaps because S’. §15.6; V-rú-/tá n[o] de wa—and contractions V-rú n zya, V-[n] zya and V-tá n zya—as a way of stating conditions, §9.3. Similar to the latter is the use of S n[o] de mo for stating a concession: Úntin wa, I konténa ga l hattatsu ta tamé ni II Amerika n hákobú n de mo l yasuí ‘The freight is cheap, even shipping to America (even if you ship to America), as a result of the development of the container [ship]’ (SA 2668.46c). But S nó de mo can also represent an ordinary (‘too/even’) highlighting of the causal nó de: Nihón wa l késíki ga l lii no de l yuumée desu. II Mata, l Nihón wa l zisíng ga l óóí no de mo l yuumée desu ‘Japan is famous for its scenery. And, it is famous also for its many earthquakes’ (Hayashi 61).

One difference between S kará and S nó de is that a following command or question can (and usually will) apply to the sentence as a whole, including S kará, in the first type; but in the second, the command or question will normally refer only to what comes after S nó de. (Cf. Kógo-bumpó no mondai-ten 297.) Nagano 203-4 gives a number of examples of S nó de which would sound unnatural with S kará, unless the completed sentence ends with ... nó da, which serves to impart the necessary subjective flavor. Nagano (205) has examples of S nó da/desu kara; an example of V-ta kará de ... will be found in Y 399. Polite stylization (V-i-mášu, A-i desu, N desu) is less uncommon for kará than for nó de, but it is possible for both.

The modern trend, according to Kgg 89.38b, is to SAY kará but WRITE nó de.

14.2.2. Nó ni.

In the first two meanings of the nó-nominalization—‘act’ and ‘the one(s) which’—the particle nó can occur as it might with any noun, when called for to specify an indirect object (‘to the one which’ etc.) or when appropriate for a particular predicate, as in the sentences meaning ‘necessary for’: surú no ni hituyoo da (or ir-u, etc.) ‘it is needed in order to do’. In this use, the “for” build-up is often subdued with wá in order to play up the

21. The meaning of S nó de can be regarded as a simple extension of the use of S nó da to provide an explanation, as in this passage: Roozin(−) to l ónna[1] bákari de, II sei-sonen no l otokó wá l hotóndó l inai. II Minó sensoo ni ite irú no de aru ‘It’s all women and old men, there are virtually no young or middle-aged males. (FOR) they’ve all gone off to the war’ (SA 2668.43c). Or, it might be regarded as directly taken from the causal use of the copula gerund—an interpretation that would be necessary for this example (because of the nominal conjoining): ... sore de mo l yómu no to l kaku no de l ni-zikan ‘gurai l forareyyau n desu ‘even so with reading it and writing it two hours are taken up’ (SA 2676.50a).
prerequisite: Kirei ni | kaku no ni wa | hude ga iru ‘To write nicely you need a brush’.22

And, at least when wà is present, it is possible to omit nó, leaving a direct nominalization (§14.6): Kaze o naosu | no ni wa | kono kusuri o nonce kudasai ‘Drink this medicine to get well’. In these “necessity” expressions, nó can be thought of as elliptical for | no tamë no ni: Hito o tanosimasu | ni wa, | maçu, | zibun ga | itto-itibai(‘), | kuruo | sinakute wa | ikenai, | to iu tokoró ka ‘Perhaps the situation is that in order to amuse people you must first of all work terribly hard yourself’ (SA 2661.3); ... magó no kao o miru ni mo | ni-zikan mo | dénsya(‘) | ni | noranakereba | narainai ‘... just to see my grandchild’s face I have to ride the train for two whole hours’ (SA 2671.130d); Motto-mo, | yodomi(‘) ya |حلة

manneri o nakusu ni wa, | ryyuudoo saseru no ga | n de | nē ‘Of course to avoid stagnation and [mannerism =] stereotype it’s good to move people around’ (SA 2674.113e—manneri = mannerizumu; for sentence-final dé nē, see §9.2.1a). And nó ni can be thought of as elliptical for nó | tamë no ni: ... gaioku no rykokō-sya o | sasou no ni | kenmei de, | ‘... desperate to attract foreign tourists’ (SA 2656.61d). Notice that the “necessity” in these expressions is a semantic category that includes a number of unexpected predicates.

In the third meaning of the nó-nominalization—‘fact (etc.)’—nó occurs as the esseive (or copula infinitive) with a special implication: ‘despite the fact that’:23

Yobu no da. | Yobu no ni ‘Although (despite the fact that) one calls ...’.

Ooki no da. | Ooki no ni ‘Although (it is) big ...’.

Tomodati no na no da. | Tomodati no na no ni ‘Despite it’s being a friend ...’.

Tomodati no na no da. | Tomodati no na no ni ‘Despite it’s being a friend’s ...’.

The antithetical meaning is stronger than that found in conjunctionalizations with ké[re]do[mo] ‘though’ and gá ‘but’ (§17.5) or mono-no or mono-o (§17.4): Deetto-kurabu ni | damasāreta. | Kane o haratta no ni | onnā ga | kōnai ‘I was swindled by a “date club”’. | I paid my money but no girl showed up’ (SA 2689.120c); Sono aida, | hobo | iti-ni,h| eisei wa | tkyuu o mawatte ita hazu nā no ni; | Amerika wa | sono kōto o, | Tyuugoku-seihu yori | saki ni wa | happyo sinakatta ‘During that time the [Chinese-launched] satellite must have been circling the earth for about a day, but America did not publish that fact until the Chinese government did’ (SA 2678.136b).

Alfonso 763 says that S nó ni is used only for “objective contrasts”; the highlighted gerund (V-té mo, A’kute mo, N dé mo) will be used, instead, if the concluding sentence is advice, command, prohibition, or future (whether probable or definite). But, he continues, the highlighted gerund is avoided in favor of S nó ni for RECENT SPECIFIC events in the past (‘despite the fact that recently ...’), so that you do not always have a free choice between S nó ni and V-té mo (etc.) even with antithetical conclusions other than those mentioned above. (In this connection, notice our suggestion that the nó-nominalization is “specific” in contrast with the kotó-nominalization.)

There are examples of S nó ni in which the contrast is better translated as ‘whereupon’ or ‘then’ rather than as ‘despite’: Hī-sya | ettsy-sya ni | ni-kagetu mo | hatarakanai no ni, | ...
bóku(“) wa mótá-mo kubi ni nátte simatta ‘I worked for H Company barely two months and then got fired once again’ (SA 2640.59c). Observe the additional adnominal represented by the adnoun kono ‘this’ in Kono atüi no ni ñ dekakerú n desu ka ‘Are you going out despite this heat?’ and by the adnoun ano ‘that’ in Ano samúi no ni ñ dekaketá n desu ka ‘You went out in that cold?’; these expressions seem to be rather idiomatic, with nò substituting for ... hi ‘day (that is ...)’. The English ‘I wish ...’ will translate certain uses of S nò ni in sentence-final position (making a fragment or minor sentence type, §23): Kanemóti(“) nára l ñi no ni 1 wish I were rich (but ...)’; Asoko dátara l yókatta no ni ‘I wish that had been the place (but ...)’. These expressions are discussed elsewhere (§9.3, §9.4). Another sentence-fragment usage is with Sekkakü(“), as in these examples (from Hayashi 158): Sekkaku(“) tooi tokoró kara l kíta no ni ‘And after all the trouble of getting ready [what a shame that ...]’.

In place of S nò ni you may hear S kusé ni (§13.2) for situations that involve some feeling of deceit: Yásuku l katta kusé ni ñ takakatta (l) to iu ‘He claims it was expensive (despite the fact that =) though he bought it cheap’; Siranai kusé ni ñ sitta kao o suru ‘He puts on a knowing look even though he doesn’t know’; Káre wall wakái kusé ni ñ maru­de l nánazí-sai ‘sugi no ñ roozin(“) no yóo na l kóto o iu ‘He says things (= talks) just like an old man of over 70 despite the fact that he is young’ (Hozaka 334); Sumisu-ando-Wesson da ga, l dóo iu l monó ká l kenzyuu wa l tisái kusé ni, l hídoi l zyuukoa na atúryoku o l métte iru ‘It’s a Smith and Wesson, but for some reason the pistol packs quite a wallop for one so small’ (SA 2685.100b). This expression (S kusé ni) is seldom written, but it is common in speech—especially that of women and children. In standard Japanese kusé is treated as a postadnominal (mongái-kan da → mongái-kan no kusé ni ‘even though he is a mere outsider’); but some of the non-Tókyó speakers who say Kore dá no de/ni for Kore ná no de/ni (§14.2) may perhaps be expected to treat kusé ni as a conjunctivalization, saying (?)Mongái-kan da kuse ni for Mongái-kan no(?)na kusé ni.

Remember that S nò ni may also represent an ordinary nominalization followed by the dative marker nì (in any of its uses) or by the copula infinitive or essive (in any of their uses). Only wider context would make it clear whether Ōóí no ni odórita is to be taken as ‘Despite the large number I was surprised’ or (more likely) as ‘I was surprised at the large number that there were’. The sentence Takei ga kawatte irú no ni l bikkúri si, l ... ‘I was surprised that the land features had changed, and ...’ (SA 2670.43a) is obviously not to be taken as ‘I was surprised despite the fact that ...’. In the expression Watasi ga kangaeru no ni ... to omóu ‘My opinion is to think that ...’ the ni is probably best taken as the copula infinitive predicating the nominalization ‘It is my thinking and/but ...’. In theory another interpretation should be possible: ‘Despite my thinking (about it), I think that ...’. The copula infinitive can be taken as either strongly antithetical (‘despite’) or weakly antithetical (‘but’—shading into ‘and’). Another view, with something in its favor, would take the strongly antithetical meaning as a (perhaps obligatory) ellipsis of S nò ni [tái-site] ‘as against the fact that S (or the act of S)’, thus attributing the divergent meanings of S nò ni to different derivations.

In written Japanese, direct nominalization can leave both V-rú {nó} ni (wa) ‘for the purpose of V’ and V-rú {nó} ni ‘despite the fact that V; when V; V whereupon’ (see §13.8a), as well as other uses of S {nó} ni where ni is functioning as a case-marker or mutative or the like.

A sentence can begin with Ná no ni ...; this is an abbreviation of [Sore] ná no ni ...
and it is sometimes said as Dā no ni ... . Though not common, polite stylization (V-i-māsu, A-ī desu, N desu) can be applied before nó ni.

14.2.3. Post-appositional nó.

An unusual use of the nó-nominalization is exemplified by the sentence Kutūsita no I usūī no wa l nāi ka ‘Haven’t you any thin stockings?’ One way to explain this is as follows: Kutūsita ga usūi ‘The stockings are thin’ → Kutūsita ga/no usūi no da ‘It is the ones (about which we can say) the stockings are thin, It is the ones with thin stockings’ → Kutūsita no usūi no ga āru ‘There exist thin stockings’ (→ ...), with the first nó being taken as a marker of the subject of an adnominalized adjectival sentence. But another interpretation would view it as the adnominal form of the copula (equivalent to de āru): Kutūsita da ‘They are stockings’ → Kutūsita no (, ...) no da ‘They are the ones which (are ...) and which are stockings’, i.e. ‘They are stockings and they are thin’, with two adnominals independently modifying the postadnominal nó. Although the second interpretation may seem “intuitively” less convincing, it is perhaps supported by the phrasing, which sometimes inserts a pause: Bīru no I tumetāi no o I kudasā ‘Give me a cold beer’ (or ‘Give me a beer and make it a cold one’?). Examples: O-imo no (1) nītā no ga āru I yō’il ‘Boiled sweet potatoes!’, Kawagutu no (1) haki-hurūsita no o I kureta ‘He gave me his old shoes’; Botānyuki no I nisiki no I yō’o no ga āru l huri-dasita ‘It started to snow large flakes, like brocade’; ... tizikomaru to I umebosī no tāne no I dekāi no I mitai ni I narimāsu ‘when it [a leech] curls itself up it gets like a big dried plum’ (Tk 4.154b); Rosiya-ōnna no I lookī no wa, I mittakū I zōo mitai desu kara I nē ‘The big(gest of the) Russian women [athletes] are just like elephants, that’s why’ (Tk 3.82a); Watasi, buta no koma-gire o kate atta no I o motte kīta wa ‘I’ve brought (with me) some chopped pork that I had bought’ (Ariyoshi 33); ... yādo o I dēru to, I ōoki na usi no I sinā no o I hito ga katūde kīta ‘when he left the lodgings, (he saw that) people had brought on their shoulders a big ox that had died’ (Takeda 1970.48); Sono kī no I u[1]no hōo ni wa I tatta hitōtu (−)dake[2] kaki no I ākai no ga I nokotte imāsita ‘On top of the branch of the tree there was only one persimmon remaining that was red’ (Kholodovich 125); Sosite I kaerī ni I kudāmono no I i no I ga I āttara I katte kīte moraoo ‘And on your way back if there’s any good fruit I’d like you to buy some’ (ibid.); Yuzisin wa I tokidoki I āyū no I hōsita no yā kī no I hōsita no o I okutte kureta ‘A friend sometimes sent me dried trout and dried persimmons’ (ibid.); Bannin wa I ... imō[1], I negī no I takuwāeta no I o I motte kīta ‘The caretaker brought out sweet potatoes and onions that he had hoarded’ (id. 129); Rōōhi wa I ... katate (−) ni I wā I Sakurada-biriū no I sēn no I nuitā no I o I sāgete I āttette I kūru ‘The old woman servant came in with an uncapped bottle of Sakurada beer in one hand’ (ibid.); Koitu [w]a (1) hanami e iku (1) I kakkoo zya I nēe I yā [= nāi I yō’o], I dōo I mitatte I nēko no I sindā no o I sute ni I iku yōo da ‘This guy doesn’t look as though he’s going flower-viewing, why he looks for all the world as if he were on his way to throw out a dead cat’ (Okitsu 1.70). I Instead of nó, you may find yātu: Iku toki wa I kanaranu I seiyou-tenūgui no I ōoki na I yatū o I burasāgete iku ‘Whenever I go swimming I go carrying a large occidental-type towel’ (Kholodovich 127).

The following examples, being somewhat more complicated, will help us understand better the structure behind the post-appositional nó: Moti no iso-maki o kūu no ni, I l futuu wa I ittī-mai no I NOR I O I ikutu ka ni I tíisaku I kīta NO O I kuttukēru n da ga ... ‘In eating laver-wrapped rice cakes, usually what you do is attach [to each] a thin slice
from a sheet of laver ...' (Tk 3.254a); Noziko to iu TORI GA II kegā site II ōtite I 'rū NO O I hirotte kīte, II sodatēta kotō ga l arimāsu I yō ' I once picked up and raised a bird of the kind called nojiko that had fallen from an injury' (Tk 3.100b)—cf. Mezo no II itiban takusān mita NO wa, II nān-ba ‘gūrai desu ka ‘The time that you saw the most mejirō birds (= silvereyes), how many was it [that you saw]?' (ibid.). Koo iu HOOKOKU GA II saikīn II sinbun ni dēte iro NO O I mimaisite, II ‘I saw this sort of announcement appearing recently in the newspaper ...’ (Tanigawa 16); Reikiti wa II ... syoozi ni II sotti-kotti II ANĀ GA aite I iro NO O I tukurōtte ita ‘Reikichi was patching the holes that had appeared here and there in the shōji’ (Kholodovich 126); HŌOSYA GA I deinei no nāka ni I oti-itte II sukōshi no (I) ugodān NO O II osite II oshi II oshi-tōosita ‘They pushed and pushed and pushed on the gun carriage that was so stuck in the mud it wouldn’t move a bit’ (ibid.). Sono I Ériko kara I āru-hi, II TEGAMI GA kīta NO O, II Hutakiri wa II ukkāri, I tukue ni dasi-panasi ni site, II Ōkawa I Hātu ni I mirārete simatta ‘One day from Ériko there came a letter, but Futakiri inadvertently left it out on the table and wound up having it read by Hatsu Ōkawa’ (Fn 53a); Hāha no I tukue no uē ni, I kaki-kake no KÁADO GA I tunde āru NO O, II syozi-nāku II Ériko wa II yōnde I mita ‘On her mother’s desk there were piled half-written [experiment writeup] cards, and out of boredom Ériko tried reading them’ (Fn 61b); Sore kara, I tonde kūru I hae nanzo, I SINBŪN-SI [O] I marumeta YĀTU de II pat-to tataki-otōsitari I nē ‘Then whatever flies that would come flying in, I’d bat them down with rolled-up newspapers, you see’ (Tk 3.165a). In these sentences the no (or, in the last, yātu) is a pronominal reference to a case-marked noun in the adnominalization, as suggested by their translations, but they may well be of the same type as the preceding sentences: Son o II Ériko kara I āru-hi, II TEGAMI GA kīta NO O, II Hutakiri wa II ukkāri, I tukue ni dasi-panasi ni site, II Ōkawa I Hātu ni I mirārete simatta ‘One day from Ériko there came a letter, but Futakiri inadvertently left it out on the table and wound up having it read by Hatsu Ōkawa’ (Fn 53a); Hāha no I tukue no uē ni, I kaki-kake no KÁADO GA I tunde āru NO O, II syozi-nāku II Ériko wa II yōnde I mita ‘On her mother’s desk there were piled half-written [experiment writeup] cards, and out of boredom Ériko tried reading them’ (Fn 61b); Sore kara, I tonde kūru I hae nanzo, I SINBŪN-SI [O] I marumeta YĀTU de II pat-to tataki-otōsitari I nē ‘Then whatever flies that would come flying in, I’d bat them down with rolled-up newspapers, you see’ (Tk 3.165a). In these sentences the no (or, in the last, yātu) is a pronominal reference to a case-marked noun in the adnominalization, the case being independent of the grammar of the larger structure within the final sentence.23a

When the epipheme is not a pronominal reference it can usually be treated as a resultative epipheme: Kēsa I MOTI o tābeta I NOKORI ... ‘The remains of the sticky rice we ate this morning ...’ (Takahashi 177); ... zatta na ZİNSYU ga l takusān kīte iro I AMERIKA-ZIN ni, ... ‘for Americans who are (the result of) many races who have come (to America)’ (Tanigawa 159). Perhaps the examples with no and yātu can be regarded as a subtype of this structure. A less obvious type is found in Asagao ga l akaku saita IRÔ wa ... ‘The color of the red-bloomed morning-glories ...’ (Takahashi 172), in which the underlying semantic structure is something like “the flowers have a color, and the color is the result of their having bloomed so as to be red”.

Often the structure N ga V nó o (+ verb of perception, discovery, seizure, etc.) can be taken with the same meaning as N ga V tokorō o ‘(saw, discovered, seized, etc.) N just when N V’: Doroboo ga kan e o tōtete iro no o tukamaeta ‘They caught the thief taking the money’ = Doroboo ga kan e o tōtete iro tokorō o tukamaeta ‘They caught the thief as he was taking the money’; cf. §13.2.2. In such situations, the appropriate explanation for both structures appears to be an underlying “N ga V tokorō no no o tukamaeta ‘they caught the one [namely N] who is at the point of V’ with reductions to N ga V tokorō o ... in the one version and to N ga V nó o ... in the other. This explanation is probably appropriate for the sentence Totyuu kara [obātayōn o] Siężoo ni mukatte hanayaka ni

23a A good example: Hyakuen ga gozyu-ndo rata Datta NO GA, yōnzyu gō-dor u ni nāri, yonzyu- doru ni nāri, ... ‘The hundred yen that used to be $50 became $45, it became $40 ...’ (Agawa 1.259a).
§14. Nominalizations: General and Specific

warai-nagara syaberi-tuzukete irú no o nokósite, Ákiko ga ómoya ni modóru to, ... ‘Ákiko left her [the old lady] talking away laughing merrily toward Shigezó, and returned to the main house; whereupon ...’ (Ariyoshi 126). Notice how these structures resemble those of the postadnominals of relative place and time, for which similar explanations may be in order: hāha ga suwatte iru [tokoró no] migi ‘the right of where mother is sitting’ (§13.2). For other explanations of the tokoró structures see Harada 1973 and Josephs (to appear).

The type of structure represented by the post-appositional nó appears to be quite old; Ishigaki Kenji (26) gives a thousand-year old example from Lse-monogatóri, with direct nominalizaton: Onná no māda yó(‘) hēzu to oboetāru [ ] ga, hito no o-moto ni sinobite ‘A woman who appears to know nothing yet of life hides behind others ...’. (See also Ishigaki’s discussion on p. 237.) A number of examples from Literary Japanese will be found in Kholodovich. Kinoshita 18 carries a summary of the ways this phenomenon in Literary Japanese has been treated by grammarians.

A different meaning is sometimes possible if we treat the second nó as ‘fact’: Kutúsita (ga/)no usúi no wa komáru ‘We are distressed that the stockings are thin’.

You might think that the following examples lend support to the view of the post-appositional nó structure as paired adnominal phrases: Samúi no, I nán no [tte,] II kogoe-zini suru gūrai datta ‘It was so indescrably cold that we nearly froze to death’; Samuí no, II sámuku I nái no ... ‘terribly cold’; Yuki ga hûru no, I huránai no ... ‘snowing very hard’. But these paired nominalizations seem like echo-questions (cf. §15.13) — ‘what do you mean cold or not cold?!’ — and may better be treated separately. Perhaps they are to be regarded as reduced from AFFIRMATIVE nó NEGATIVE nó {to iu koto} de wa nái ‘whether S or not is not in question = really S’: Okótta no II okoránai no de wa I arimašen ‘I really blew my top’; Odoroita no II odorokánai no zya I arimašen ‘Were WE ever surprised!’; Sikararéta no II sikararenai no de wa I gozaimasén ‘What a dreadful scolding I got!’; Tábeta no I nán no zya I arimašen ‘How we ate!’ Notice that even when the affirmative is perfect (V-ta) the negative remains imperfect (V-anai); cf. p. 603. More examples of the “reduced” form: Ikú no II káeru no [to] II ii-átte iru ‘They are arguing over whether to go or to return’; Surú kara I dō no, I sinái kara I dō no II to iu koto wa I nái ‘It is not a question of whether one does or one doesn’t’. A similar expression is the idiom dō no kōo no ‘saying/asking this or that’: û itte ‘on one pretext or another’, û iwa zu ni ‘without question’, etc. See also the discussion of dá no = dēsu no = de gozaimásu no, §15.17.

Hayashi 154 gives a number of examples with S nó nan no tte, saying they are most common with adjectives, yet little used with adjectival nouns—which, when used, commonly drop ná: Gánko [ ] no nán no tte ‘What’s all this stubbornness?!’ He gives examples with verbs: ñya, hûru no nán no tte ‘Oh how it’s raining!’ And also with polarity-paired verbs: Yohodo hará ga ñette ita to mie te, II kúu no II kuwanai no I tte ‘He looked starved, he ate so much!’ The expression nánno-sono (= nán de mo nái) ‘is nothing at all, is no great matter, is no big deal’ seems to be derived from something like nán[i] no so[re] no. Examples: Dá ga, II koo itta toráburu mo II nánno-sono, ... ‘But indifferent to even this sort of trouble, ...’ (SA 2666.16e); Ima-máde I bekkyo site ita suyu otome o hikitorú nánte II nánno-sono to I bákari, II otóts no I áki ni I hakkósite ... ‘Simply feeling that it would be no great matter to take in my mother-in-law who had been living separately, we moved [into the house] year before last in the autumn and ...’ (SA 2659.118b).
14.2.4. Cleft sentences.

It is possible to extrude virtually any adjunct of a simplex or of a converted simplex and turn it into the Identifier of an Identificational sentence, with the remainder of the source sentence nominalized (by adnominalization to the postadnominal noun no, §14.2) and used as the Identified. The result, called a "cleft sentence" (because the source sentence has been neatly split into two parts), tells you nothing more than the original did but it allows special attention to be called to the extruded adjunct—now treated as "new" information. The English sentence 'It was yesterday that he came' gives no information not available in 'He came yesterday' but permits certain distinctions of phrasing and emphasis that would otherwise be difficult or impossible to express. Often the surface representation of a cleft sentence will be ambiguous, since the "it" sometimes has an actual reference from the situation (DEICTIC) or from the preceding sentence (ANAPHORIC). 'It was the book that I read' can mean 'What I read was the book' (as in 'It was the book that I read, not the newspaper') but it can also mean 'What that was was the book that I read' (as in 'You ask what scared me—it was the book that I read'); by "cleft sentence" we refer only to the first possibility, interpreting the sentence with no external "it". The no is CATAPHORIC (looking ahead), as is the 'it' in the English translation.

A concocted example (cf. Ig 1962.68) can be manipulated to show the variety of operations that are possible with cleft sentences:

(0) Kinoō uti(-) de hāha ga kodomo ni okāsi o watasita.
(1) Utī(-) de hāha ga kodomo ni okāsi o watasitā no wa kinōo da.
(2) Kinoō hāha ga kodomo ni okāsi o watasitā no wa uti(-) [dē] da.
(3) Kinoō uti(-) de kodomo ni okāsi o watasitā no wa hāha da.
(4) Kinoō uti(-) de hāha ga okāsi o watasitā no wa kodomo [nī] da.
(5) Kinoō uti(-) de hāha ga kodomo ni watasitā no wa okāsi da.

The input sentence (0) means 'The mother handed sweets to the child at home yesterday', with no particular focus intended. It is possible to translate the output sentences as:

(1) 'It was yesterday that the mother handed sweets to the child at home'.
(2) 'It was at home that the mother handed sweets to the child yesterday'.
(3) 'It was the mother who handed sweets to the child at home yesterday'.
(4) 'It was the child that the mother handed sweets to at home yesterday'.
(5) 'It was sweets that the mother handed the child at home yesterday'.

But Japanese writers often use such sentences merely as a stylistic variation best translated by a fairly straightforward (uncleft) English sentence. Notice the varied translations in the examples listed below. See also the examples in Alfonso 969 of extruded time—toki [nī], māe [nī], ato [de]; and of extruded cause—karē, tame [nī].

EXAMPLES OF CLEFT SENTENCES WITH VARIOUS EXTRUSIONS

(1) Extruded subject: Kakete l kita no wa l too datta 'It was Itō who had run up' (Ig 1962.90; Tayori ni naru no wa, l yahari l sake de āru 'It turns out to be liquor that one relies upon' (Ig 1962.90; Sukamo, l uretā no wa l sore da ke de wa l nai 'Moreover that’s not the only one that sold' (Ig 1962.90; De mo, l syuzin ga l būtyoof(-) nī l (l) nattā l tokī nī, l itiban yorokonda no wa l syuzin no l imootō desu l yō l nē 'But when my husband
got to be department head, you see, it was my husband’s younger sister who was most pleased!’ (SA 2672.61c); ... kekkuyoku(1) kātta no wa D’ikkú datta ‘in the end it was Dick who won’ (KKK 3.185); ... zyūna(2) ni turerarète háitte kita no wa Súuzan da ‘... in comes Susan escorted by police’ (KKK 3.185); Sá-te kono “sawagi” de itiban toku o site irú no wa dāre ka ‘Well, now, who is it that profits most from this “fuss”?’ (SA 2664.24c).

(1a) Extruded surface-subject (from converted sentences): Mayótte irú Kúniko no kókoró o kimesasetá no wa Ayao no omoiwake-nái kotobá datta ‘It was Ayao’s unexpected words that decided Kuniko’s confused mind (for her)’ (Ig 1962.90).

(1b) Extruded surface-subject (= cathectic object): Natukásii no wa isiyakíimo da ‘It’s hot-pebble roasted sweet potatoes that I hanker after’ (SA 2666.110a).

(2) Extruded object: Ō no tuttá no wa, is-syákutikái lwana to, goroku-sun no yamame ni-hiki de atta ‘O (? = Wu) caught two fish—a char nearly a foot long and a five-or-six-inch lake trout’ (Ig 1962.90). Matumo-tei de siiku site irú no wa tōyōzame(“)daké de wa l nái ‘It is not just sturgeon that they are raising at Mr Matsumoto’s mansion’ (SA 2677.63b); Dá ga, byooin “gawa ga itiban sinpai sitá no wa, háto o bairai to suru | saikin no déná(“) de áru ‘But what has most worried the hospital people is the spread of germs that treat the pigeon as their medium’ (SA 2649.126b); ... wareware to site tómotómo | tyyumokuseneba | naranu no wa kóotei seirü ni itáru(“) máde no Sóren no táido no kyuyen de ári, l sono sin’í de áru ‘For us what must be watched most are the sudden shifts in the Soviet attitude until an agreement is reached, and their true intentions’ (KKK 3.171).

(2a) Extruded traversal object: Íma hutári ga | laruíté lirú no wa ao yá láka no neon ni irodoráréta l sakari-bá de áru ‘The two are now walking in an amusement area bright with blue and red neon lights’ (Ig 1962.90).

(3) Extruded place: Sore o i-dáita no wa Ginza no áru l kissá-ten(“) da ‘It was in a Ginza coffee shop that he suggested that’ (Ig 1962.90); ... isiki ga l too-nóté(“) itte, l tugi ni ki ga tútta no wa yasen-byóoin no bëddo no l náka datta ‘he gradually lost consciousness and the next thing he noticed was from a field-hospital bed’ (SA 2679.39a)—I assume propredication; Kántoo de l attoo-teki ni ziipán-zoku ga l óói no wa Yokoohama [dá] ‘In eastern Japan it is Yokohama where there are an overwhelming number of blue-jean wearers’ (SA 2668.9); Syukuhaku saretá no wa, l dótira desita ka l ná ‘Where did Your Highness stay?’ (Tk 3.175b—addressed to Prince Chichibu); Miru no wa Mitukósí [de], l kaú no wa l itibá [da] ‘Mitsukoshi (Department Store) is where you look (at it), the market is where you buy (it)” (SA 2793.128a).

(4) Extruded time: Ano yó(1) Mášunágá ga l Sasazuka no ie ni l káetto no wa zyúunízi sugi da ‘That night it was after midnight when Masunaga got back to Sasazuka’s house’ (Ig 1962.90); Hukóo na l ziken ga l okotta no wa yokka no l hirú-góro datta ‘It was around noon on the fourth that the unhappy incident occurred’ (SA 2680.22d); Káre l zísín ga l natú o sugósita no wa, l sono l máta(“) l iti-nen l mae made de áru ‘It was even a year before that he himself had spent the summer (there)’ (Ig 1962.90); Kono hón ga l kakareta no wa l muron l senzen dákara, ... ‘It was, of course, before the war that this book was written, so ...’ (SA 2649.110a); Sikási l Harúko no l sono izumi(“) ga l kareta yóó ni l kan-ziraretá no wa l han-tosí gákari l mae kara da ‘But it was only a half year ago the feeling set in that that well-spring of Haruko’s had dried up’ (Ig 1962.91); Bútai no l sübeté ga l modótte l kíta no wa yokuyokú-zitu(“) ni nátte kara de atta ‘It was a couple of days before all the outfit
got back' (Ig 1962.91); Tokoró-ga, ìligurú-goo kara l ootoo ga átta no wa || yoku zitu no || gögo ni î l nätte kara datta 'But it was after it had become afternoon the next day that an answer came from the [ship] Eagle' (SA 2674.129c).

(4a) Extruded frequency: Rokuyuu hati-nen no || daitooroyo-sénkyo no î l sai ni mo î koogai-mondai ni î l hureta no wa l iti-dô – dâké de, î l tâi-site î zyuu yoo no mondai tô wa î kanganête î inakkata yoô î dâ 'At the time of the '68 presidential election he touched on the question of environmental damage only once, apparently not regarding it as a very important issue' (SA 2670.128a).

(4b) Extruded duration: Tairân(‘) de î lo-yakunin î na suttê Î ‘tâ no wa, î l î tu kara î l î tu made datta n desu ka 'You were an official on Taiwan over what period?' (Tk 4.160a).

(5) Extruded cause or reason: Asî gî l komakûku î hurerû no wa î l kuyäsikute î tamaranâî kara da '‘(My) legs are trembling because it is excruciating' (Ig, 1962.91); Sigoto gâ î l yotei yôî î l okuretâ no wa î l nîbuku î nâtta latamî no tamê î l bâkâri de l nai ‘‘It isn’t just because of my sluggish head that the work is behind schedule' (Ig 1962.91); Gûnbu ni wa, î l Betonamu-sénsoo ni î l katênai no wa î l kaihoo-sênso ‘‘gawa ga î ‘seikî’î o môttê î l irû kara da, î tô no î l kângâe gî l î l nezûyoku î l âtta ‘The military had the firm idea that the reason they are unable to win the Vietnam War is because the Liberation Front forces possess “sanctuaries”’ (Sa 2679.18a); Eigyou kaisî î l l kaimaku to dôôzî(‘) ni î l sînai no wa î l nâtze ka ‘‘Why don’t they open for business with the start of the Fair?’ (Sa 2669.120d); Anâta ga î l kami-gata o kaenâî no wa î l nâtze desu ka ‘‘Why is it that you won’t change your hair style?’ (Sa 2668.97b); Sensêî gî l tuihoo ni sîtei saretâ no wa, î l nân de desu ka ‘‘What is the reason you were named in the purge?’ (Sa 2660.47a); Anâta gâ î l î tu mîl î l burâzyaa o î l sîte inâî no wa î l dôô site desu ka ‘‘Why is it that you never wear a bra?’ (Sa 2668.97c); Môrûgan(‘) ni yoru to, î l koo sîta yobi-kata ga âru no wa, î l keitei to î l sîmai to î l sôsô no î l kekkon no âite î l âtta kara î de âru (to iu) ‘‘According to Morgan, (it is said that) it is because brothers and sisters were respective partners in marriage that this sort of [kinship] appellation exists’ (Ônô 1966.159).

(6) Extruded instrumental: Atira de koogî î nasåru no wa î l Eigo dé [desu/desita ka]? ‘Was it in English that you lectured over there [in America]?’ (Tk 3.160b).

(7) Extruded sentential adverbials: Síkási î l Môtokô ga î l mukuti de, î l utiki na seisitu ni î l sôdâ-tîtûî l âru no wa î l zîzîtû de aru ‘But it is true that Motoko is growing up to be reticent and bashful by nature' (Ig, 1962.91) ? Žîzîtû Môтокô ga ... ‘In truth Motoko ...'; Gêngô ga î l óoku no l baiî, î l bûnka to î l hukuugo site î l kyooson site îrû no wa î l sizen de âru ‘‘It is natural that languages for the most part coexist in a complex with cultures’ (Ôô 1966.192) ? Sizen ni ... ‘Naturally ...’; Akiyama san î l awatete torî-modsîtâ no wa î l motîrôn de aru ‘It goes without saying that Mr Akiyama hastily retrieved it’ (Sa 2673.139d) ; Motîrôn Akiyama san ga ... ‘Of course Mr Akiyama ...’; Ayâo ga î l sôzhi-hîn(‘) no î l kaneme no mônô î l hotôndô î l zênbû î l tebânasisita no wa î l motîrôn de aru ‘It goes without saying that Ayao handed over virtually all the valuables he had’ (Ig 1962.91) ; Motîrôn Ayôo ga ... ‘Of course Ayao ...’; Sôno kyoohon ga î l inaka no sôntyoo de atta î l titi ni î l sônî î l bizîn-ga no e-hâgaki î l kawasê î no wa î l akirakâ datta ‘It was obvious that admiration made the father, a (former?) country village headman, buy the postcard with the picture of a beautiful woman on it’ (Ig 1962.91) ; Akirakâ ni ... ‘Obviously ...’; ... muzukasî(‘) mondai ni î l toomên(‘) surû no wa î l akirakâ de ari, ... ‘It is clear that we face a difficult problem, and ...’ (KKK 3.171).
In some sentences the Identified is attenuated by the kotô-nominalization, as in these examples (numbered according to adjunct-extrusion type):

1a) Sore kara watashi o odorokâsetsu no wa, bizin ga ígai(−) ni oogara de áru kotô datta ‘What surprised me next was that the beauties are unexpectedly large women’ (lg 1962.90); Sinpai ni nárú no wa, imootô no yóo ni site issyo ni kurasite ita | Tizuko no | kotô desita ‘The worry was over Chizuko with whom she was living like a sister’ (KKK 3.185)—or is this the noun kotô?

2) Koretika ga l nání yori osóreta no wa, | Higasi Sanzyóoin gall higoro kara | Mitinaga o tokubetu ni go-tyóoguu (= tyóoai(−)) ni nátte iru | kotô datta ‘What Korechika feared more than anything was that H.S. was showing special favor toward Michinaga these days’ (lg 1962.90); Kono-góró(−), kan-zirú no wa, | tosi-góto ni huruhon-ya ga | hette yuku kotô de áru ‘What I feel lately is that the number of secondhand book shops is declining with each passing year’ (SA 2656.112b).

4) DDT no | kisékí(−) ni (I) odoróita no wa, | haise-n-tyóogu no | kotô de áru ‘It was right after losing the war that we were startled by the miracle of DDT’ (SA 2684.45a); Sómeiya to | Kúniko to no l aida ni yóozi ga | hazimattá no wall sono ban no kotô de atta ‘The beginning of the affair between Someya and Kuniko was something that happened that night’ (lg 1962.90-1); Nitiro-sénsoo ga | owattá no wa | sono | tyóogu(−) no | kotô da ‘It was right after that the Russo-Japanese War ended’ (SA 2660.116d); Gaburíru | ga | Kuriusutian no | té o | tôtta no wa, | sonna | áru ban no | kotô datta ‘rõo ka ‘Might it have been some such evening as that that Gabrielle took Christian by the hand?’ (SA 2649.105a);

Yodogawa Nagáharu ga | tèrebi noll ‘Nitiyoo-yoo-gékizyo o’ no | kaisetu-sya to site | tooyoo sitá no wa, | Syóowa(−) | yóonyuu | iiti-nen no | zuyuugatu no | kotô da ‘It was in October of 1966 that Nagaharu Yodogawa made his debut as the commentator of TV’s “Sunday Foreign Movie Theater”’ (SA 2655.121d); Sikáíi | sono | kotô ga | óoku no | hitô ni yotte | tûyoku | ìsiki | sareru yóo ni | nátta no wa, | osóra-ku | seizyôo-syoku ga | hukyuu sité kara no | kotô to | omowaréru ‘But it appears to have been probably after the popularization of straight-row planting that many people became strongly aware of that’ (KKK 3.185).

And some sentences have both parts attenuated with kotô: Táda | koko de | mondai ni nárú l kotô wall ... to | iu | kettén(−) o l móto l kotô de áru ‘The only problem here is that it has the drawback of ...’ (KKK 3.185). This is perhaps not a cleft sentence, just an identification, as would seem to be true of the following example: Mono-wári ni nárú no wall hazukasí | kotô de áru ‘It is a shameful thing to become the object of laughter’ (SA 2680.41a).

As in all identificational sentences, the Identified normally must undergo focus, and the above examples all contain subdubbed Identifieds (... nó wa). But a cleft sentence can also HIGHLIGHT the Identified, as in these examples (see also those on p. 241): Nooyaku hâuki(−) ni túüte l kumiaí-in no | ísí | tooi-ku ga | sunnári to | dékita no mo l kono tamé da ‘It is for this reason that so easily there formed a consensus of the [farmer-]guild members with respect to the abandoning of pesticides’ (SA 2684.63d)—with the reason extruded (ísí | nóo | tooi-ku ‘unity of opinion = consensus’ results from ellipsis, as does nooyaku {nóo} hâuki(−) ‘abandoning of pesticides’; Kono yóo na l kekká(−) o (I) míru to, | tyoohookéi-syoku to | seihookéi-syoku to no | dóre ga | yö ki ko to | lomoí-mayoû no mo | muri-karánu | tokóro de áru ‘In view of this kind of results, it is hardly unnatural to be at a loss as to which is better, oblong planting or square planting’ (KKK 3.213); Koretika

§14. Nominalizations: General and Specific
§ 14.2.4. Cleft sentences

no l omói ga l hâha no l tit l l Sigêtada no l kotô ni l oyondâ no mo l toozen dâtta ‘It was only natural that Korechika’s thoughts should dwell on his mother’s father Shigetada’ (Ig 1962.91); Kore to tômô(−) ni l kaihukû-ki ni l hâita l haisen Dooitô-kôkumin no l zisin ga l takamâru no mo l toozen de attê, ... ‘It is only natural for a rise to occur in the self-confidence of the defeated German people embarking upon their recovery at the same time as this [= military and economic stabilization under the Marshall Plan], and ...’ (KKK 3.171, 213).

We have assumed that the identificational sentence, with its subdued and thematized Identified as in Aité wa onnâ da ‘The partner is a/the WOMAN’, has an equivalent form with the Identifier marked by ga and the Identified marked by the essive ni that underlies the copula da: Onnâ ga aité da ‘A/The WOMAN is the partner’. Since we wish to treat all cases of focus and theme as secondary, the latter form is here treated as basic, despite its lesser frequency. Now if the sentences that result from the "cleaving" operation described above are like other identificational sentences, we can expect equivalent forms of this sort:

(1a) Kinôo ga uti(−) de hâha ga kodomo ni okâsi o watasitâ no da.
(2a) Ut(−) ga kinôo hâha ga kodomo ni okâsi o watasitâ no da.
(3a) Hâha ga kinôo uti(−) de kodomo ni okâsi o watasitâ no da.
(4a) Kodomo ga kinôo uti(−) de hâha ga okâsi o watasitâ no da.
(5a) Okâsi ga kinôo uti(−) de hâha ga watasitâ no da.

Though this sort of output sounds unusual, in such “full” sentences at least, we will probably wish to call it grammatical in order to account for such sentences as these:24 Mâiniti(−), l kaisya o déru no ga l yôru l kú-zi -sugi [da] ‘Every night it is past nine when he leaves the office’ (SA 2668.24d)—extruded time; I tiban komâtta no ga, ll zyoyu-ösôoku de aru ‘What has been MOST distressing is the shortage of actresses’ (SA 2635.59a)—extruded dative or instrumental; Sosite ll kinnen, ll kôtte l itâ no ga l éiga(−) -zûkuri de, ll zipp­pon hodo l l tyohen karaa-gekiêiga o l zisaku l zien sita ‘Then in recent years it was movie making that he [=Sihanouk] had been absorbed in, and he directed and acted in some ten full-length color drama films’ (SA 2680.17e-18a)—extruded dative (eiga-zûkuri NÎ kôtte ita); Kono ll “séntaa” to l narande ll séngô(−) no l (l) Nihôn ni l kyuugeki ni hûeta no ga l kâkusu no l soodân-situ ya l soodân-zyô(−) de aru ‘All sorts of counseling offices and counseling agencies have suddenly proliferated one after another in postwar Japan under this designation of “center”’ (SA 2684.44a)—extruded subject; Sore kara, l kutikazu ga sukunâi no to l kuti no kiki-kata no sízuka na no ga, l tokutyoo de átta ‘And then, it was his (?) characteristic to be sparing of words and to speak quietly when he did speak’ (KKK 3.172)—extruded Identified (‘characteristic’); Sore wa, l ... tizin(−) o l (l) tazunérû no ga l mokuteki de átta ga, ... ‘It was his aim to visit a friend ... but ...’ (KKK 3.172)—extruded Identified (‘aim’). In fact, it would seem proper to assume such an intermediate stage as that represented by (1a)-(5a) in getting from the underlying simplex to the cleft sentences (1)-(5). And this operation, once granted, may provide us with a better explanation for the ellipsis assumed to account for the examples of “emphatic GA” given in §2.3.1: instead of the more specific time and space references (aida, toki, tokoro) suggested there, what is dropped is the nominalization ... nó da. Here, too, we may find an explanation for the indiscriminate subjectification (conversion to subject) that the

24. More examples of S nó ga N da will be found in §3.10: pp. 224, 248.
facilitative conversion allows its adjuncts. Hàsi ga tabe-yasúi 'It is easy to eat with chopsticks' would be immediately derived by terminal ellipsis from Hàsi ga tabe-yasúi no da (= Tabe-yasúi no wa hàsi [de] da 'It is chopsticks that are easy to eat with'), a cleft sentence that has extruded the instrumental from [Hito ga monó o] hàsi de tábě(-'yasúi) 'It is easy for [people] to eat [things] with chopsticks' and used it as the Identifier for the remainder of the sentence. Similar explanations may prove helpful in accounting for other cases of subjectification; the intransitivizing resultative of §9.2.4.(2) immediately comes to mind. But we will still need to state explicitly just WHICH situations will permit—or require—the ellipsis that leaves the gá-marked Identifier stranded while suppressing all other evidence of the cleft sentence we are assuming.

Nothing prevents us from making a cleft sentence out of an identificational sentence: (Aité wa onná da ←) Onná ga aité da ‘A/The WOMAN is the partner’ → Aité na no wa onná da ‘It is a/the woman that is the partner’. If the above argument is sound, this sentence must be derived by way of Onná ga aité na no da ‘A/The WOMAN is what the partner is’. Since, in theory at least, nominalization would appear to be recursive, we can ask whether it is possible to repeat the cleaving of a cleft sentence. Háha ga kodomo ni watasita no wa okasi da ‘It is sweets that the mother handed the child’—with assumed underlay of Okáši ga háha ga kodomo ni watasita no da ‘SWEETS is what the mother handed the child’—should lead, by way of Háha ga kodomo ni watasita no ga okáši da ‘WHAT THE MOTHER HANDED THE CHILD is sweets’, to Okáši wa háha ga kodomo ni watasita no da ‘Sweets is what the mother handed the child’ (to be differently interpreted from ‘It is a fact that the mother HANDED THE CHILD sweets’ with subdued thematization of the direct object okáši o).

We might think it possible to carry this process one step further and produce (*) Okáši ga háha ga watasita no ná no wa kodomo da ‘It’s the child that sweets is what the mother handed him’ from an underlying (*) Kodomo ga okáši ga háha ga watasita no ná no da ‘The CHILD is the one that it’s sweets is what the mother handed him’. But sentences are blocked by a rule that does not permit *S no ná no da to begin with (p. 253). Thus the following monstrities are all to be rejected not for clumsiness alone but for violating the rule as given:27

* Kodomo ga okáši ga háha ga watasita no ná no ná no wa kinóo da ‘It’s yesterday is when it’s the child that sweets is what the mother handed him’. ← * Kinóo ga kodomo ga okáši ga háha ga watasita no ná no ná no da ‘YESTERDAY is the one when it’s the child that sweets is what the mother handed him’.

* Kinóo ga okáši ga háha ga watasita no ná no ná no no wa uti de da ‘It’s home where it’s yesterday is when it’s the child that sweets is what the mother handed him’ ← * Uti ga kinóo ga okáši ga háha ga watasita no ná no ná no no da ‘HOME is where

25. An authentic example: Itiban mondai ná no wa Izyakunén-soo ni iateuru eikyo da ‘What is the biggest problem is the influence upon the young generation’ (SA 2647.119b) ← ... eikyoo ga itiban mondai ná no da. But mondai is an adjectival noun as well as a pure noun, so this example may not be convincing.

26. An authentic example: Síkámo II kono ikku no II möttō-mo II siba-siba II kikarerú no ga, II hokanaranu II soko ná no da ‘And it is precisely THERE that this phrase is heard most often’ (Maeda 1962.159).

27. In other words, when the sentence builder’s ingenuity overstrains the machinery by producing ... no ná no ... a light goes on that says “TLT” or “This problem will not compute”, and the grammarian puts an asterisk in front of his attempt.
§ 14.3. Verbal nouns

it’s yesterday is when it’s the child that sweets is what the mother handed him’.

Notice that the cleft sentence differs from the factual nominalization of § 14.2. It is possible (if unusual) to “factualize” a cleft sentence: Aitē na no wa onnā na no da ‘It is a fact that it is a/the woman that is the partner’ = Onnā ga aitē na no da ‘It is a fact that a/the WOMAN is the partner’.

14.3. VERBAL NOUNS

A number of words form predicates by attaching the auxiliary verb suru; most of these VERBAL NOUNS are borrowed from Chinese, but some are taken from English or are of native origin. There are both transitive and intransitive verbal nouns, and many carry specific grammar with them, just like verbs (§3.1). In addition to the expected nominalizations built on the auxiliary (suru koto, suru no, etc.), there are also special nominalizations which consist of simply dropping the auxiliary so as to leave only the verbal noun itself, with the specification of subject or object (or both) obscured by reduction to a “genitive” nó:

VN I (verbal noun, intransitive):
Kōogyōo ga dokuritū suru ‘Industry becomes (or is) independent’.

→ Kōogyōo no dokuritū ... ‘The independence of industry ...’.

VNT (verbal noun, transitive):
(1) Gakusya ga sizin o kenkyuu suru ‘Scholars study poets’.

(2) Sizin ga gakusya o kenkyuu suru ‘Poets study scholars’.

→ Gakusya no kenkyuu ... (1) ‘Study by the scholars ...’.

→ Sizin no kenkyuu ... (1) ‘Study of [= about] the scholars ...’.

Thus the sentence Gakusya no sizin no kenkyuu da is multiply ambiguous: (1) ‘It is a study, by scholars, of poets’; (2) ‘It is a study of scholars by poets’; (3) ‘It is a study by poet-scholars = poets who are scholars’ (gakusya no ➔ gakusya dā); (4) ‘It is a study about poet-scholars’; (5) ‘It is a study by scholar’s poets’ (gakusya no ➔ gakusya nó [monō] dā); (6) ‘It is a study about scholar’s poets’. Adjuncts other than subject and object need not lose their specification, for they can be adnominalized with their markers intact: Gaikoku dē [suru no] da ‘It is [happening] in foreign countries’ → Gaikoku dē no kenkyuu ... ‘Study [done] in foreign countries ...’.

A Japanese scholar once suggested creating by analogy the combinations *Ngāano and *N̄ō no to clear up the subject-object ambiguity: *Gakusya gā no kenkyuu ..., *Sizin ó no kenkyuu ..., etc. The status of the subject is sometimes made clear by adnominalizing suru: Gakusya ga/no suru kenkyuu ... ‘Study that scholars do ...’. But, for some reason, you can not say *Sizin ó suru kenkyuu ... ‘Study that one does on poets ...’. Other devices are available to make both subject and object explicit: sizin ni tuite no kenkyuu ‘study by poets’, sizin ni tuīte no kenkyuu ‘study about poets’.

Whether transitive or intransitive, verbal nouns can be treated as the object of the predicating suru and marked with ó, PROVIDED no other object is mentioned: Kōogyōo ga dokuritū o suru ‘Industry becomes independent’; Gakusya ga kenkyuu o suru ‘Scholars
do research'. Since (with the exception of the double objects discussed in §3.11.1) two marked objects are not normally permitted, you might think it unacceptable to subdue or highlight the object of the verbal noun if that verbal noun is itself marked with ő, but this turns out to be untrue: while you can not say *Kéizai ő kenkyuu ő suru 'does research on economics' (you will have to say Kéizai o kenkyuu suru or Kéizai no kenkyuu o suru) it is quite possible to say Kéizai wa/mo kenkyuu o suru. There are two ways we might explain this. One way would be to say that what is focused is not the object as such (= *kéizai ő wa/mo) but a THEME that has been extruded from an objectival genitive (kéizai no kenkyuu o suru 'does the study of economics'). Another way would be to assume that the unacceptable *Kéizai ő kenkyuu o suru is the underlying abstraction from which the acceptable Kéizai o kenkyuu suru (as well as Kéizai no kenkyuu o suru) is derived by obligatory conversion of one of the objects—either conversion of the verbal noun's object into an objective genitive or "incorporation" of the verbal noun into the auxiliary verb suru, i.e. verbalization of the verbal noun; that would be permit us to regard Kéizai wa/mo ... as an instance of focus applied directly to the underlying simplex. There is much to be said in favor of the latter viewpoint. As we have observed elsewhere, the basic form of a verb is actually the INFINITIVE, a kind of verbal noun; the finite forms can be regarded as coming from a contraction of an expression (*V-i suru postulated to account for V-ǐ foř wa/mo suru.

In Korean the corresponding structure allows both the object and (optionally) the verbal noun to be marked with the particle corresponding to the Japanese ő: kyengcęy ǔlu yenkuw ǚ/l/u hanta 'studies economics'.

Free verbal nouns make a potential only by way of the expression suru kotó ga dekibur, for VN saseru can be taken only as passive or as subject-exalting (depending on the marking of the adjuncts), though VN sasereru can also have the potential meaning 'can cause one to do VN'. VN suru kotó ga dekíruru can be shortened to VN ga dekírurur, but the shortening with VN ga is unusual (or unacceptable?) if the verbal noun carries adjuncts.

The designation "verbal noun" can be used to refer to at least four different kinds of words. We will distinguish FREE verbal nouns, QUASI-FREE verbal nouns, BOUND verbal nouns, and PSEUDO verbal nouns. A bound verbal noun is never separated from suru. A free verbal noun can, under certain circumstances, be marked with ga or o and separated from suru, but typically the marking is suppressed and an audible juncture intervenes only when suru is converted into some longish phrase after a tonic verbal noun, e.g. áisatu sinákattara 'unless one were to greet'. (For details, see Martin 1970.) Free verbal nouns can usually serve also as subject, object, etc.; but adjuncts, if carried along, must be genitivized (or predicated and adnominalized) with nó. Quasi-free verbal nouns can, under certain circumstances, be separated from suru by a juncture, but not by ga/ó or wa/mó. Both free and quasi-free verbal nouns will permit the reduction of the potential VN [saru kotó ga] dekíru; bound verbal nouns will not.

Pseudo verbal nouns are ACTION nouns or ABSTRACT nouns that can be predicated with the auxiliary suru—and thus resemble verbal nouns—but normally require marking with ga or o, though the markers will sometimes casually drop: mane [o] suru 'imitates', mǐbāe(‘) [ga] suru 'makes a good appearance', ... . As phrases, these expressions are intransitive; to say 'imitates a person' you say hito no mane o suru (= hito o maneru). By

28. And suru itself, at an earlier stage, was perhaps derived from sí [ga] worú 'there exists the doing' (by appropriate contraction and vowel assimilation), i.e. the infinitive sí ści-i + the auxiliary wo. ⟨bo-+ +ru, as suggested in Martin 1968.
way of contrast, you can say 'takes care of a person' either as hito no sewa o suru or as hito o sewa suru, for sewa is a free verbal noun. The final accent of sewa—and of annai 'guiding'—never drops when a form of suru is added; compare aisatu i sinakattara and its minor juncture with sewa sinakattara and annai sinakattara, I here report Hamako Chaplin's usage. Apparently there are other speakers who will say sewa sinakattara and annai sinakattara, reflecting an underlying juncture that suppresses the final accent of the verbal noun before itself disappearing. Other oxytonic verbal nouns: sikī [o] suru 'directs'; henzi [o] suru 'replies' (henzi sita no wa, BJ 2.312.E5), dangēn [o] suru 'asserts', kegā [o] suru 'has an accident, injures oneself', tabī [o] suru 'journeys', ... ) The accentuation of ai-suru 'loves' usually follows the patterns you would expect for a vowel verb: ai-sita, ai-sinakattara, ai-simasēn desita, etc. But some speakers will heed an underlying juncture before the longer forms and say ai-sinakattara, ai-simasēn desita, etc. That option is even more often chosen, it would appear, for koi-suru 'loves'; perhaps that is because koi is a native noun (derived from the infinitive 'beg; love') and koi o suru will be used, though (*)ai o suru would be unusual. A few pseudo verbal nouns of Japanese origin: (hito to) naka-nāōi [o] suru 'gets back on good terms (with a person)'; o-syāberi [o] suru 'chatters' (cf. o-syaberi suru, the object-exalting conversion of syabēru—rarely used); sayonāra [o] suru 'takes one's farewell, say goodbye'—cf. ... bunmei-syākai ni o-sāraba site ... 'bidding farewell to civilized society' (SA 2661.133c), in which the last phrase represents a synonym of o-sāraba o tuge te; ... Pseudo verbal nouns have various origins; mane is a noun derived from the infinitive of a transitive verb 'mimic', and many action nouns are similarly derived from infinitives. A number of action nouns made with the suffixes -mono (typically attached to a verb infinitive) and "koto -goto function as pseudo verbal nouns: kaimono 'shopping', araimono 'washing (up)'; Tutōmete iru to, î okeiko-gōto(*) ga l dekinai kara 'Because I can't do any lesson-taking while I'm employed' (SA 2672.64c). It is not easy to draw the line between free verbal nouns and pseudo verbal nouns; most of the latter are listed in one dictionary or another as "also verbal nouns". The function of suru in predetermining these action nouns, however, is not so different from the use of suru to predicate a sensory stimulus: oto ga suru 'makes a noise', niōi ga suru 'emits an odor', kanzi ga suru 'a feeling is present/felt', zutuu ga suru 'has a headache', okan ga suru 'catches a cold', ... We can compare this with the use of suru as a general pro-verb used to take the place of many (but not all) more specific verbs: denwa o suru/kake ru 'makes a phone call', o-kan o suru/tukēru 'heats the wine', nēkkuresu o suru/tukēru 'wears a necklace', mēgan o suru/kakēru 'wears glasses', ōbi (nēkutai, bāndo, bēruto) o suru/simēru 'wears a sash (necktie, belt)', yubiwa (tebukuro) o suru/hameru 'wears a ring (gloves)' (But suru will not substitute for other verbs of wearing, such as kiru, haku, etc.) Perhaps these examples belong here: Dē mo î raisukāre no î NEDAN ga î sen-en mo surū n da î zē 'But the price of rice curry costs (= is) a whole thousand yen!' (SA 2640.106a); Watasi no o i wall kāta made î tarēru î KAMI o site itâ no de aru 'My nephew had [= was wearing] his hair down to his shoulders, you see' (SA 2684.40a); Yō ni mo l osorōsiî î KAO o sita otōkō ... 'A man with the most frightful face ...' (R); Nān da î, î ano san-ban "mē no wa î ... nān tee î kitanee î SIRÎ o site 'rū n da î 'Look at that third one—what a dirty bottom he's displaying!' (Okitsu 1.228). We might regard most of these cases as simple ellipsis of the specific verb infinitive, for we are taking the view that ALL verbs contain the auxiliary

29. Kegā can take a body part as direct object: asî o kegā suru 'injures one's leg' = asî ni kegā toî suru 'injures oneself on the leg'.
‘do’ within them, having found that that accounts for the appearance of suru under nuclear focus (§5) as well as (perhaps) the historical development of the finite shapes: tegami o kaku is an obligatory shortening of tegami o kâ[k i ... sur]u and denwa o kakér[u is an obligatory shortening of denwa o kâk[e... sur]u.

The vast majority of free and quasi-free verbal nouns are binoms that were either Chinese loanwords to begin with or were made up in Japan out of morphemes borrowed from Chinese. But some are of Japanese origin: dâkko suru ‘embraces’, ônbu suru ‘carries on the back’, nâmîda suru ‘weeps’ (free because you can say nâmîda mo sezu ‘without a tear’); ne-age suru ‘raises the price of’ (transitive according to MKZ), a compound of a noun ‘price’ + the transitive infinitive ‘raise’; tomâdôi(←) ‘losing one’s bearings’, a compound of a noun ‘door’ + the noun madoi derived from an intransitive verb infinitive; ?kôi suru (= koi-sûru) ‘loves’, from the noun derived from a transitive verb infinitive; ... .

There are also many free and quasi-free verbal nouns taken from English: sutorâikî [o] suru ‘goes on strike’, kotobô o mâtûta suru ‘masters a language’, onnâ nî/o kî[.]sûru ‘kisses a girl’, seikaku o enyôi suru ‘enjoys life’; tyârenzi [suru kotô ga] dekîrû ‘can challenge’, ... . From the Chinese binom found in imî su suru ‘has meaning, makes sense’ we would expect the reduction in the same unusual way (?!î•-sûru, ?î•-site, ?î•-sita, ...), but we will follow MKZ in considering it to be a free verbal noun only, reduced from in [o] suru; another free verbal noun is ızî suru ‘maintains’ (ızî site). Words derived from verbal nouns are not necessarily verbal nouns themselves: taìmen ‘encounter, interview’ is used as a free verbal noun, but syo-taìmen ‘first encounter/interview’ is not.

A few native words are bound verbal nouns, i.e., they are not separated from the auxiliary suru, at least not in the meaning intended: (môno o) watakû-sîru ‘appropriates (things)’, (N nî) kûmî-sûru ‘takes part (in N), joins (N)’, (N o) yomi-sûru(←) ‘sings the praises (of N)’, (N nî) kôkô-sûru ‘pays attention (to N), attends to (N)’, (tyuûmoku nî) atai-sûru ‘is worthy (of attention)’, (N nî) hukairi(←)suru ‘delves deep (into N)’, (ekimâe(←) nî) tamuro-sûru ‘encamps (in front of the station)’, ... . Kêmî-sûru ‘lets (years) elapsed; investigates’ derives from an old variant of the Chinese morpheme KEN; a synonym in the first meaning is es-sûru(←) (ETU), which also has the meaning ‘peruses’. Are there any bound verbal nouns taken from English?

Most one-morpheme verbal nouns of Chinese origin are bound, but a few also serve as free verbal nouns: hitônî gai Ô suru means ‘does harm to a person’ and hitô o gai-sûru means ‘harms a person’. Sôn suru (notice the accent) is simply a shortening of sôn o suru ‘causes damage’; the bound version is son-širû(←) ‘damages’. Other examples: tokû [o] suru ‘provides benefit (to)’, syaku [o] suru ‘serves the wine’, rî [o] suru ‘bows’, kân(←) [o] suru ‘heats the wine’, bàn [o] suru ‘stands guard’, hûn [o] suru ‘(a dog) defecates’ (cf. N nî hun-sûru ‘takes the role of N’), rûkû [o] suru ‘lives in comfort’ ... .

One-morpheme bound verbal nouns of Chinese origin fall into two classes: those that voice the initial sibilant of the auxiliary and those that do not. The latter is the larger

30. Sôn [o] suru is intransitive; son-širû(←) is both intransitive and (= kôwâsû) transitive, but it is obsolescent in the standard colloquial language. (It also functions as a semi-literary infinitive-auxiliary, §9.1.10.)
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group, containing well over a hundred different morpheme shapes—and some shapes represent several different morphemes. In Literary Japanese these verbal nouns attach the predicating auxiliary in the same forms as are used for the two-morpheme free verbal nouns: the imperfect attributive is ...-suru and the predicative ...-su; the negative is ...-sezu, the infinitive ...-si. For the colloquial language, we would expect the predicative to be replaced by the attributive, giving ...-suru in all cases, and look for new negatives to appear in the form ...-sanai. But this pattern is in competition with a colloquial treatment of the very common ones as if they were regular s-ending verbs (treating ka-suru ‘assigns’ like kasu ‘lends’): ...-su for the imperfect (both predicative and attributive), ...-sanai for the negative, and ...-si for the infinitive. A word like ryaku-suru ‘abbreviates’ will have the imperfect ryakū-su as a common option, and from that we get ryaku-sanai competing with ryaku-sanai; you will also find ryaku-sāzu and possibly ryaku-sīzu, though most speakers feel more comfortable with ryaku-sezu, since (in Tōkyō, at least) this negative ending -(a)zu is not very colloquial, to begin with. (An example of zoku-sāzu ‘not belonging’ appears in SA 2680.101.) For a list of bound verbal nouns see KKK Shiryō-shū 7.248–9.

In the Japanese of Hamako Chaplin, one-morpheme Chinese bound verbal nouns show varying degrees of assimilation to the native Japanese pattern of verbs that end in /s/. We can set up the following groups on the basis of the criteria stated:

(1) Highly assimilated. Accepted are: -su daroo (as well as -soru daroo), -sanai (as well as -sainai), and -su N (as well as -suru N):

yaku- ‘translate’
ryaku- ‘abbreviate’

zoku- ‘belong’

huku- ‘serve’
zyuku- ‘ripen’

The verb monō-su [ru] ‘does; writes’ probably belongs here, though it is of native origin. Chaplin prefers -sainai and -sāzu for the negative. Cf. yado-su ‘provides with shelter for the night’, for which the -suru form is unusual except in the object-exalting o-yado suru.

(2) Well assimilated. Accepted are: -sainai (as well as -sinai) and -su N (as well as -suru N), but NOT -su daroo for -suru daroo:

ka- ‘assign, assess’
ki- ‘anticipate’
to- ‘wager’
zi- ‘resign’
gyo- ‘control’
yoo- ‘need’ (-sinai Tk 4.193b)
guu- ‘treat’
kyoo- ‘offer’
syoo- ‘call’

tyoo- ‘collect, solicit’
hun- ‘impersonate’
taku- ‘entrust’
yoku- ‘bathe’
eki- ‘benefit’
teki- ‘fit’
hai- ‘bow’
gai- ‘harm’

(3) Less well assimilated.

(3a) Although -sainai is accepted, reservations are expressed about -su N:

in- ‘imprint’
hen- ‘incline’

(3b) Although -sainai is accepted, -su N is rejected in favor of -suru N:

haku- ‘obtain’
oku- ‘flinch’
soku- ‘conform’

geki- ‘get excited’
han- ’oppose’
men- ‘face’

31. And probably ka1- ‘insert, go between’: ... sukōshi mo i ni kai-sānai no de aru ‘doesn’t mind in the least’ (Fn 43b). An example of ‘understand’: Bunmei o kai-sainai hito da ‘He has no understanding (= appreciation) of culture’ (Tk 3.231a).
(4) Of questionable assimilation. Although -su N is accepted, reservations are expressed about -sanai:

- wa- ‘harmonize’
- yuu- ‘possess’
- hyoo- ‘criticize’

Note: Here also belongs hos- < hori- ‘desire’, of native origin.

(5) Still largely unassimilated. Although -su N is accepted (despite its ungrammaticality in LITERARY Japanese), -sanai is rejected:

- da- ‘descend’
- ga- ‘celebrate’
- ha- ‘dispatch’
- sya- ‘thank’
- za- ‘sit’
- yyo- ‘divide, exclude’
- hu- ‘affix; refer’
- goo- ‘name, declare’
- koo- ‘resist’
- ryoo- ‘govern’
- soo- ‘perform, play’
- tyuu- ‘put to death’
- tai- ‘confront’
- sei- ‘control’
- rui- ‘be akin/similar to’
- sen- ‘proclaim’

(6) Probably unassimilated.

(6a) Reservations are expressed about -sanai; -su N is rejected:

- doku- ‘poison’

(6b) Reservations are expressed about -su N; -sanai is rejected:

- ma- ‘graze, scrape’
- gi- ‘discuss’
- i- ‘entrust’
- mi- ‘charm’
- go- ‘rank’
- mo- ‘mimic’
- roo- ‘labor’

(7) Unassimilated. The forms are -suru N, -sainai:

- do- ‘reclaim, redeem’
- (・)si- ‘regard as’
- kyuu- ‘stop, rest’
- hei- ‘invite, engage, enlist’

32. Yet here is an example of gi-sanai, in a jocular context: Tō-ni-kaku giin na n da kara, gi-sánakya ikemasēn yō ‘But since they are “giin” (Diet members) they’ve got to “gi” (deliberate)’ (Tk 4.17a).
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| Kei- 'respect' | Sis- 'lose, forget' (SITU) |
| Mei- 'close one's eyes; find repose' | Boku- 'foretell; choose' |
| Kan- 'relate (to)' | Moku- 'be silent' |
| Ken- 'investigate'; control' | Roku- 'carve; control' |
| Hin- 'verge (on)' | (Toku- 'benefit'—see separately) |
| Son- 'exist' |

Dictionaries are inconsistent in their treatment of these troublesome words, though some attempt is usually made to list the short forms in common use; one dictionary (K) lists róó-su as well as róo-suru for the meanings 'labors' and 'jests' but not for the meaning 'deafens'. Most of the words do not readily undergo exaltation conversions; the only forms clearly acceptable are these:

- o-sas-si náru and o-sas-si suru from sas-súru("'); surmises—but perhaps this is because there is a noun sassi derived from the infinitive sás-si('');
- o-kai-si ni náru from kai-súru 'understands' (but not *o-kai-si suru);
- o-taku-si ni náru from taku-súru 'entrusts' (but not *o-taku-si suru);
- o-hun-si ni náru from hun-súru 'impersonates' (but not *o-hun-si suru);
- o-yaku-si ni náru from yaku-súru 'translates' (but not *o-yaku-si suru);
- o-tas-si suru from tas-súru in the meaning 'reports' (But not *o-tas-si ni náru nor the humble form in other meanings of tas-súru).

Most of these bound verbal nouns resist voice conversions. Hamako Chaplin accepts the following (those in parenthesis with reservations):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBAL NOUN</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE</th>
<th>POTENTIAL</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VE - assign, assess'</td>
<td>(-saseru)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-)si- 'regard as'</td>
<td>(-si-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyo- 'control'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syo- 'handle'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<td>(+)</td>
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<tr>
<td>To- 'wager'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<td>(+)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hyoo- 'criticize'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyoo- 'offer'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syoo- 'call'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<td>(+)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guu- 'treat'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyuu- 'put to death'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hai- 'bow'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
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<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai- 'understand'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hei- 'invite, engage, enlist'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen- 'proclaim'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hun- 'impersonate'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bas- 'punish'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das- 'doff; omit; escape'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sas- 'conjecture'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tas- 'reach'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tes- 'penetrate'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is- 'let slip, deviate'</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. In is-senai, the negative.
VERBAL NOUN | CAUSATIVE | POTENTIAL | PASSIVE
--- | --- | --- | ---
baku- 'refute' |  | (+) | (+)
ryaku- 'abbreviate' | (+) | (+) | (+)
saku- 'plan' |  |  | (+)
taku- 'entrust' |  |  | (+)
yaku- 'translate' | (+) | (+) | (+)
doku- 'poison' |  |  | (+)
yoku- 'bathe' | (+) | (+) | (+)
zoku- 'belong' | (+) | (+) | (+)
zyuku- 'ripen' | (+) |  |  |

For the passive you will sometimes see the pseudo-literary -serareru in place of -sareru: ... to syoo-serareru monó ... 'those that are called ...' (Tk 4.95b). (The true literary form is -sareruru/-sareru.) Cf. pp. 289, 297.

A number of the bound verbal nouns are little used and speakers are familiar with them in but one or two forms, perhaps the gerund (-site) or the perfect (-sita). That is why I have not included in the lists above gi-suru 'models after; likens to', hi-suru 'compares', (seikatsu ni) kyuu-suru 'is in need (for one's livelihood)', kyuusuru 'supplies', sen-suru 'compiles, composes', roku-suru 'records', etc., since I have been unable to obtain reliable information on them as colloquial words.

There are about 35 different shapes of bound verbal nouns coming from single morphemes of Chinese that cause voicing of the sibilant of the auxiliary, turning s into z. The best known, perhaps, is kan-ziru/-zuru 'feels'; there is even a noun kanzi 'feeling' derived from the infinitive kan-zi 'feel'. The usual colloquial practice treats these words as regular vowel verbs ending in ...-zi, so that the imperfect is ...-zuru, the negative ...-zinai, and the infinitive ...-zi. But there is a conflicting trend from the literary versions, which have imperfect attributive ...-zuru, predicative ...-zu, negative ...-zezu, and infinitive ...-zi. Since in Tōkyō the -(a)zu negative is not very colloquial anyway, many speakers feel more comfortable with ...-zezu than with ...-zizuru, but the latter also occurs: ... yooji ni sin-zizuru(\(\)\), ... 'does not easily trust/believe' (SA 2674.94c); ... kirin no yō na monō no hirogaru no o kan-zizuru ni wa irarenai 'I can't help feeling the spread of something like a fog ...' (SA 2647.88c). And the passive has the colloquial version ...-zirareru in competition with the pseudo-literary ...-zerareru (the genuine literary being ...-zeraruru/-zeraru). For more on the negative and passive forms, see §4. The imperative is ...-ze yo: kin-zé yo 'ban them' (SA 2684.45b).

Most of the sibilant-voicing verbal nouns are morphemes which ended in a nasal in classical Chinese (cf. Lewin 130); but a number of such morphemes belong in the other class, e.g. han-suru 'opposes'. The final velar nasal of many Chinese morphemes turned into a high vowel in Japanese, and the high vowel (\(\text{i or u}\)) in turn assimilated to make the modern long vowels we write with ei and oo. Moreover, a few of the morphemes that belong to the -ziru group never had a nasal in Chinese: too-ziru(\(\)\) 'throws' < DHEU, kooziru(\(\)\) 'gets aggravated' < KAU, and hoo-ziru(\(\)\) 'reports' < PAU. Eight of these verbal nouns do not come from Chinese at all, though they are treated just like those that do: omon-ziru(\(\)\) 'values' is said to be from omo-mi 'heaviness' + suru; karon-ziru 'belittles' is said to be from karomi, a variant of karu-mi 'lightness', + suru; aman-ziru 'contents one-
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self with’ is from ama-mi ‘sweetness’ + suru; yasun-ziru ‘is contented with’ is from yasu-mi ‘ease’ + suru; uton-ziru ‘is cold toward’ is from uto-mi ‘alienation’ + suru; gaen-ziru ‘consents’ is said to be from kae ni suru; sakin-ziru ‘goes ahead’ is from saki ni suru; soran-ziru ‘memorizes’ is from sóra ni suru.

Of the auxiliary-voicing bound verbal nouns, only one seems to be used with object-exaltung: o-an-zi suru/itasu ‘I worry (about you)’. And none, it appears, will make a short potential, though the passive -zirareru is sometimes used with potential meaning. The other possibilities that are acceptable to Hamako Chaplin as colloquial forms are listed below, with parentheses indicating reservations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBAL NOUN</th>
<th>-ziru</th>
<th>-zuru</th>
<th>-zinai</th>
<th>-zezu</th>
<th>-zisaseru</th>
<th>-zirareru</th>
<th>ni naru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ei - ‘be reflected’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mei - ‘command’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doo - ‘be agitated’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoo - ‘requisite; report’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koo - ‘get aggravated’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyoo - ‘amuse oneself’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo - ‘respond, comply’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syoo - ‘invite’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syoo - ‘produce, generate; happen’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too - ‘throw’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyoo - ‘grow up; excel’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>zyoo - ‘multiply; take advantage of’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huu - ‘seal; enclose’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuu - ‘get/put through’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an - ‘worry’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan - ‘discuss, negotiate’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan-/tan- ‘twang, play’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan - ‘feel’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san - ‘go’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen - ‘deduct, lessen’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ken - ‘present’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men - ‘dismiss; exempt’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sen - ‘decort’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten - ‘rotate, change’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten - ‘drop; ignite; make tea’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gin - ‘chant, recite’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin - ‘forbid’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nin - ‘appoint’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin - ‘trust’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin - ‘state’</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. Yet here is an example from print: Sinbun ni hoo-ziraretara (+) || kōzin no | nenrei wa || gozuyō ni sai datta no de aru ‘The age reported in the newspapers for the deceased was 52’ (SA 2793.122a).
35. Mū kara yū wa syoo-zinai n da ‘Out of nothing, nothing comes’ (Tk 4.266b); cf. ‘You don’t get something for nothing’.
### VERBAL NOUN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>-ziru</th>
<th>-zuru</th>
<th>-zinai</th>
<th>-zesu</th>
<th>-zisaseru</th>
<th>-ziraruru</th>
<th>o-...-i ni naru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kon-‘blend’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son-‘damage’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kun-‘perfume’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zyun-‘apply correspondingly’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zyun-‘sacrifice one’s life’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aman-‘content oneself’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soran-‘memorize’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaen-‘consent’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>sakin-‘go ahead’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karon-‘belittle’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omon-‘value’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uton-‘be cold toward’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most bound verbal nouns are TONIC: ka-su’ru, ka-site, ka-sinai, ...; yaku-su’ru, yoo-su’ru, tai-su’ru, kan-su’ru, ... The exceptions are as follows:  

1. Although younger speakers treat as tonic those bound verbal nouns that end in a voiceless consonant (-s from a morphophonemic -TU or rarely -[P]U), older speakers treat them as atonic: sas-su’ru(-), bas-su’ru(-), kis-su’ru(-), ...  

2. Although younger speakers treat as tonic those bound verbal nouns that end in a long vowel (including ei) and voice the auxiliary sibilant, older speakers treat them as atonic: ei-ziru(-), kyoo-ziru(-), oo-ziru(-), ... But tuu-ziru ‘communicates (etc.)’ has only the atonic version.  

3. Most instances of ...n-ziru are optionally tonic or atonic: sin-ziru(-), omon-ziru(-), ... But kan-ziru ‘feels’ has only the atonic version, and seven of the eight native Japanese bound verbal nouns are always tonic: aman-, kanon-, gaen-, uton-, yasun-, sakin-, soran-ziru; cf. omon-ziru(-). Cf. Akinaga 65 in NHK. The foreign student is advised to treat all bound verbal nouns as tonic except for kan-ziru and tuu-ziru.

Two suffixes are especially productive in deriving verbal nouns from free nouns (typically Chinese binoms): ‘ka(-)’ ‘-ize’ and ‘si ‘regard as’. The suffix ‘ka(-)’ attaches to abstract nouns, and perhaps a few adjectival nouns, to form free verbal nouns that can be used both intransitively (-ize = become) and transitively (-ize = make it into). This means that Amerikä-ka(-) suru in one interpretation (intransitive) is logically equivalent to Amerikä-ka(-) sareru ‘is Americanized’, the pure passive of the other interpretation. The verbal noun can be accentuated on the penultimate or treated as atonic, in free variation: kan’i-ka(-) ‘simplification’, kan’i-ka(-) suru ‘it simplifies; simplifies it’; kikai-ka(-) ‘mechanization’, kikai-ka(-) suru ‘it gets mechanized; mechanizes it’; goori-ka(-) ‘rationalization’, goori-ka(-) suru ‘it gets rationalized (= put on a rational basis); rationalizes it’.

The suffix ‘si normally yields BOUND verbal nouns (transitive) that are accentuated on the penultimate syllable: ... hito o hakugan-si-suru ‘looks askance at people, looks coldly

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36. And occasionally other types of nouns: konpyuutaa-ka(-) ‘computerization’ from konpyuutaa ‘computer’, rekoodo-ka(-) ‘recording’ from rekoodo; zyuuukagakukogyoo-ka(-) ‘heavy-chemical industrialization’ = conversion to heavy-chemical industries’ from zyuuukagakukogyoo ‘heavy-chemical industry’.
upon a person’; ... azi o dogai-si-site ‘ru, ... ‘they neglect flavor ...’ (SA 2689.55b);
... danzetu o kadai-si-suru ‘overestimates the generation gap’ (SA 2680.29d); ... hoo o zettai-si-site kangaeru koto wa dekina ‘We can not think of the law from such an absolute viewpoint’ (SA 2677.51d); ... sono teido(*) de ’Asakusa ga l tai-nao ru ka l doo ka, l gimon-si-suru l kankai-sya ga l ooo ‘there are many in the business who regard it as doubtfull whether at this rate Asakusa can get back on its feet’ (SA 2658.11e); ... sude ni MIKI l Takeo-si no l rikko-oo ga l kakuzutii-si-sarete l iru ga ... ‘Mr MIKI Takeo’s candidacy is already regarded as certain but ...’ (SA 2689.136a); ... yuuboo-si-si-sarete iru ‘is regarded as hopeful’; ... mondai-si-sarete kita ‘has come to be regarded as a problem’ (Y 269).

But ’si can be attached to nouns, compound nouns, and even phrases, of quite diverse origin: ... tabuu-si-sarete ita ‘which had been regarded as tabu’ (SA 2677.117b); Sore de!! daitizi-taisen no l Pari no l koowa-kagi ni l toki ni wa, l Kono san ga l kikenzinbutu-si-
sarete ita ‘And so at the time of the Paris peace conference of World War I Mr Kono was regarded as a dangerous character’ (Tanigawa 39); Ziki-seiken no l hommedi-si-sareru l
Hukuda l Takeo-si wa l doo ka ‘What about Mr Takeo Fukuda, who is regarded as the likely winner of political power next?’ (SA 2663.116d); Toto wai, l sekai no l Kurosawa mo, l
itibu de wa l ‘kako no l hito’-si-sare, l ‘ima-sara(‘) de l meku de mo l nakaro ni’ l to l hiyakasi-hanbun de l mukaeru muki mo l sukunaaku l nai ‘But the world-famous
Kurosawa himself is regarded as a ‘has-been’ in some quarters, and there are quite a few who will greet it [= the film] half-teasingly with ‘You wouldn’t have expected to see him getting involved with it any more’’ (SA 2658.110a); ... ‘igaku no l dendo’-si-sarete l kita l daigaku-byooin ... ‘the university hospitals which have come to be regarded as ‘sanctuaries of medical science’ ...’ (SA 2660.146). For this reason, a good argument can made to treat (‘si-si-suru as a subtype of ‘postnominal verb’ (§3.13)—the only one that is itself a bound verbal noun SI- ‘regarding’, a single morpheme of Chinese origin. The unusual characteristic is that the bound verbal noun is bound on BOTH sides, as the hyphens above indicate. If we are forced to choose one or the other, the grammatical constituency would favor retaining the second hyphen: “igaku no dendoo”-si-sarete. But the juncture and accentuation would favor retaining the first hyphen: “igaku no dendoo’-si-sarete. So I have retained both. In part, our problem with (‘si(-) can be compared with the situations we face in deciding how to treat postnominal verbs, quasi-restrictives, and quasi-suffixes or postnouns such as the collectivizers (ra, tati, etc.) and short titles (kun, si; san; etc.). Notice that in tokubetu-si-suru ‘regards as special’ and doottu-si-suru ‘regards as identical’, the syllable tu unvoices (whispers) its vowel but does not fully assimilate to the following s, so you do not say *tokubessi- or *doosissi.-

The infinitive-derived noun atukai ‘handling, dealing with’ is attached to free nouns to form a compound noun meaning ‘treating as’: siroo-to-atukai ‘treating one as an amateur’, zyamamono-atukai ‘treating one as unwanted (as a nuisance)’, mamako-atukai ‘treating one as a stepchild’, tanin-atukai ‘treating one as a stranger’, kodomo-atukai ‘treating one as a child’, hanzaisya-atukai ‘treating one like a criminal’, .... These nouns can be used as subjects or objects: tagsakutu-atukai o ukuru ‘receives the treatment of a hick = gets treated as a hick’, .... Most of them can also be used as transitive verbal nouns: A ga B o N-atukai suru, A ga B ni taisite N-atukai o suru, B ga A ni N-atukai sareru, etc.: Are wa l kitigai-
atukai l sareta n desu, l kyonen ‘He got treated like a madman, last year’ (Tk 3.56a). For some you will also find A ga B o N-atukai ni suru: Kare wa kann-zyo o mamako-atukai ni suru ‘A treats B as a stepchild’; Mooretu-syain to iu l kangeka-kata no l naka ni wa ll ...
Free verbal nouns enjoy a fair number of options for ellipsis. One example is when the negative and affirmative forms of the same verbal noun are juxtaposed; there is no need to repeat the verbal noun itself: Onazi ume no mon' o o t tabete HATUBYOO suru hito to \( I \) sinai hito ga \( I \) deru n desu \( I \) ne. \( I \) Naze ka \( I \) na 'Eating the same seafood some people get sick and some do not, you see. I wonder why' (SA 2681.44a); Zimin-too ga \( I \) koko de I BOOSOO suru ka, \( I \) sinai ka, \( I \) to iu mondai ni narimasu y o 'It is a problem of whether the Liberal Democratic Party will run wild or not' (SA 2663.20a); SÁSIZU suru mon' o mo, \( I \) sareru mon' o mo, \( I \) tómo(-) ni \( I \) wakai kara, \( I \) naniwa-bushi no eikyou nanka \( I \) ûkete 'nai to \( I \) ganbaru ka mo sirenai 'Those directing [the TV programs] and those being directed alike are all young, so without such effects as the naniwa-bushi singing they may have to try harder' (SA 2662.32d). In journalistic style, especially in headlines, the auxiliary forms suru, sita, and si[te] are often omitted. The reader must rely on the context to fill in the missing elements: \( I \) kóo(-) wa \( I \) gogo \( I \) go-zi[ni], \( I \) Haneda-kúukoo ni I TOOTYAKU [si(te)], \( I \) tádáti ni kaizyoo ni mukatta 'The party arrived at Haneda airport at 5 pm and immediately headed for the convention hall' (Hayashi 86). We have observed earlier (§ 5) that the infinitive si optionally drops when a verbal noun takes nuclear focus: Sono kóo wa \( I \) ima no yoo na \( I \) zyootai ni naru koto wa \( I \) YOSOO [si] mo sarenakatta? 'At that time you didn't even imagine that things would come to the sort of situation they are in now?' (SA 2662.44a). It is possible to join two verbal nouns directly; in texts this is sometimes signalled by a raised centered dot (cf. § 2.8), but usually there will be no indication in the printed text: ... kore o koo\( I \) kenkyuu sita mono 'those who have lectured and/or researched on this' (KKK 3.81).

When read aloud, the direct conjoining may be signaled by juncture: ... kiri'oo ni hiki-tuzuki I Konkóorudo ga \( I \) ririku \( I \) tyakuriku \( I \) suru sai no \( I \) soo'oo o \( I \) menmitu ni \( I \) sirabéru \( I \) kotó ni site orimáasu 'continuing yesterday's investigation they are closely checking on the noise made each time the Concorde takes off or lands' (R). But sometimes the ellipsis is more complicated, as when N ni soo'oo suru N is propredicated as N[ni] soo'oo no N: Sosite, \( I \) seikatu ni hituyoo na monó mo \( I \) soro'zore \( I \) mi bun \( I \) soo'oo no monó de I áru 'béki I koto wa ... 'And then the fact that the things essential to life should be things that correspond respectively to one's status ... ' (SA 2659.117e).

Sometimes ellipsis or propredication will leave a stranded object before the verbal noun: Watasi wa \( I \) kono sántatu \( I \) úmaku I ikéball dezain-gákkoo o l sutogyoo [surú no] dësu \( I \) will graduate from design school this March if all goes well'; Yo-ken mae, \( I \) Toodai-hoogakúbu I l sutogyoo [suru] to dôoziz(-) ni \( I \) keisatu-tyoo ni \( I \) háiri, \( I \) ... 'Four years ago upon graduating from the law faculty of Tókyó University he joined the police department and ... ' (SA 2656.50c); Kaisya o \( I \) sooritoo no sai, \( I \) ... 'At the time they founded the company ... '. Cf. V-i-hazime no N, § 9.1.7.

Free verbal nouns are made potential by adding suru koto ga dek'iru, but ellipsis is possible: Dáre ga náni o gáman [suru koto ga] dek'iru 'Who can stand what?'. And the object of a transitive verbal noun can replace o by ga when the ellipsis is chosen: Dáre ni/ga náni ga gáman dek'iru 'Who can stand what?'. The underlying marking may be obscured by focus: Watakusi wa anmari kóokoo mo [suru koto ga] dekimásen de ... 'I have been unable to do very much for my parents ... ' (R) \( \leftarrow \) kóokoo fô mo.
§ 14.4. VERBAL-NO UN RENOMINALIZATIONS: "tyuu, "go(\text{-})", "zen; "zumi.

Nouns referring to times or events can attach quasi-restrictives (§2.4) the three Sino-Japanese temporal suffixes "tyuu 'during', "go(\text{-}) 'after', and "zen 'before': senso "tyuu = senso-tyuu 'during the war', senso "go(\text{-})' = senso-go(\text{-}) = sengo 'after the war', senso "zen' = senso-zen (= senzen) 'before the war'. There are various lexically determined limitations; despite gozen "tyuu = gozen-tyuu 'during the morning' there is no *gozen-zen nor *gozen-go(\text{-}). And the restrictive "mae often replaces "zen: senso "mae 'before the war'. The suffix "tyuu appears to enjoy a somewhat wider range than the other two; it is to be distinguished from the etymologically identical quasi-restrictive "zyuu (< "tyuu-) which means 'all through (a time or place)', as you can see from the minimal contrast of Yasumi "tyuu da (= Yasumi-tyuu da) 'It is during the vacation' with Yasumi "zyuu da (= Yasumi-zyuu da) 'It is the entire vacation'.

Any verbal noun of appropriate aspect can attach "tyuu da to mean 'is in the midst of doing = is doing'.\textsuperscript{37} The meaning is very close to, or perhaps identical with, one of the meanings of V-te iru; we might wish to treat the renominalization as a conversion from that: Sanpo site iru 'He is taking a walk' \rightarrow Sanpo "tyuu da 'He is in the midst of a walk'. But it makes better sense to treat the form as an abbreviation of site iru s\=ai-tyuu da 'is in the (very) midst of doing': sanpo [site iru s\=ai]tyuu da.\textsuperscript{38}

Why do we consider this a kind of nominalization conversion of the verbal noun, rather than a simple lexical derivation? There are two reasons. In the first place, the expression is open to ANY verbal noun capable of taking the V-te iru continuative conversion (thus excluding punctual verbs, possessive verbs, etc.), with no lexical restrictions. In the second place, adjuncts remain intact, with no change in marking: Kaisya ga/de syukusya o kentiku site iru 'The company is building dormitories' \rightarrow Kaisya ga/de syukusya o kentiku "tyuu da 'The company is in the midst of building dormitories'; Tad\=aima \=kono hik\=oo-ki wa \=k\=osima no l zyookuu o hikoo "tyuu de gozaimasu 'Right now this airplane is in flight over \=O\=shima' (R); O\=toosan ga l n\=e, \=k\=ore o kiru ka i kir\=aanai ka, \=s\=i\=an "tyuu n\=a n da 'Father is undecided whether to cut this or not' (V 1972.165); K\=are wa l kar\=o o \=war\=uku site, \=k\=aisya o kyuuusyoku "tyuu n\=a no de aru 'He is temporarily suspended (= has taken leave) from the office because of poor health' (lg 58).

This conversion is one of the few that produce a surface form that seems like a nominal taking a direct object. The others are the alternant subject exaltation of o-V-i da = o-V-i ni n\=aru and V-i-hazime n\=o (§9.1.11); the direct object is, of course, an adjunct to the verbal element in the underlying sentence.

Both "go(\text{-})" and "zen are similar: Syukusya o kentiku "go(\text{-}) [ni] ... =Syukusya o kentiku sita a\=to [de] ... 'After building the dormitory ...'; Syukusya o kentiku "zen [ni] ... =Syukusya o kentiku suru m\=ae [ni] ... 'Before building the dormitory ...'; Yonen-k\=oosu o syuuuryoo "go(\text{-}) wa ... 'After completing the four-year course ...'; Tookyoo-t\=oritu no noogyoo-k\=ookoo o sotugyoo "go(\text{-}) mo, ... 'Even after graduating from the T\=oky\=o Metro-

\textsuperscript{37}. The verbal noun need not be of Chinese origin: woomingu-\=oppu "tyuu 'while warming up (for a game) is from English.

\textsuperscript{38}. But in some examples we must assume an abbreviation of sarete iru sa\=i-tyuu, with the passive: ... to no ikoo ga t\=youku kentoo "tyuu de a\=ru 'under close study is the idea of ...' (KKK 3.167); hoosoo "tyuu da 'is being broadcast'; ... Perhaps also in the sign Takusi zyoom\=u-in bosyuu "tyuu da 'Taxi drivers wanted', though the lack of a particle after zyoom\=u-in makes it hard to decide.
polit an agricultural high school ...' (SA 2669.16a); Raihoo "tyuu no Índo daitôöryoo wa Kyôoto o kenbutu "go(\text{\textsuperscript{o}})" Osaka e mukau 'The president of India now visiting Japan will proceed to Osaka after seeing Kyôto'. Semantic or aspectual considerations would seem to preclude certain verbal nouns from taking one or another of these suffixes, but I have not investigated the limitations. Sore ni kanpuku "go(\text{\textsuperscript{o}})" = Sore ni kanpuku sita ato ... 'after ad­mir ing it', for example, has been questioned on acceptability, but at least one native speaker is not unhappy with it. These two conversions might be treated as abbreviations of VN [site i]go and VN [suru i]zen, respectively, following the lead suggested by the derivation VN [site iuru s]tyuu. Under optional ellipsis it is often necessary to infer the case marker appropriate to an adjunct from the grammar of the verbal noun: Nati-seiken [ga] seiritu "go(\text{\textsuperscript{o}})" mo ... 'Even after the establishment of Nazi power ...' (SA 2674.104d).

A number of instances of "-tyuu da might appear to be derivational or lexical in nature. Among these are compounds with the infinitive-derived noun hanasi in [O-]hanasityuu da 'It is in the midst of [your] talking',\footnote{Cf. Kaigi -tyuu desu 'He is in conference'. Perhaps we would do well to ignore the question of whether the noun is verbal and treat "-tyuu (in) the midst' in all cases as a quasi-restrictive: ima no niniki(\text{\textsuperscript{o}}) "-tyuu 'during his present term (of office)' (R)} the action noun sigoto in Sigoto-tyuu da 'It is in the midst of one's work', etc. There is no *sigoto-gō(\text{\textsuperscript{o}}) = sigoto sita ato 'after doing the work', nor *sigoto-zên = sigoto suru mae 'before doing the work'. Other lexical cases in­clude Seeru-tyuu desu 'It is on sale'; but Nikuson-si no roon in-tyuu 'while Nixon was out of a political job' (SA 2661.126c) makes the conversion on a verbal noun (roonin suru).

In written materials you will occasionally come across VN "zumi [da] 'is' through doing = has finished/completed doing'. The quasi-restrictive "zumi, etymologically --"zumi", is derived from the noun sumi 'completion --"settled, OK"', in turn derived from the intransitive infinitive súmi 'ending, being completed/settled'. (Dictionaries list three dif­ferent intransitive verbs pronounced súmu, according to the Chinese characters that mean 'be terminated = become settled', 'become clear = be settled, unclouded', and 'live, dwell = settle down'; but all three would seem to go back to the same etymology.) The expressions are often adnominalized VN "zumi no N, as in keiyaku "zumi no kyaku 'customers that have signed an agreement' in contrast with keiyaku {no} mikomi ga kakuzitu na monó 'those who are certain prospects for an agreement' (SA 2670.26e), but other forms turn up: ... bângâroo, ll nikai-bëddo, ll yâgu no l rüi mo ll sude ni ll tyûumon(\text{\textsuperscript{o}}) "zumi de, ll môkka, ll koozyoo-seisan-tyuu {da} to iu 'bungalows, double-bunk beds, and bedding have already been ordered and at present are said to be under production at the factories' (SA 2669.120d the 'are said to' could also be taken to include the 'have been ordered'). Cf. LF 52: '|Instead of past tense forms, one commonly meets in FWS [Formal Written Style] con­structions with zumi 'completed'; hassô zumi nari 'he has sent' indicates completed action, and is roughly identical in meaning with hassô sitari"; for sitari (= sitâri) read séri. Addi­tional examples: ... nî-nen l mae ni l happyoo "zumi no "ronbun" kara ... 'from a "thesis" published two years ago' (SA 2666.26); O-kâsi nào o lokurû no ni, l anâ ga l aïtâri, ll hûrûku l nätte l yöô "zumi no zii-pan de ll sóto o l tutûnde l âta no da 'For sending candy and stuff, [it] was wrapped on the outside with worn-out blue-jeans old and full of holes' (SA 2668.37e)--yoo o suru means 'is of use'; Sikâsi, l zidô-sya(\text{\textsuperscript{o}}) no l syatai-bângoo ya l denwa-bângoo de l keiken "zumi no tóori, ... 'But as proved by license-plate numbers and telephone numbers ...' (SA 2657.43d); Senséi ga l kyôka "zumi de l kono heyâ o l

39. Cf. Kaagi "tyuu desu 'He is in confer ence'. Perhaps we would do well to ignore the question of whether the noun is verbal and treat 'tyuu (in) the midst' in all cases as a quasi-restrictive: ima no niniki(\text{\textsuperscript{o}}) "-tyuu 'during his present term (of office)' (R). That is the treatment we follow elsewhere (e.g. in §2.4).
§14.5. Infinitive-derived nouns

A large number of nouns are derived from verbal infinitives. Those nouns derived from the infinitives of "atonic" verbs are basically a-tonic; they remain without an accent even when followed by a particle. But the infinitive of the a-tonic verb has a basic accent on the last syllable, an accent that you will hear only when the infinitive is followed by a particle such as wā or mó: ikī mo 'even go[ing]' (infinitive) but ikī mo 'even the trip out' (derived noun). Nouns derived from the infinitives of tonic verbs are basically oxy-tonic and you will hear the accent on the last syllable when a particle follows: kāeri mo 'even return[ing]' (infinitive) but kāeri mo 'even the trip back'. In many environments, to be sure, you will hear both kāeri (derived noun from infinitive of tonic verb) and ikī (infinitive of a-tonic verb) without an accent; before a juncture it will be impossible to hear a difference between ikī 'go[ing]' and ikī 'the trip out', but kāeri 'the trip back'—even though it loses its accent—will sound different from kāeri 'return[ing]'. This difference of BASIC accent is the only phonological signal to mark the derived noun as different from the infinitive. (But recall that the oxy-tonic infinitives of the "atonic" bases lose their accent before nī in the purpose conversions V-i ni iku 'goes to V' etc. of §9.1.1. And often there is no way to know whether what has gone into a compound noun is the infinitive or the noun derived from the infinitive.)

A few derived nouns are irregular in accentuation:

(1) When the derived noun comes from an infinitive that ends in a vowel dyad, the accent will usually be on the penultimate vowel, and thus identical to that of the infinitive:

- negāi 'requesting' negāi 'request'
- omōi 'thinking' omōi 'thought'
- yatōi 'hiring' yatōi 'employee'
- kangaē 'thinking' kangaē 'thought'

But some are reported as also oxy-tonic:

- kurū 'going mad'
- sorōi 'lining up'

But some are reported as also oxy-tonic:

- kangaē 'thinking'
- kangaē 'thought'

40. But, at least when attached to nouns referring to times or events (that are not verbal nouns), the suffixes "tyuu, "go(1)", and "zēn appear to yield resulting forms that are TIME nouns; though typically used as adverbs, they can take optional time-locative marking with ni (yasumi "tyuu nī "during the vacation') and occasionally other case markers: benkyoo "tyuu o yama sita 'bothered her while she was studying' (Ariyoshi 300). Moreover, at least some expressions with "tyuu can be used as pure nouns meaning 'person in the midst of doing' as in rooin "tyuu ū no hitō ga/mo iru 'there are those waiting for better luck in next year's entrance examinations'.

41. In a few instances the derivation may have gone the other way historically (the infinitive deriving from the noun); from the viewpoint of the synchronic description, it would appear not to matter—and, in fact, to be undecidable.
§ 14. Nominalizations: General and Specific

The atonic form for the last example represents a variant in the verb base itself (see p. 25). But there is only the atonic uttai ‘complaint’ from uttai(-) ‘complaining’.

(2) For at least one noun derived from a tonic infinitive with a final vowel dyad, the accent may be either atonic or on the penultimate vowel (and thus identical to that of the infinitive):

araso‘struggling’  arasō(-) ‘a struggle’

(3) When the derived noun comes from a tonic infinitive of more than four syllables the accent may be regular (oxytonic) or atonic:

kokorozashi ‘aiming’  kokorozashi(-) ‘aim’

hazukasime ‘humiliating’  hazukasime(-) ‘humiliation’

(4) When the derived noun comes from a tonic infinitive of four syllables, the accent may be regular (oxytonic); it may stay the same as the infinitive (penultimate); or the derived noun may be atonic:

yorokōbi ‘rejoicing’  yorokōbi(-) ‘joy’

kокorōmi ‘trying’  kokorōmi(-) ‘trial’

kurusimī ‘suffering’  kurusimī(-) ‘distress’

ikigōmi ‘being enthusiastic’  ikigōmi(-) ‘enthusiasm’

sikuziri ‘blundering’  sikuziri(-) ‘blunder’

ayamāti ‘erring’  ayamāti(-) ‘error’

kwadâte ‘scheming’  kwadatē(-) ‘scheme’

akirāme ‘resigning oneself’  akirāme(-) ‘resignation’

samatäge ‘hindering’  samatage(-) ‘hindrance’

But for some, only the two tonic versions are reported:

ayamāri ‘apologizing’  ayamāri ‘apology; error’

atumāri ‘gathering’  atumāri ‘a gathering’

honomeki ‘glimmering’  honomeki ‘glimmer’

And for some, only the oxytonic and atonic versions are reported:

awaremī ‘pitying’  awaremī(-) ‘pity’

narawasā ‘accustoming’  narawasā(-) ‘custom’

takurāmi ‘scheming’  takurāmi(-) ‘scheme’

(5) Nine nouns derived from tonic infinitives are irregularly prototonic, but two also have the regular form:

kāri(-) ‘hunting’ [literary]  kāri ‘hunt(ing)’

ōbi(-) ‘wearing (as a girdle)’  ōbi ‘sash, girdle’

tōmi ‘being rich’  tōmi ‘riches’

tatari ‘cursing’  tatari ‘curse’

tayōri ‘relieving’  tayōri ‘reliance’

sawagi ‘clamoring’  sawagi ‘clamor’

simāri ‘tightly closing’  simari ‘being tightly closed’

domōri ‘stammering’  domōri ‘stammerer’

hāre ‘being clear’  hāre ‘clear/fair weather’

kasēgi ‘earning’  kāsēgi ‘earnings; job’

kagiri ‘limiting’  kagiri ‘limit’

sinōgi ‘(bravely) enduring’  sinōgi ‘suffering’

sabaki ‘disposing; judging’  sabaki ‘disposal; judgment’

Nagās ‘letting flow’ has the regular derived noun nagasi in the meaning ‘a drain (sink)’ and also the irregularly accentuated nagasi with the meanings ‘cruising (taxi); street musician;
bath service’. The infinitive tanomí ‘requesting; relying’ underlies the regular derived noun tanomí ‘request’ and the irregularly accentuated tanomí ‘reliance’ (= táyori). Hánare = hanare-záiski ‘detached house’ may belong with this group, too. Also kámáé ‘structure’.

(6) At least one noun derived from the infinitive of an atonic verb is irregularly prototonic:

nuki (= nuki) ‘omitting’ núki ‘omission’
The noun átari ‘vicinity’ is probably derived from the infinitive atari (= átari) ‘hitting (etc.)’ which has the regular derived noun atari ‘hit’.

(7) At least one noun derived from the infinitive of an atonic verb is irregularly oxytonic:
tugi (= tugí) ‘succeeding’ tugí ‘(what is) next’
But there is a regular derivative tugí in the sense of ‘patch’ as in tugí o ateru ‘puts on a patch’—cf. tugí o máte iru ‘waits for what is coming next’ (SA 2688.100c).

(8) At least two nouns that are derived from tonic infinitives are irregularly atonic:
de ‘emerging’ dé ‘appearance, turnout, attendance’
déki ‘being produced’ deki ‘make; workmanship; yield’
But there is a regular derived noun dé in the idiomatic sense of ‘substance’ (as in dé ga áru ‘is substantial’) and there is an irregularly prototonic derived noun déki = dékai ‘ready-made’ that belongs with (5) above. In origin déki- is a compound verb (made up of dé ‘emerge’ and ki ‘come’); derived nouns from compound verbs are regularly atonic, and that is what accounts for atonic sikumi ‘contrivance’ from sikúmi ‘contriving’, a compound made up of si (= sí) ‘do’ + kúmi ‘assemble’.

You will not find a noun derived from every verb (there is no anuki from arúki ‘walking’),42 nor can you predict the exact meaning of a derived noun from the infinitive that underlies it. Each infinitive-derived noun should be separately listed in the dictionary, but existing dictionaries often omit transparent examples. You are unlikely to discover sinzisugi ‘overconfidence’ in any of the dictionaries, perhaps because V-i-sugi ‘over-V-ing’ is so productive. (Many of the verbs that appear in V-i-sugi as a derived noun do not themselves underlie simple derived nouns; there is no *sinzi ‘confidence from sin-ziru(−)’.)

I have looked in a number of dictionaries for kagerí ‘darkness, shadowing’ but with no success, despite this example: Ōoki na mádo ga kagerí no nái akarui seikatu o hosyoo suru ‘Large windows guarantee a bright and unshadowed life’ (SA 2662.131). Nor have I been able to find horobí(−) ‘extinction’ despite an example in SA 2674.94a; tagiri ‘boiling’ despite an example of kama no tagiri o kiite ‘hearing the kettle’s boiling’ in SA 2678.116a; ... And yobi ‘call’, rikimi ‘strain; bluff’ (T. 3.295b), itōi ‘hatred’ (as in itōi no nái teai ‘a fellow without rancor’, Kb) are apparently listed only by Shimmura. The noun tukaihurusí, derived from the compound infinitive tukai-hurusí ‘wearing out’, is used as a synonym of tukai-hurusíta ‘worn-out’ in tukaihurusí no tāiya(−) ‘worn-out tires’ (SA 2670.107d) but I have not found it in a dictionary. The derived noun obie(−) ‘fear’ from the infinitive of obieru(−) ‘fears’ is apparently a non-standard synonym of osoré, carried only by Shimmura; it is used as a summational epipheme in this example: ... to iu obie(−) mo tetudatte ... ‘partly helped by the fear that ...’ (SA 2665.127d). Though some dictionaries, such as Shimmura, give a separate entry for osimi ‘begudging’ from the transitive infinitive osimi, the derived noun appears only in osimí(−)naku ‘freely, without grudging the expense’ and in compounds of the type N-osimí, yielding such verbal nouns as those in mono-ōsimí suru ‘is stingy’ and hone-ōsimí sain ‘spares no efforts’. (For some reason, make-ōsimí ‘reluctance to lose, sour grapes’ is atonic.)

42. Yet we will probably have to assume such a noun, in order to account for ... hatu-áruki o simáštia ‘[a hiking group] did its first walk of the year’ (R) and hitori-áruki ‘walking alone; independence’.
According to one estimate, only 24.1 percent of the “2000 basic verbs” yield a derived noun (Kgg 43.69b), but that figure seems low and the basis for it is unclear. Nishio in his extensive study of the question (Kgg 43.60-81) cites the following figures from a count of the entries in MKZ (and I have added the percentages):

(A) 946 (.2149) from simple verbs: ugoki ‘movement’, utagai ‘doubt’, sirabe ‘investigation’, nerai ‘aim’, asobi ‘game’; sashi ‘conjecture’, kanzi ‘feeling’; ...

(B) 741 (.1683) from compound verbs: utiawase ‘previous arrangement, appointment’, toriatukai ‘handling’, wariate ‘allotment’, miteosi ‘prospect’, kumitate ‘structure’, moosire ‘proposal’, sikumi ‘contrivance’ (< si-kumi ‘contriving’); ...

(C) 126 (.0286) from combinations of two infinitives (as if making compound verbs not in current use): tobi-yomi ‘desultory reading’, sui-nomi ‘feeding cup for a patient’, tati-uti ‘firing from a standing posture’, sukui-nage ‘tripping’, ...

(D) 32 (.0073) a compound of two derived nouns, often antonyms: kari-kari ‘lending and borrowing’, agari-sagari(‘) ‘rising and falling’, nori-nori ‘boarding and alighting’, ...

(E) 1716 (.3897) a compound of N + infinitive: yuki-doke(‘) ‘snow thaw’, nezmawasi ‘screwdriver’, ...

(F) 842 (.1912) a compound of infinitive + N: tati-ba ‘standpoint, footing’, tōmode-saki ‘destination, consignee’, ...

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Classes B and C are always atonic in basic accentuation; Classes D, E, and F require more complex rules. Nishio’s count for Class C includes a few items such as omoidasi-warai ‘a quiet laugh of recollection’ that are better treated as a subtype of Class F, as indicated by the accentuation.

As Nishio remarks, infinitive-derived nouns are more often found in colloquial contexts, for he who writes is apt to prefer synonymous verbal nouns of Chinese origin. In a study of frequency in the newspaper Asahi, Nishio tells us, there were 2173 different common nouns found to be used more than ten times each in a one-month period. Of these, only 67 were derived from verb infinitives—27 from Class A, 34 from Class B, 6 from Class E, and none from the other classes; yet there were 589 different verbal nouns of the Chinese binom type.

Nishio divides the meanings of the infinitive-derived nouns into the following scheme (recognizing that some words will have more than one meaning and fall into more than one class):

(1) process: (1a) the process itself: oyogi ‘swimming’, sirabe ‘investigation’, kaside ‘lending out’, ...; (1b) the content of the process: kangae ‘thought’, osie ‘instruction’, nozomi(‘) ‘hope’, negai ‘request’, nayami ‘worry’, inori ‘prayer’, ...; (1c) the appearance, method, degree, condition, or feel of the process: suberi [ga ii] ‘smoothness of slipping’, [kome no] deki ‘the harvest [of rice]’, ure-yuki ‘the (amount of) sales’, atari [ga yawahakai] ‘the feeling (from contact) [is soft]’, ...

(2) the product or result of the process: (2a) from a transitive verb: tutumi ‘bundle’,...
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hori 'ditch', katituke 'note, bill', ... ; (2b) from an intransitive verb: amari 'excess', katamari 'cloud', koori 'ice', atumari 'gathering', kubomi 'dent', ...

(3) the agent of the process: (3a) human agent: suri 'thief', domori 'stammerer', minarai 'trainee', tukisoi 'attendant', yoppara 'drunkard', ... ; (3b) nonhuman agent: nagare 'stream, flow', samatage 'hindrance', sasaé 'support, prop', ...

(4) the object of the process: tumami 'knob (to grasp)', yatöi 'employee', sasiire (= sasiire-mono) 'a thing sent in', ...

(5) the means of the process: hakari 'scales (for weighing)', hataki 'duster', ...

(6) the aim of the process: kobosi (= mizu-kobosi) 'a basin to catch rinse water poured from teacups', ...

(7) the place of the process: toori 'way, street', hate 'the ends (of the earth)', uketuke 'inquiry office, reception (desk)', ...

(8) the time of the process: kure 'sundown; year end', owari 'end', ...

In addition to the various kinds of pure nouns listed above, we also find the adjectival nouns suki 'liked' and kirai 'disliked' and the precopular nouns mukidasi 'bare; frank' and dasinuke 'sudden, unexpected'. There are also adverbs, sometimes with different accentuation: tumari (< tumarî) 'after all', amari (< amari < amarî) 'too, overly'; oyobi (< oyobi) 'additionally, and'; araizarai (< down to) every last thing, without reserve (< arai + sarai). The restrictive 'atari probably comes from the infinitive atari. The postadnominal toori 'like' (whence the restrictive 'doori 'like') is probably derived from toori 'way', in turn the derived noun from the infinitive tòori 'passing by/through', rather than being a direct derivation from the infinitive.

Quite a few nouns, as we have observed, are derived from compound infinitives and given an atomic accentuation. These should be distinguished from nouns that are compounded of two infinitive-derived nouns (often antonyms), which may enjoy a variety of accentuations: agari-sagari 'rise and fall'—there is no *agari-sagari 'rising and falling'; Toookyoo no iki-ki 'trips to and from Tókyō'—there is no *Tookyoo e iki-ki 'going and coming to Tókyō'; nori-ori 'boarding and alighting'—there is no *nori-ori 'getting on and getting off'. Often the derived noun will come from the infinitive of a conversion of infinitive-and-auxiliary (§9.10): norikae 'transfer (of vehicle)' from nori-kâe 'transferring (vehicles)'; nomikomi [ga waru/o so] ['is slow in] catching on, comprehending' from nomi-komi 'drinking in'; naryuki 'progress, development' from nari-yuku 'turns out, becomes'; ... . The verbal excessives, as we have remarked, will usually yield a derived noun (always atomic): ii-sugi 'exaggeration' from ii-sugi 'exaggerating', nomi-sugi 'intemperance' from nomi-sugi 'overdrinking', ... . It is something similar that underlies the sentence conversions of §9.1.7: V-i--sasi [dè], V-i--kake [nô], V-i--tuke [nô], V-i--hazime [nô]; as well as V-i--tate (§9.1.6) and probably V-i--gati (§9.1.5). The atomic accentuation of these forms points to their origin as nouns derived from compound-verb infinitives V1-i - V2-i. Sono moesasi o asimotó e suteta 'he dropped the [match]butt at his feet' (SA 2689.43b) includes a noun derived from moe-sasi [no mâtì] 'half-burned [match]'.

There are a few nouns derived from causative infinitives, notably uresigarase 'flattery' from uresigarase 'causing one to enjoy' and iyagarase 'an unpleasantness' from iyagarase 'causing one to loathe'; the atomic accentuation suggests that the causatives are being treated as if compound verbs, even though they are not made on the infinitive. Misesime 'an example, an object lesson (for others to see)' is derived from the infinitive mise-sime 'causing to show', a literary causative. There are also a few nouns derived from passive
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infinitives, notably iware ‘history, origin, reason’ from iware ‘being said’. Nouns derived from causative and passive infinitives are found in a number of compounds such as hitonakase(‘a nuisance to people’, hanasase-zyoouz ‘being good at getting people to talk’, nikumare-mono(‘an object of hatred’, ... ; some examples appear to be nonce formations: musi-sasase ‘being stung by an insect’ (Nishio); kenase no somo-somo no hazimari wa ... ‘the very beginning of the be-disparagement’ (Tk 4.311a).

There may be a few nouns made on repeatedly compounded verbs, but I lack good examples (leaving aside the auxiliary conversions). The word omoidasi-warai [o suru] ‘[has] a quiet laugh over a recollection’ is to be treated as a compound-verb infinitive omoi-dasi ‘recalling’ attached to a NOUN warai ‘laughter’ that is derived from the infinitive warai ‘laughing’. There are two nouns derived from bound one-morpheme verbal nouns of Chinese origin + si (= si), the infinitive of the auxiliary: sassi ‘conjecture’ from sas-si ‘conjecturing’ (= sas-si) and kanzi ‘a feeling’ from kan-zi = kan-’si ‘feeling’ (= kan-zi).

The meaning of the underlying infinitive will sometimes seem far removed from that of the derived noun. You might think that kaburituki ‘the front row in a theater’ was from some mysteriously Slavic *kabritski, but it turns out to be a noun derived from the infinitive of the compound verb kaburi-tuku(‘sinks one’s teeth into, bites’. Some nouns are derived from verb infinitives no longer in use as colloquial predicates: kuragari ‘darkness’ comes from the infinitive of an obsolete verb kuragaru ‘grows dark’. The second element in hitori-yogari ‘complaisant, complaisance’ (adjectival noun and abstract noun) is *yo-gari, an otherwise unused derived noun from the obsolete intransitive verb yo-garu ‘exults; (a woman) is sexually gratified’. The expression dedasi wa ‘at the start/outset’ contains the noun dedasi ‘opening line of a literary work’, apparently from the infinitive of a gerund-auxiliary compound de-dasu ‘starts to depart’.

From the standpoint of sentence structure, our interest in the infinitive-derived nouns is that many of them are closely associated with the underlying infinitive and thus will allow the adjuncts appropriate to the infinitive to be genitivized to the derived noun: desi o sinzi-sugiru ‘trusts too much in one’s disciple’ will yield desi no sinzi-sugi ‘overconfidence in one’s disciple’ (SA 2679.140cd) and hakuzin ga tati-iru ‘the white man steps in’ will yield the object in hakuzin no tatiiri o kinsi si ... ‘(they forbid) the white man’s entry (and ...)’ (SA 2666.121c). The noun phrase atasashii gakumon no umi no kurusim ’(the birth pangs of a new science)’ is derived from ... umi de kurusimu ‘[the world] suffers from the birth ...; within the noun phrase, ... gakumon no umi is derived from ... gakumon o umu ‘gives birth to a science’. Umi no hah to sodate no hah ‘the mother who gave me birth and the mother who brought me up’ (R) contains structures derived from hah ga umi ‘mother give birth’ and hah ga sodate ‘mother bring up’. But some derived nouns today bear very little association with the infinitives from which they come; the relationship is etymological: hayasi ‘forest’ is derived from hayasi ‘letting it grow/luxuriate’ but surely less association is felt between those two words than is felt between hayasi ‘musical accompaniment’ and hayasi ‘accompanying’. (Ultimately all four words, and also hae- ‘grow’ are related to the adjective haya- ‘fast’.)

Sometimes an infinitive-derived noun seems to be used in place of a nominalization. Oyogu ga dekiru and Oyogu kotoko ga dekiru both mean ‘I can swim’, but the former has a more restricted sense of knowhow or physical ability. One difference is that the derived noun does not carry with it the case-marking of the adjuncts of the underlying verbal, being derived directly from the infinitive that underlies our nuclear sentence. Like verbal
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nouns, the infinitive-derived nouns can only be modified by adnominal elements: Inú ga oyógu 'The dog swims' but Inú [n] no oyogy da 'It is the dog's swim(ming)'; Kanzi o yómu 'They read a Chinese character' but Kanzi no yomi da 'It is the reading of a Chinese character'; Kótó ga okóru 'An incident happens' but Kótó [n] no okóri da 'It is the happening of an incident'; Téepu ni huki-komu 'We record on tape' but Téepu no hukikomi ga ... 'The recording on(to) tape ...'. With transitive verbs this can lead to the same sort of ambiguity we observed with verbal nouns:

(1) Gakusya ga sizin o sirabéru 'Scholars investigate poets'.
(2) Sizin ga gakusya o sirabéru 'Poets investigate scholars'.

→ Gakusya no sirabé da (1) 'It is an investigation by scholars'.

→ Sizin no sirabé da (1) 'It is an investigation into poets'.

It might be argued that infinitive-derivation is a device to produce verbal nouns from verbs. But unlike other verbal nouns these infinitive-derived nouns will not ordinarily enter into further verbalization by using the transitive suru. Although you can say [Sono] sirabé o suru 'They do [that] investigation' you can not say *Sore o sirabé suru = Sore o sirabéru 'They investigate that', the way you can say Sore o kenkyuu suru 'They study that'. But notice that the object-exalting forms (§6.3) use honorific infinitives (o + infinitive, with removal of the accent of a tonic infinitive) + suru: Sore o o-sirabe simasyóó ka 'Shall I check that for you, sir?' And elsewhere we have assumed that the finite forms of verbs are simply contractions of infinitive + suru: sirábe [su]ru = sirabérú, kák [i sur]u = kákú.

### 14.6. DIRECT NOMINALIZATIONS

In Literary Japanese a sentence can be directly nominalized without the postadnominal nó. Imperfect and perfect attributive forms will be directly followed by an adjunct marker, often the particle ní but sometimes tó or ó or gá, as if there were some zero (unexpressed) epitheme or as if nö were omitted by ellipsis. The unexpressed epitheme can be summational or it can represent an extruded subject, object, etc. A few expressions of this sort have been taken into the colloquial language; some of the common devices that are widely used are treated in the following sections. (See also the direct nominalization of questions ending with ká, §15.6; the optional dropping of nó in S nó ni wa, §14.2.2). In addition, we will briefly examine the various constructions listed below. Direct nominalizations in the colloquial appear to be nearly always summational ('the fact that S' or the like).

The following list of common constructions that are often preceded by direct nominalization in otherwise colloquial contexts gives a few examples for each construction, which typically consists of a noun-adjunct marker in valence with the predicate that follows. For the items numbered 1-19 you will find a notation on the admissibility of focus on the nominalization + ní: w/m means both wá and mó are permissible after ní (given the appropriate circumstances within a larger context, such as a negation); w/- means that wá is permitted but not mó, -/m means mó but not wá, and -/- means neither is tolerated. Nothing is implied with respect to focus limitations on the larger expressions. (Items 20-34

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43. Apparent exceptions are perhaps to be treated as contemporary ellipsis, e.g. S [no] to onazi (No. 21 below).
permit no changes in the markings as given, except when noted.) Some of the expressions are cited as negatives, that being the common use; but affirmatives will also occur, at the very least in rhetorical questions (S mōn ka 'I can hardly believe that S').

**LIST OF COMMON CONSTRUCTIONS OFTEN PRECEDED BY DIRECT NOMINALIZATION**

w/m (1) ni atai-suru 'is well worth (doing or having done)'; Izure sinu | watakusī no inoti wa | ... nobasu ni l atai-sinaī 'The life of me who am about to die at any moment is not worth prolonging'.

-/- (2a) ni atatte/atarimāsite 'when (it comes to), at the time of'; Syōmutō o | erabu ni l atatte ... 'When it comes to selecting books ...'.

(2b) ni wa ataranai 'there is no need to' (= ni wa oyobanaī); Sore-dake nara | betu ni l odorōkū ni wa l ataranai 'If that's all there's no particular need to be surprised' (SA 2685.111c).

w/m (3) ni husawasii 'is suitable for (doing)'; Kono tekisu no | yōmu ni wa l husawasī 'This text is suitable for first-year students to read'; Kāno-zyo mo | sore o kirū ni l husawasiku l nai 'It is inappropriate for HER to wear that' (Ig 1962.84).

w/m (4) ni itarū(−) 'comes to (do), leads to (doing), results/en ds in (doing)'; Sippai no kekka | hasan surū ni l itatta(−) 'The failure led to bankruptcy'; Tūi ni l koo kangaēru ni l itatta(−) 'She finally got around to thinking this way'; Sīkasi-nagara, I sono koto gā l kāre no l kooodoo o l yokusei surū ni wa l itaranākatta 'But that did not lead to controlling his behavior'; Sōsite l kōndo no l sekai-taisen "gō(−)" ni wa, l yooyaku l itiren no l kokugo-sēisaku ga l zissi sarerū ni l itatta(−) 'Then, after the recent world war, at last a series of language policies came to be put into effect' (Shibata 1965.198); Sin-zirū ni l itarū(−) 'They will come to believe it'.

-/- (4a) ni itatte wa, ni itatta(−) 'when it comes to ...; if' (used as a roundabout way of stating a theme)—occurs after verbs in the imperfect only, after adjectives only as quotations: Tanaka san māde l soo iū ni l itattē wa | benkai no yōti(−) wa l nai 'There's no excuse for Tanaka (going so far as) to say that'; Anna hitō ni māde l site morā ni l itattē wa, l watasi wa l hazukasii 'I'd be ashamed to have such a person do it for me'; Ano l nōnki na l hitō ga l "isogasī" ni l itattē wa | (= taboo ni nāru ni l itattē wa |) watasi mo l hatarakanākereba l narānai 'If that lazy fellow is busy, then I better get some work done, too'.

-/- (5a) ni kakawārazu(−) 'regardless of ..., despite ...'; Hantai ga āru ni mo l kakawārazu(−) l ... 'Despite there being opposition ...'; ... issyo ni l l sazukerārū 'bēki de l ātta ni mo l kakawārazu(−), l sore o l korōri to l wasureta 'despite the fact that it was appropriate for them [= pronouns of both the first and the second person] to be taught together, that I completely forgot' (Maeda 1962.71); ... konōmu [no] to [l] konomaārazu [no] ni l kakawārazu(−) l ... 'whether we like(d) it or not ...' (SA 2662.90); ... isiki no, l takāi [[no] to] l hikūi [no] ni l kakawārazu(−) l ... 'regardless of the consciousness being high or low'.

w/?m (5b) ni kawari nai '... in any event (come what may); is bound to ...'; Kāre ga l seikoo surū ni l kawari {wa} nai 'He is bound to succeed'.

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(6) ni kosa ti kotô wa nai 'there is nothing so good as ...; there is nothing like ...ing; you’re best advised to ...': Itte miru ni | kosa ti kotô wa l nai ‘There’s nothing like going and seeing’; Zibun de nimotu o | tóri ni | likú ni | kosa ti kotô wa l arimasen ‘The best thing to do is to get your luggage yourself’.

w/?m (7a) ni makasêru ‘leaves it to (happen), lets it (happen)’: Me o tubutte | musumé-ra no l sarú n i | makasêta ‘He closed his eyes and let the girls depart’; Syúui ni | zyûmoku mo | sigérü ni | makasâretê iru ‘The surrounding vegetation is left to overgrow’; Katte ni hanásu ni | makasêrâénai ‘They can’t be left to talk freely’. Cf. omôu ni | makasénai/ makasênu (1) ‘finds it difficult (to do)’, (2) ‘is disappointing, vexatious’ (nâhi mo ~ ‘things do not turn out as one wishes’).

w/?m (7b) ni masâru(−) ‘outrivals (doing/being), is better/worse than’: Sizén-syoku o | tabérû ni | masârû(−) | kenkoo-hoo wa lárû ~máï ‘Surely there is no better way to stay healthy than to eat natural foods’; ... kiki-si ni masâru(−) | susamâzi-sa datta ‘it proved to be even more dreadful than they had heard it would be’ (SA 2793.129)–V i-si is the attributive of the literary perfect (§ 9.5).

w/m (8a) ni oyobu ‘extends to the doing of, has occasion (call/need) to do’—usually negative: Soo surú ni wa l ooyobanai ‘There’s no need to go that far’; Sinpai surú ni wa l ooyobanai ‘There’s no call for alarm’; Ippan-syûukânsi wa l mósou ni l ooyobanai (= îu mâde mo l nai) ‘It goes without saying for the general weeklies’ (SA 2651.68a); îu ni wa l ooyobanai ‘It goes without saying’; N1 wa î ni ooyobazu N2 (= N1 wa motîron N2) ‘N2 to say nothing of N1’; Ayâmâru ni wa l ooyobanai ‘You need not apologize’; Isôgu ni wa l ooyobanai ‘There’s no need to rush’. But affirmative examples can be found: ... hiragana-mâzîri no l kokubungakû-syo(−) ga, î l kikatózu de î l ta sûu ì syuppansen saraû ni î ooyonde, ... ‘there was need for works on Japanese literature with hiragana-mixed script to be published with wooden movable type in large numbers, and ...’ (Ôno 1966.223).

w/m (8b) ni siku wa nai ‘nothing is like, nothing is the equal of, nothing is as good as; it is best (to do)’: Yôozin surû ni l siku {kotôl} wa nai ‘There’s nothing like being cautious’; Benkyyo {sûrûl} ni siku {kotôl} wa nai ‘There’s nothing like being cautious’; Häyaku l okiru ni l siku wa nai ‘It is best to rise early’. Cf. Kane ni siku {monô} wa nai ‘There’s nothing like money’. Siku is an intransitive literary verb meaning ‘rivals, equals’; in this expression it is itself directly nominalized: S ni siku {kotô/mônô} wa l siku. ... .

w/m (8c) ni sikazu ‘there is no equal to ~ it is best (to)’: Häyaku l okiru ni l sikazu ‘It is best to rise early’; Benkyyo {sûrûl} ni sikazu ‘Nothing compares with (is the equal of) hard work’.

w/m (9) ni sinôbû(−) ‘bears/endures doing; finds it in one’s heart to do’—the expression is always in the form PSEUDO-literary negative sinobínai(−) (also, perhaps, in the form of a rhetorical question sinobirû {monô} ka, both from the literary vowel-base version sinôbi-) or compounded as sinobi-kanérû(−) ‘can not stand to do’: Sono sanzyoo wa l miru ni l sinobînákatta ‘I could not bear the tragic sight’; ... miru ni l sinobi-kânêta(−) ‘couldn’t bear to look’ (Fn 59b); (?) ... miru ni l sinobirû {l monô} ka ‘How could I possibly watch ...?!’.

w/m (10) ni sitâgâtte(−) (= ni turete) ‘in proportion to, (accordingly) as’: Bunmei ga susumû ni l sitâgâtte(−)... ‘As civilization progresses ...’: Syuunyuu ga masû ni l sitâgâtte(−) ... ‘In proportion as one’s income rises ...’; Tôsi o l tôru ni l sitâgâtte(−) l l tîe ga l tuku ‘Wisdom
comes with age'; Karada ga yōku l naru ni l sitagatte(−), ll Tookyoo ga l kōsiku l natta ‘As my health returned I began to long for Tōkyō’.

w/m (11) ni taenai ‘cannot bear to do’: Kāre-ra no l kaiwa o l kikū ni l taenakkata ‘I couldn’t stand listening to their conversation’; ... kyyooretu na ll kikū ni l taenai yōo na l hukyoowā-on ... ‘a loud discord unbearable to hear’ (Tk 3.45a); ... miru ni l taenai l kyoogēn ... ‘a farce that one can’t stand to see’ (SA 2684.118d).

w/m (12) ni tariru/taru ‘is sufficient to do; (= ni atai suru) is worth doing’: Sore wa ... ni ... ni awausuru ‘proves suitable for (doing)’: Sore wa ... ni ... ni tawairu ‘is sufficient to do; (= ni atai suru) is worth doing’; Kore-ra l startle them’; Sore wa ... ni ... ni ... ‘something suitable for carrying a canoe’.

?w/m (13) ni tekisuru ‘proves suitable for (doing)’: Sore wa ll bungaku-teki ni atukaī ni wa l ōoi-ni l tekisite iru ‘It lends itself admirably to a literary treatment’; Kānūū o l noserū ni l tekisita l monō ... ‘something suitable for carrying a canoe’.

?w/m (14a) ni todomāru ‘it is limited to (the doing), it amounts to nothing more than simply ...’: ni todomaráru ‘not merely/only ... but (also/even)’: Tān ni l kiboh o nobeta ni l todomáru ‘I simply expressed my desire’; Ōken wa ll yaziuma o yorokobasēru ni l todomatta ‘The affair served only to delight the masses’ (Ig 1962.84); ... tukatte yōi l gōku o l sente i sitā ni l todomarázu, l l l l nasu ni l teqon o l kitei si, ... ‘not only selected expressions to be used but even indicated the correct pronunciations and accents for them’ (K 1966.144).

?w/m (14b) ni todomeru ‘limits it to (the doing), lets it be nothing more than’: ... sono (I) yooten(−) o l nobēru ni l todomēru ‘I will limit myself to mentioning the main points’; Koko de wa, l l l l moosimisita yōo na l ten de l l l l l l l l sutekkō su bèki l monō o l ni- san l toriageru ni l todomemasu ‘I will limit myself here to giving two or three noteworthy examples of what I have been speaking about’ (Tsujimura 157).

/: (15) ni turbate ‘in proportion to, (accordingly) as’: Toki ga l tātu ni l turbate ... ‘As time goes by ...’; Kanemoku(−) ni l nāru ni l turbate l sinpai ga oōoku l nāru ‘Wealth brings with it many anxieties’; Ōoku l nāru ni l turbate ... ‘As they grow in number ...’; Sotugyoo no hī ga l tikazukū ni l turbate ... ‘As graduation day draws near ...’; Ŭgada(−) ga l susumū ni l turbate ... ‘As the film progresses ...’; Syuutyakū-eki l l Singapōrō ni l tikazuku ni l turbate l syānai ni l kuuseki ga medatte l kita ‘As we drew near Singapore, the terminal station, the number of empty seats became noticeable’ (SA 2660.16).

w/m (16) ni zyubunū da ‘is sufficient for (doing), is enough to (do)’: Sore wa ll kāre-ra o l yorokasēru ni ll zyubunū na l nyūusu datta ‘That was a bit of news sufficient to startle them’; Sore wa ll kāre no l udemae(−) o l l l zyubunū de aru ‘That is sufficient to prove his ability’.
w/m (17) ni uttutke da ‘is just the one for (doing)’: I mootó wa II ... hakobú ni wa I uttutke dátta ‘The younger sister was (built) ... just right to carry it’ (Ig 56); Asoko e doraibu surú ni wa, II káre wa I uttutke no aité dátta ‘He was the ideal person to drive there with’ (cf. Ig 56).

/- (18a) ni sité mo ‘regardless of ...; even if ...’ (§9.1.11, §9.2.2, §2.11): Dóko de I dékita ni I sité mo II ... ‘Regardless where it may have come from ...’; Tatóeba I sore ga II dékinai ni I sité mo ... ‘For example, even if that proves impossible ...’; Sono sikén wa I muzukásikitá ni I sité mo I tugi no I sikkén wa II yasasii ka mo I sirenai kara ... ‘That test may have been hard but perhaps the next one will be easy, so ...’; Mensetu o ukérú tokí(1) wa II tatóé(1) II zisin ga áru ni I sité mo II yahári I huan na monó da ‘When you are to be interviewed you are bound to feel uneasy even if you have confidence’; Zíko to I iu kotó ni I nárú ni I sité mo, II séken wa II kimi o I hanzaisya-átkuá surú’ ka mo sirenai ‘Even if it turns out to be called an accident, the world may treat you as a criminal’ (SA 2642.38b);

Soo suru to, II songai wa II unten site ita monó to, II hóyuu-sya no I watasi to de II baisyoo sinákereba I naráí ni I sité mo, II kingáku(1) no I hutan no wariai wa II dónó-yóo ni I nárú no desyóo ka ‘Then, well, granted that the damages must be covered by both the driver and me who am the owner (hóyuu-sya = syóyuu-sya), how is the responsibility for the sum proportioned?’ (SA 2664.107d); Sore ga owatta tokí(1), II syóonén-táti no I kokóró ni, II nání ka II múrá-mura sita I monó ga II ókíta to I sité mo I husiigí wa nái ‘When that [wild festival] was over, it is hardly surprising that something in the way of sudden desire should seize the lads’ (SA 2647.119a); Kono zíko wa, II toppatu-teki dé wa I átta ni I sité mo, II kessité I “igai(1)” na II dekigótó(1) de wa I nákatta ‘This accident, unexpected though it was indeed, was by no means an “unforeseen incident”’ (SA 2676.143); Tóózi no I riárizumu ni I sizenyúgi-teki keikoo ga átta ni I sité mo, II sore wa II káre no I sekinin dé wa II nái to I omóu ‘Though there was a naturalistic tendency to the realism of the time, I do not think that was his [responsibility =] fault’. (More examples will be found in KKK 3.94.)

-/- (18b) ni sita tokoró ga ‘even if’ (= -ta to sité mo): Kono taigun o II seihuku suru kotó ga II dékita ni I sita tokoró ga, II ... ‘Even if he had been able to conquer this strong army, ...’.

/-(m)(44) (19) ni si ro, ni sé yo ‘let it be the case that = even though’ (§16.1)—often used in pairs to mean ‘whether ... or ...’: Iku ni si ro II yasúmu ni si ro, II hookoku dáke wa I sit’ oke ‘Just let us know, whether you go or whether you don’t’; I ni I sé yo, II warú ni I sé yo, II tyó-tó I insyoo-teki déshita ‘Whether good or bad, it was rather impressive’; ... káre-ra mo I (1) mátâ(1), II iká ni II si-teki sensai to I hyoogén(1) no I hengen ni takuetu site itá ni I mó I sé yo, II kekkyökú wa ... ‘they also, however they may have excelled in poetic delicacy and variegated expressions, in the final analysis ...’ (CK 985.312). Nouns and adjectival nouns drop the colloquial copula: Donná ni I bínboo [na no] ni I sé yo II ... ‘However poor one may be ...’. In writing, however, the formal of áru may appear: Síróoto no I bokú-ra ni wa, II tootei (1) wakáráiná I sékái de I áru ni mo I sé yo, II tobaku to I yakuza-teki sonzá ga, II Níhón no minsyú’ka(1) no I (1) seityoyo I musibánde Iru kotó(1) dáke wa II tásika de aru ‘Though it is a world totally unknown to us amateurs, it is quite clear that the gang-ridden existence of gambling is impairing the growth of democratization in Japan’ (KKK 3.127).
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(20) にも hodō ga āru ‘there’s a limit to . . .; one can do/be just so . . .’: Osōi ni mo l hodō ga l āru ‘One can be just so late’.

(21) to onazi ..., to dooyoo ..., ‘the same as (doing) ...’: Watasi ga (ī) munē ni l ukabetā [no] to l onazi kotō o l kāre wa l itta ‘He said the same thing that had floated into my mind’ (lg 55); Kinbō kiitā [no] to l onazi hanasi da ‘It is the same story I heard yesterday’; Ītu mo l syuudō-ō si ga suru to l onazi yöō ni l Mīyo no l tē ga l karuku l Syōooyuu ro no kāta ni l nōbita ‘Miyo’s hand reached lightly out to Shōjurō’s shoulder the same as the monks would always do’ (lg 56); ‘Motēru monō’ to ‘motazāru monō’ no aida de wa, mizu ga tākaki kara hikūki ni nagarēru to dooyoo no gensoku ga sonzai site iru no de ari, ‘Between “haves” and “have-nots” there exists a principle that is the same as water flowing from high to low, . . .’ (Nakane 154).

(22a) to tōmo(-) ni ‘at the same time as; together with (the fact that)’; ... to iu tatibā ga l arimāsu to l tōmo(-) ni l . . . ‘has such a standpoint and at the same time . . .’; Zyuukyuu-sēki ni l nātte l dedo ga l oogata-ka(-) suru to l tōmo(-) ni l ningyō-o-geki wā l sabireta(-) ‘In the 19th century with the shift to oversize heads, the puppet drama declined’ (SA 2651.79); ... hōnysuo wa, l soo iu kōki-sin ni l kotāēru to l tōmo(-) ni, l ākoku no l kōto o l watasī-tātī ni l kizukāsete kureru ‘This book while answering such curiosity, calls our attention at the same time to many things’ (SA 2635.64—the original text omits the particle to, but that is a misprint); ‘Bankokū-haku no l to sōl akēru’ l l . . . wā l kensettukōozi ga l hōbo l owatta l kakkkō-kēn no l moyoo o l genba-tūyūkei de l tutāēru(-) to l tōmo(-) ni, l bankokū-haku no l rekisi ya l kaimakuzu-yūnbi ni l matuwārū l episōodo o l syookai suru ‘[The program] “Expo Year Begins” brings us by relay from the site a look at various countries’ pavilions on which construction work is almost finished and at the same time presents the history of international exhibitions and the episodes that accompany opening preparations’ (SA 2660.128d).

(22b) to issyō ni ‘at the same time as’; ... sore o nuku to issyō ni, l mōn ga l aita ‘with his removing it [the bolt], the door opened’ (Fn 420a).

(22c) to doozikōozi(-) ni ‘at the same time’, to doozikōoku ni ‘at the same moment as . . .’; Hīme ga ano gen’ei o mita to l doo-zikōoku ni l tyūuī wa l sinzoo o utinukareté l taōretē ‘At the instant the princess saw that vision the lieutenant fell, shot through the heart’ (lg 56); Hī wa l tūku to l doozī(-) ni l sūfō l haini tutum придется l daidai-iro ni nātta ‘The fire as soon as ignited was surrounded with white ashes and turned orange’ (lg 56).

For [NEGATIVE +] tō mo kagirānai ‘who can tell but what = perhaps’ and tō wa kagirānai ‘it does not necessarily follow that’, see §21.1.(8); these are special uses of quotation, not direct nominalizations.

(23) ga hayāi ka ‘no sooner . . . than’: Tuka ni (ī) tē o l kakeō ga l hayāi ka l l . . . ‘Almost before he could be seen to put his hand on the hilt (of the sword) . . .’; ‘Dēnsya(-) o (ī) orīru ga l hayāi ka, l kē ze wa l iitimōku-san ni l hasīrī-dasita ‘No sooner off the train than he started running like mad’ (KKK 3.18); . . . tutumī o l akēru ga l hayāi ka, l l . . . ‘no sooner had they opened the packages, than . . .’ (R).

(24) ga īī ‘it is better to do, one should do’: Ikanai ga l īī ‘It would be better not to go’; Denwa surū ga l īī ‘You ought to telephone’; Mōo l osōi kara l netā ga l īī desyoo ‘It’s already late so we had better get some sleep’. Also V-rū/V-tā ga yokarōo (or īī daroō):
§ 14.6. Direct nominalizations

Zityoo surú ga | yokaróó ‘You’d better be circumspect’; Moo i ti-do | de-nao sita ga | yokaróó ‘We better try again’. We could regard all these expressions as involving ellipsis of nó or of hóo:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Surú} & \quad \text{Sitá} & \quad \text{Sináí} & \quad \text{Sinákatta} \\
& \quad \{\text{no/hóo}\} & \quad \text{ga} & \quad \text{i} & \quad \{\text{daroó}\}.
\end{align*}
\]

In place of ga you may find the focus particles wa or mó: Sinái [no] mó ií ‘It would be better not to do it (even/either)’. Cf. Sinái de mó ií ‘You need not do it’ and Sinái de wa irarenai ‘One just has to do it’ in which Sinái de functions as the negative gerund, and presumably there is no ellipsis. To be sure, the expression S [nó] ga/wa/mó ií need not be advice; it can also be a report that some fact is appreciated: Amerika e itte, are o yarimašítara, l l taihen yorokónde | kuretá wa l l ií keredo mo, ll áto no l pát ií de, ll are wa | Betonamu-séensoo no l kó to o l mozítta l monó ka, ll to kikareytatta ‘When I went to America and performed that (kyógen farce) I am glad they kindly enjoyed it very much, but at the party afterward I found out that it had been taken as something of a parody on the Vietnam War’ (SA 2659.52c); Suisudókei o | Nihóó no hán-ne(“) ‘nika ni i negítta wa l l i í ga, ll Haneda ni túitara ll hári ga l tomate ita ... ‘It was great to get a Swiss watch at less than half the price in Japan, but when we arrived at Haneda the hands had stopped ... ’ (SA 2660.37c—woes of the Hongkong shopper).

(25) ga gótoku ni\1 ‘like ...-ing’ (= S yóó ni); ga gótoku/gotoki da = ga gótosi ‘is like ...-ing’ (= S yóó do): Kawá ga nagaréru ga gótoku ni ..., Kawá no nagaréru ga l gótoku ni ... ‘Like a river flowing ...’; Kawá no nagaréru ga l gótoki da ‘It is like a river flowing’; ... maru-de l gizyoo ni okéruru(“) l l dai-ènzu ot o | kiku ga l gótoku de atta ‘it was just like listening to a major speech on the floor (of the Diet)’ (Tk 4.228); Sono-mónó ga l ganzen ni nái no ni, ll áru ga l gótoku ni l omoi-ukabu monó ga l iméézi de aru ‘An image is something that occurs to you as if it were real even though the thing itself is not in front of your eyes’ (Kotobo no yurai 178); ... sonó-hito no l dóosa(“) ga l átákamo l l “sízen” no surú ga l gótoku de aru ‘it is just as if his actions were done by ‘Nature’’ (Ôno 1966.64); Gozyúú gósai to l ié-do mo l l siti-hatatíssai ni l tás-site(“) irú ga l gótoku l miéru ‘He may be fifty-five but he looks like he had reached seventy or eighty’ (SA 2665.116b); ... Kuhara san wa l tit-tó mo l koohun site inái ka ni l mie, l línizyoo-sóhan o l kataru ga l gótosi ‘(but) Mr Kuhara shows not the least excitement and appears as though he were telling a commonplace’ (7Tk); Sugítráu wa oyobázárú ga gótosi ‘Too much is as bad as too little’ (SA 2837.23a). For some speakers an “atomic” inflected form will keep its basic final accent suppressed and drop the juncture after ga: ... kiku ga gótoku, ... suru ga gótoku, etc. In Formal Written Style, ... ga gótosi or ... monó ga/no gótosi can be used (like ... omomú́ki(“) nari) to report hearsay in a way corresponding to the colloquial ... sóo da or ... to iú/no kótó da ‘It is said that, we hear that, reports have it that ...’ (cf. LF 89). See also 34 below.

(26) ga mamá (ni/no/da) ‘just as’: Matuda no (l) iú ga l mamá ni, l l Beiei ga l oozél atumátte ita ‘Just as Matsuda said, there were a lot of American troops gathered’; Surú ga l mamá ni l sasete okoo ‘Let’s let him have his own way’; ... O-kéiko ni háitte, l l o-sibài wall Réiton no l iú ga l mamá desu l né ‘Once we’re in rehearsal the play goes just as Mr Layton says, you see’ (SA 2664.36a).

(27) ga tamé {ni} ‘for the purpose of doing; because (of the fact that)’: ... kitanáí
§ 14. Nominalizations: General and Specific

to kangaerareta ga tamé ni ll betu no tokoró ni lokaretara monó ... ‘a thing put in a separate place because it was thought dirty’ (Ono 1966.42); Tada ll i ‘bei’i sūbe o ni siraná ni ga tamé ni, ll sono yóó na ni monoí o ni site irú ni ll sugíná ni ‘They only talk like that because they don’t know what to say’; Koraśán [Korasam = Korasoo] ga tamé ... ‘For the purpose of disciplining ...’; Kenkyuù sén [semu = siyoo] ga tamé ni ... ‘For the purpose of studying ...’.

(28) ga yúé ni ‘because of’: Tabitabi míru ga yúé ni ll wasurarezarenai ‘I am unable to forget it because of seeing it so often’; Igrisu wa ll káko ga káko de áru ga yúé ni, ll sore ga génzai mo liki-tuzukete iru kuni de áru ‘England is a country whose past continues to live even in the present day because it has that sort of past’ (SA 2664.90b); ... másá ni lll Amerika wa ‘teikoku’ de áru ga yúé ni, ll kono l rekisi-teki ziken o ll iwaó o to ni sinákatta ooozé ni l hitóbito ga l iru ‘... because America is exactly an “empire” there are many people who are reluctant to celebrate this historic event [= the moon landing which gave proof that America is “an empire that has conquered the world in the field of scientific technology”]’ (CK 985.37).

(29) mo onaizi [kotó] da, mo doozen da ‘is the same thing as, is virtually’: Tyoodai sitá mo l onaizi kotó desu ‘I will take the will for the deed’; Aatarasí mo l onaizi desu ‘It is as good as new’; ... sindá mo l doozen da ‘is the same as (might as well be) dead’ (Fn 161a).

(30) o matáni ni ‘it needs no...ing, it goes without ...-ing’; Iú o l matáni ni ‘It needs no mention, it goes without saying’.

(31) o enai ‘can’t ...’; V-(a)zaru o enai ‘can’t help doing’: Yamú o lénai/ézu ‘It can not be stopped’ > yamu-o-enai/ézu ‘is unavoidable’; Káre no l seikoo o ll homezárú o l enai ‘I can not help admiring his success’; Káre wa ll seikoo o l sezárú o l enai ‘He can not help succeeding’; ... iká ni mo ll okáiku l kan-sezárú o l enai ‘can not help feeling it rather odd’ (SA 2654.42b). Mori Ōgai used a kotó-nominalization: Kore ni wa ll boku(+) mo lll hidoku ll kyоosyukу sezarú l kotó o lénai ‘At this I can not help being terribly embarrassed’ (Y 178).

(32) no miti ‘the way to do’ (bookish?—cf. p. 659): Rīkai(+) surú no miti ... ‘The way to understand it...’.

(33) no hoka ‘outside of those that ...’ (bookish?—cf. p. 659); ... kinsyoo no reigai o nozoku no hoka wa ... ‘all (others) with the exclusion of a few exceptions’ (KKK 3.192).

(34) N no(+/ga?) gōtoki wa = N no gōtoki monó wa (= N no yóó na monó wa = N nóó wa) ‘N for example; say N; one such as N’ (KKK 3.185; MKZ 293b).

See also S tō su ru and S tō site mo (§ 21.4); cf. ni site mo above, ni site wa (p. 229).

There are a number of additional types that are best treated as abbreviations of no ni or of [nō] tamé ni (cf. § 14.2.2; Ig 39-40), such as these: Háyaku l ikú ni wa ll dōo sitafā lii desyoo ‘How can we get there fast?’; ... káre ni l kátu ni wa ll dōo sitafā lii ka, ll kangaeta n desu ‘I’ve thought about how best to beat him’ (SA 2685.45a); Hu-kéiki na takō[1] de l né, ll udé ni l syookuwa wa (1) nási, li syóobai l yarú ni mo l sihn ga nái ‘It was depression times, you see, so there were no jobs for my skills, and I didn’t have the capital to go into commerce, either’ (SA 2678.47b)—for the loose-reference mó, see §§ 5.4; Kyooiku-máma no l hutokoro o neraú ni wa, ll kyooiku-syóobai ni l kagiru ... ‘There’s nothing like educational merchandising if you are aiming at the (breast of the) school-conscious mamma’ (SA 2664.23e).
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- first part; Hutuu no sararī-man ga l zimae de mótu ni wa ll tyót-to l takāi ‘It [= a small computer] is a bit too expensive for the usual salary earner to afford by himself’ (SA 2660.23e); ... seihū-gun no ll tai-kai to l iū ni wa ll amari ni mo ll too-sugiru ‘it was entirely too far to return to where the government troops were’ (SA 2678.41c), Saiken-tāikai to l iū ni wa ll amari ni ll hodo-to l sūgata datta ‘It was too distant a guise to be called a reorganization convention’ (SA 2678.134a); Manabū ni l yasasiku, ll rakū ni l kakēru l mógi ga ll tukuri-desarenēba l naranakatta ‘It was necessary for there to be devised a script that was easy to learn and could be written with no trouble’ (Ōno 1966.206); ... sirū ni l yōsiru no hituyoo o siru ni wa l iū ni wa ‘there being no way for her to know woman’s sexual arousal ’ (Fn 66b). Here belong the various expressions of NECESSITY: Mittō-mo ll syōyōo de mo ll okīru ka l dōo ka l tasikamēru ni wa, ll hāruka ni l genmitu na zikken ga hituyoo de aru ‘In order to ascertain whether it happens even with the smallest quantity, far more rigorous experiments are necessary’ (SA 2651.21c); Hanbō banjū no iwareru wāga kuni de wa, ll nāni o l hazimerū ni mo ll ōinkan’s ga hituyoo desu ‘In our country, known for the omnipotent “chop”, a signature seal is needed to start anything’ (SA 2661.121—advertisement)—the first expression is an ellipsis of hanbō [ga] banjū [da] ‘the chop is omnipotent’; Kotosi no ll sin-sotugyōōsei wa, ll itīryuu-dāigaku ni l hāiru ni wa ll roonin o l nīnen site ll benkyōo sinakereba l naranai to l iū no da ‘They say this year’s graduates will have to spend two years out of school studying in order to get into a first-rate university’ (SA 2663.27a). (Other examples will be found on p. 858.)

In the following example I am uncertain whether to treat the ellipsis as suru [tamē] ni mo or as surū [no] ni [site] mo: Amerika no kīgyōo(-) wa ll kozin-tāni de l sigoto o surū ga, ll Nihōh no kīgyōo(-) de wa ll nāni o l surū ni mo ll [kă] tăn’i da45 ‘American enterprises do their work by person units, but in Japanese enterprises anything you do it’s (by) “section” units’ (SA 2668.22a). But the latter analysis would seem more likely; here is an example for which only an ellipsis of [no] ni [site] mo is appropriate: Zinan-hūhū wa ll dōko e l ikū ni mo l issyo ni turete itte kuretā ga, ll kono uti(” de wa l ītu mo l resu-ban [da] ‘[When I was living with] my younger son and his wife, they would take me along wherever they went, but in this household I’m always the one who stays home to watch the house’ (SA 2671.130c).

The expression A ga/no iū ni [wa] ‘(‘...’ to iu) ‘A says (‘...’ ),’ is equivalent to A ga iu no ni, serving as an introductory alert to a quotation, or (... sóo da) to a hearsay report: ... syūū ni l kimito o l daiben suru yōo na ll tyoso de l kuti o hiraitē l iū ni wa, ll ‘...’ ‘In a tone as if to apologize for the feel of the surroundings he opened his mouth and said ‘...’ ’ (SA 2660.13c); Kāre ga l iū ni wa, ll ... sóo de ll ‘He says that ... ’ (SA 2793.132a). Similar are Ŵatasi ga omou ni ... ‘In my opinion ...’, Ŵhirugâettē kangaēru ni ... ‘Upon reflection ...’; ... yōiri sas-suru(-) ni ... ‘To judge from ...’.

Among sentence-introducers (§24) we find Yoo-sūru ni ... ‘In a word ...’. See also ... [-y]ōō ga and ... [-y]ōō ni (§17.6); ... [-y]ōō (and S) + zya nāi ka (§15.16). The expression iū māde mo nāi ‘it goes without saying’ involves a postadnominal (§13.2) rather than a particle; but ... to iū de mo nāku ‘even without saying’ would seem to be a case of omitted no—hence, in a sense, a good COLLOQUIAL direct nominalization. We have treated V -(a)zu ni sūmu = V -(a)nāi de sūmu ‘gets by without doing’ in a separate section (§9.6).

45. Perhaps ll ka-tān’i da for those more familiar with the term.
The various examples given earlier include adjectives as well as verbs.\textsuperscript{46} We also come across examples of literary adjective predicative forms (A-\textit{ni}) that are directly nominalized, such as \textit{nasi} (= \textit{nai}) ‘it is lacking’ in \textit{nasi ni = nak\u{u} and \textit{nasi de = nakute}, often preceded directly by an unmarked noun (or noun + \textit{mo}—but also + \textit{wâ}, \textit{gâ}, \textit{sâ}, \textit{sura}, \textit{dake}; cf. Mio 139) and frequently to be translated as ‘without (even)’.\textsuperscript{47} Sensei dake de nasi ni gakusei mo ... is equivalent to Sensei dake de/zya naku{te} gakusei mo ... ‘Not only the teacher but also the student’. There are a number of idiomatic clichés: Nán\u{ }no l rik\u{u}t\u{u} mo nasi ni ... ‘For no reason at all ...’; Nán\u{-}ge-\textit{nasi}(\textit{-}) ni ... ‘Casually ...’; O-kamai nasi da ‘It is of no concern to me’; Sizen waillow sonna koto\textsuperscript{[4]} o-kamai nasi desu ‘Nature doesn’t care about such things’ (SA 2649.117d). And ... koto gal naku{te} ea (= naku{re}ba) ‘without (even)’ in stating a negative condition or contingency: Syakai-teki dobutu to site\u{ }no l zinrui ni l tötte wa ... taga\u{-}e-au koto\textsuperscript{[2]} nasi ni wa ... tân-naru ... sonzai mo l kôn\u{ }nato l naru kara de aru ‘It is because for a social animal like man unless there happens to be mutual aid even simple existence becomes difficult’ (KKK 3.139); Minsyu-syügi o l hakai sen (= siyoo) to suru l teki o hakk\u{e}n suru koto\textsuperscript{[3]} nasi ni ... ‘There is no building of democracy unless an enemy is discovered seeking to destroy it’ (KKK 3.139). Nominalized nasi enters into a compound noun (of the “\textit{dva ndva}” or coordinate type) with nominalized \textit{arî} or \textit{arû}: \textit{arû-nasi}, \textit{arî-nasi} ‘existence or nonexistence’ as in N no \textit{arû-nasi ni kakawarâna\u{ }i de ‘regardless of whether \textit{N} exists or not’. (You will recall that in Literary Japanese the infinitive \textit{arî} takes over in place of \text{arû} for many of the functions of the predicative.)

A number of additional types of direct nominalization can be accounted for as due to the obvious ellipsis of no:

1. Antonymously paired sentences:

\begin{enumerate}
\item (1a) Directly juxtaposed antonymous sentences (see also 12a below): Kotobâ no ll tadashii, lll tadâsiku l nai wa, lll syâkai no ll syuukan ni yoru koto desu ‘Whether words are right or wrong is a matter that depends on the usage of the society’ (Shibata 1966.59); Tuu-ziru tuu-zinä ni l kankei naku, l nai ‘Without respect to whether it is understood or not, ...’ (Maeda 1962.19); Iku ikanâi wa ll ato de l kimêtô mo ll ‘You can decide later whether to go or not’; Sikâsi, l mondai wa l zikan no l oöi l sukunâi l dake no l koto de wa l nai, l ‘But the problem is not a simple matter of how many or how few are ...’ (Kaneda in Onô 1967.298); Kore wa ll kessite, lll yoi l warûu l l itte iru no de wa l arimaseñ ‘This is by no means saying it is good or bad ...’ (Ôkubo in Onô 1967.133); Yosida san mo kuru l kônai wa ll änta ga l sitte l ru wa ll nai ‘You know whether Mr Yoshida is coming or not, don’t you?’; Soo i tabi o l site mireba, lll kono l kyûkutî(\textit{-}) no syoojokoku ga l nisin no l torêu l torênaï de lll sikâtu\textsuperscript{[4]}(\textit{-}) o l l syuuuy (\textit{1}) saureru l l zizyoo ga l l kura ka l l wakattê l l kisôô
\end{enumerate}

46. Direct nominalization of nominal sentences (\textit{N da}, \textit{AN da}) is much rarer, but occasionally it turns up: Sikâsi, sensoo da, sokai da, otto no zuyu\u{u}tai da de, ... ‘But what with (there being) the war, the evacuation, the husband’s grave illness, ...’ (Kawabata: Suigetsu). This example puts the copula gerund (\textit{de}) squarely after the copula imperfect (\textit{da}). In the following example we are forced to recognize ellipsis because of the juncture: ... toozen no koto da l (to i i) kurai ni ômottê ... ‘thinking it was only natural’ (Shiba 144).

47. Here is an example of the literary attributive \textit{näki} directly nominalized: ... monmôô-ritu wa ll näki ni l hitosii yôo ni l hette simau ‘illiteracy [rate] is reduced so that it is virtually nonexistent’ (Ôno 1967.164). The noun \textit{omôki(\textit{-})} ‘importance, weight’—as in \textit{keizai ni l omôki(\textit{\text{-})} o l l nâsu ‘weights heavily on the economy’—is derived from a direct nominalization of the literary attributive \textit{omôki} ‘being heavy’.
When you make a trip like this, it gradually becomes apparent how much [are the circumstances by which] this small polar country [of Iceland] has its (life-or-death) fate controlled by whether herring are caught or not' (SA 2668.88b); bünkã no l tikara(‘) no ll tuyôi l yowái ni l yotte, l gêngô ni l hênska ga l okôru ‘changes happen to a language according to whether the power of the culture is strong or weak’ (Ôno 1966.161); Atûi l suzûi ni l kankei-nâku, l tô-ni-kaku l rokugatû kara l hatigatû made wa, l myôô ni l tyôossi ga warûi ‘Regardless of whether it is hot or cool, I feel oddly bad from June to August’ (Tk 3.138b); Kookoo no l sin-sotugyôosya wa, l syônin-kyuu no ll takai l hikûi de ll syokûgyôo [ya], l kaisya o l erabânaii ... ‘The new graduates from high school do not select their job or company on the basis of whether the starting salary is high or low’ (SA 2637.39a);...

\[ \text{antonymous sentences paired with highlighting mô:} \]
Sore ga sen-en mo surû no de wa, l umâi mo l mazûi mo l naii ‘When that [= rice curry] costs a whole thousand yen there's no delicious or unpalatable about it [= the taste is irrelevant—I don't care how good or bad it tastes]' (SA 2640.105b); Kono l atarassãi l kyoôiku-seido o l ikãusu mo l korosu mo l kokumin no l nêuî l hitôtô de aru ‘Whether this new educational system is let live or is killed it all depends on the enthusiasm of the people’; Sirû mo l sirânû mo l naii, l wâ-ga l syokûbât(‘) no l dooryoo de aru ‘He is a workshop colleague whom I know but not particularly well’ (SA 2669.106a); Syootî surû mo l sinâî mo l naii mo l wa ‘It's not a matter of consenting or not consenting’ (Kb 389b); Dôô surû mo l koo surû mo l naii l sã ‘It doesn't matter what happens’ (Kb 35b); Iyâ ka? ll l-iyã mo l lî mo l naii wa l yô. ll Zettai l hukanôô-zi [= hu-kânôo na kotô] desu l yô ‘You don't wanna?—It's not wanna or don't wanna, it is absolutely an impossibility’ (Fn 179b); Sore karal l iti-zîkan to l tatânai u(l(‘) ni, l l omae, l sagasû mo l sagasanâi mo l naii, l hitori-de ni ‘And then before an hour had passed, you know, I realized it was stupid to think of looking for him, all by myself’ (Kb 285b).

The juxtaposing of S mo with the negative of S mo followed by nai (or by âri wa sinai, âru món ka, etc.) forms a SCOFFING pattern: ‘It's nonsense to talk about ...; it doesn't matter (I don't care) whether ...; it is a far cry from being (a matter of) ...’. Two nouns of opposite meaning can be used in a similar way: Hazî mo gaibun mo naii ‘It doesn't matter whether it is shame or respectability=I don’t care about what people may say’. In place of the negative repeat of the sentence you can use kusô mo ‘or shit’, hetima mo ‘or a snakegourd’, or hé mo ‘or a fart’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ikû mo } & \{ \text{ikanâi} \\
& \text{kusô/hetima/hé} \} \text{ mo naii ‘It's hardly a matter of going or not’}. \\
\text{Omosorôi mo } & \{ \text{omosirokú nai} \\
& \text{kusô/hetima/hé} \} \text{ mo naii ‘I don't care if it's fun or not’}.
\end{align*}
\]

Into the first slot you can put a pure noun, a verbal noun,\(^{48}\) an adjectival noun, or a precopular noun (or even a predicable adverb) provided you follow with kusô mo or hetima mo or hé mo in the second slot: Hadê mo kusô/hetima/hé mo naii ‘It’s hardly a question of being gaudy’; Sikåsi mo hetima mo née [= naii], ... ‘There’s no “but” about it

\(^{48}\) As in Kandoo mo hé mo aru ka ‘What do you mean, disown me?!’ (Tk 3.15al).
at all, ...' (Kb 187b). The sentences can be perfect, as well as imperfect, but notice that if you use kuso/hetima/hē mo in place of the negativized repeat you do not perfectivize that part (*kuso/hetima/hē datta mo):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ittā mo} & \{ \begin{align*}
\text{kusō} \\
\text{hetima}
\end{align*} \} \quad \text{mo āru mon ka 'Surely it's not a matter of having gone (or not)'.} \\
\text{Omosōrokatta mo} & \{ \begin{align*}
kusō \\
\text{hetima}
\end{align*} \} \quad \text{mo āri wa sinaï 'It's ridiculous to talk of it's being fun or not'.} \\
\text{Gēnki datta mo} & \{ \begin{align*}
kusō \\
\text{hetima}
\end{align*} \} \quad \text{mo nai 'It is hardly a matter of whether one was healthy'.}
\end{align*}
\]

Instead of ... kusō/hetima mo nai you will sometimes find ... nai mo nai: Māa, I sore | kimattā no? II—Kimattā mo nai mo nai ‘Well, that's decided, then.—Decided, nothing!’ (Fn 60b). From the adverbialization of this (... nai mo naku), with ellipsis of naku, we get sentences such as the following: Itakatta desyoo. II—Saisyo wa itai mo nai mo [ ], II tāda, II sibireryatte, II maruku natté II unatte I tā n desu ‘It must have been painful [having rocks fall on you when mountain-climbing].—At first there was no question of pain or anything, I was just so submerged I curled up and moaned’ (SA 2649.47d).

(1c) Antonymous sentences paired with ni tūke (see §9.7): Yōi ni tuke | warūi ni tuke, II iroiro to I mondai ga aru ‘Whether with respect to the good or with respect to the bad, there are various problems’ (Maeda 1962.1); Tō-mo-kaku, II kono I ‘nodozīman-konkūuru’ wa II yōki ni tuke, II āsiki ni tuke, II Nihon no ongaku-zyōōkyōoo ga II migoto ni I tooei sarete kita I moyoosi de ātta I kotō ni wai II iron wa nai ‘Anyway, there's no denying the fact that this “amateur singing contest” was an entertainment in which the state of Japan's music, both good and bad, came to be reflected beautifully’ (SA 2672.116ab—āsiki = wāruki ‘bad’).

(1d) V-ta mo V-ta ‘really did, did ever so much’; V-(a)nai mo V-(a)nai ‘really doesn't/didn't, doesn't/didn't at all’; A1-i mo A1-i ‘is ever so A’; V1-rū mo V1-tāri: Tābeta mo I tābeta ‘I ate and ate; I ate ever so much’; Tabenai mo I tabenai ‘I don't eat a thing’ or ‘I haven't eaten a thing’; Sirōi mo I sirōi ‘It is ever so white’; Tōru mo I tōtari, II ēki-ku-en no gomakasi da ‘Such a grab—it's a hundred-million yen swindle!’ This intensive iteration is apparently limited to the paradigmatic forms given; cf. AN1 mo AN1, §13.5a. But here is an adnominalized example: Tōtta mo I tōtta I ēki-ku-en, II aita kuni ga husagaranai ‘A hundred million yen grabbed, I'm flabbergasted!’ These expressions are vivid and short. They are never said with koto or nō before mo.

(2) V-ta I nojā ga saigo I 4dai ‘Once it has happened that's the end of it’: Sōto e II asī o I dašita [ ] ga I saigo I 4dē, II hyakuen-satu ga II tonde simai ga no desu kara ‘(Because) once I set foot out the door, there goes a hundred-yen note [for the taxi or the like!’—On ellipsis of dé, see §9.1.12, §28; Taru nānka e II tē o I tukkōnda [ ] ga I saigo I 4dei, II 4kura I tē o I arat’tatte, II tume no aida e I nukā ga II hassamātmatte, II anō kusami ga I nukē yaa I sinnie [= nukē wa I sinaï] ‘Once you've stuck your hand in the cask that's it, the bran is stuck
under your fingernails so you’ll never get rid of the stench, however much you wash your hands’ (Okitsu 1.296).

(3) \( V_1 \)-rú \( \text{no} \) to \( V_2 \)-rú \( \text{no} \) to ‘\( V_1 \)-ing and \( V_2 \)-ing’: Yómu to l káku to wa l tigau ‘Reading it and writing it are two different things’ (Kusakabe 1968.62): Kikú to l míru to wa l oo-tigai ... ‘There’s a world of difference between hearing and seeing ...’ (SA 2672.116e with ellipsis of final [dé], SA 2678.27a with ellipsis of final [dá]): Tanaka san no musuko wo wa l “nómú l útu l kau” l mittú “tomo sorótte l íru kara, l o-yome no ki-té ga l arimasen ‘Tanaka’s son indulges in “drink, wager, and [geisha]-purchase” so he lacks a prospective bride’.

(4) S dé mo nái ‘it is not even a matter of S; it is not exactly that S’: Dáre o l togamérü de mo l nái l kutyoo de ... ‘In a tone that wasn’t accusing anybody ...’ (SA 2647.86b): Syoomén de l muki-atte íru l gusyyuu wa, l ûgóku de mo l nákú l táda l níya-níya ísuru ‘The crowd facing each other head-on do not move but just sneer’ (Gd 1969/9.108): Minná wa l hu-to l damátte, l káre o l míru de mo l nákú, l mínai de mo l nákú, l sékí no l yamu máde l máte | yaru ‘Everybody suddenly stops talking and, without quite looking at him nor quite looking away from him, they wait for the cough to stop’ (SA 2659.69a).

(5) S ni tuité ‘with respect to S’: ... kí bísíi l saisoku ga l hootéi-ka(-) sarete ita ... ‘strict regulations had been put into law with respect to fishing for king salmon’ (SA 2668.88b).

(6) Miscellaneous types with ellipsis of \( V \)-rú \( \text{no} \): Mirú mo l múzan na l kinén-hin(-) ni l nái nátte simáu ‘It ends up being a souvenir horrible to look at’; ... míru mo l múzan na l súngata desita ‘it was a horrible sight to see’ (SA 2681.44d); ... nádo, l míru mo l kikú mo l kotogóto o l kono tabí gá l hazímete [de] l ... ‘this trip was the first [opportunity] to see and hear all these things, such as ...’ (SA 2662.51a); En-zúrú wa l Hitutubasi-dáígaku l karaté-bu no l ̀Éékun [da] ‘Lecturing is Mr A from the karate group of Hitotsubashi University’ (SA 2674.99d). Koko ni híroo l simásúru wa, l ún o l tén ni l makáséte no l daí-bóoken [da] ‘What we will reveal here is a great venture with one’s fate entrusted to heaven’ (SA 2666.16)—for V-i-másuru, see p. 1031: “Tokoro kawaréba síná kawaru” l [to iú no] wa l toozen dár keredo mo l Nepáaru de wa l bikkúrú suru kótó l bákari desita l ýó ‘It is natural that “things differ as places change”’ (Tokoro [ga] kawaréba síná [ga] kawaru) but I tell you in Nepal it was one surprise after another’ (SA 2664.110a); Kúuí ni l komátte | íru no de wa l nái ka ... ‘I wonder if they are not hard-pressed for food to eat ...’; Síranú ga l hótoké(-) dúsú l nè ‘Ignorance is bliss, you know’ (SA 2671.47c); Watakusí ga omóu ni wa, l ... ‘In my opinion, ...’.

(7) S nára S de yói-li—see § 9.3.1: p. 562.

(8) Directly nominalized imperatives—with ellipsis of [to iú no]: Doronawa-síkí ni l kore ga tarainí kara l kane o kíhú(-) site kure l [to iú no] dé wa l komárü ‘We are embarrassed when, at the last minute, they ask us to contribute money because this [= the donated food] is insufficient’ (SA 2671.63d)—doro-ôboó(-) l nawa ‘(making) rope after the robber appears’; Kúumiai wa l tøôkyøoku ni l tøì-site, l kensyúu-bí o l yokóse l [to iú no da] no, l kensyúu-hí o l dáse l [to iú no da] nó to, l mëimoku dákè wa l yóí l yóokyóu o l dású, l hontó no tokoró wa, l namake-tái no to l tigau ka ‘The unions submit demands to the authorities that have a fine ring to them, all right, saying “Give us study days” and “Give us study stipends”, but in truth they don’t just want to loaf?’ (SA 2661.112e); “Son [o] l sinai téido(-) ni l sigoto o yarê’ l íga l kaisya no l mòttoo da ‘The motto of the company
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[that exclusively employs retired people] is "Work only to the extent that you do yourself no harm" (SA 2681.104c); Góó ni íreba (= háireba), I Góó ni sitagaé (I) da 'It's "When in Rome do as the Romans do" (Fn 94a); Sá-te-II sore kara Iesukoto-gaído oI sendoo ni [site] II zyóonai oI mawaru wáke de ga,II suguII zyóonai "yoo [no | denki- zidoosya(\textsuperscript{(-)})] oI yobé no,II kán-tyool(\textsuperscript{(-)}) II demukaesase ró to II hunzori-káéru II "oomono" ga óóí 'Well then it is a matter of touching the [Expo] grounds with an escort guide leading the way, but there are lots of the "big shots" who call for one of the Expo-use electric cars and haughtily insist on being met by the pavilion heads' (SA 2684.115b); Íma wáll asobe, asobé no II zidai da 'This is the age of "play! play!"' (SA 2792.17d); ... umé yoI huyáse yo noII zidai 'the era of "breed and multiply!"' (Shibata 1961.173); Nóme yaI utaé no I oo-sáwagi 'A great spree of drinking and singing ...'.

(9) Directly nominalized hortatives: Dé, I dóko e ikóo I koko e ikóo no I ageku II Mukoozima e ... 'Then, lacking any better inspiration, I went to Mukójíma ...' (Kb 125a), nó = de áru; Sore o kyootyoo siyóo gaI tamé ni wa, ... 'In order to emphasize that ...' (Maeda 1961.121).

(10) Paired interrogative sentences of various types:

(10a) S\textsubscript{1} [ka] to S\textsubscript{2} [ka] to [iú no] o tòwazu(-) 'without respect to (regardless of) whether S\textsubscript{1} or S\textsubscript{2}': ... sore gaI Nihon-go de áru to I gaikoku-go de áru to oI tòwazu(-) II ... 'regardless of whether it is Japanese or is some other language' (Tsujimura 1967.206). Notice that we must assume direct nominalization—or ellipsis—because the quotation-marker to creates an adverbialization rather than a pure nominalization (cf. p. 997) and so can not take ó-marking. A less likely explanation would take the two quoted sentences as linked with the conjunctive to 'and' (§2.7) and consider the direct nominalization as applied to each sentence before the linkage: S\textsubscript{1} [no] to S\textsubscript{2} [no] to o ... (10b) S\textsubscript{1} [ka] to S\textsubscript{1}-NEGATIVE [ka] to 'whether S\textsubscript{1} or not': Minná gal\textsubscript{I} isiki suru toI sináí toI niI kakawárazu(-) II n é 'Regardless whether they are all aware of it or not' (Tk 2.123ab); Sikási I n é, II uti(\textsuperscript{(-)}) toI iú monó wa,II wáhu gaI irú toI ináí toI dé\textsuperscript{(-)} waII kóo moI tigau kaI toI omóuI kúraiI tigau I n é 'But, you know, households differ to the point of making you wonder how they can differ so much, depending on whether there's a wife or not' (Tk 3.38a). These are not to be taken as juxtaposed quotations; the function of the two to's is to conjoin the directly nominalized sentences.

(10c) S\textsubscript{1} [ka] to S\textsubscript{1}-NEGATIVE [ka to] 'whether S\textsubscript{1} or not':\textsuperscript{49} Tokoró-gaI sakibiki no iú noI gaI irú toI ináí de waII érakuI tigau súó desuI yo 'But they say it makes quite a difference whether there's a dog pulling [the cart] in front or not' (Tk 2.311a). (10d) S\textsubscript{1} [ka to] S\textsubscript{1}-NEGATIVE [ka to [iú no]] 'whether S\textsubscript{1} or not': Kaisan o suruI sináí wa,II ... = Kaisan o surúI kaI sináí kaI toI [iú no] wa, ... 'The question of whether to dissolve or not' (Tk 4.220a); DaI karaI kauI kawanáiI waI koosyoo no kekká daróó zyaI nái desuI ka 'So whether we buy or not surely will depend on the result of the negotiations' (Fn 27b).

(10e) S\textsubscript{1} ka S\textsubscript{1}-NEGATIVE [ka no uti(\textsuperscript{-})] ni 'no sooner S\textsubscript{1} than ...' (see p. 928): ... káére gaI yose-gáyoi oII hazimerúI kaI hazimenáiI ni,II ... 'barely had he started going to vaudeville shows when ...' (Kb 279b). (10f) S\textsubscript{1} to ka S\textsubscript{1}-NEGATIVE to ka 'whether (saying) S\textsubscript{1} or (saying) not S\textsubscript{1}':

49. But *S\textsubscript{1} ka to S\textsubscript{1}-NEGATIVE ka (ga/o/de/...) is rejected.
Ueno no | Sinobazu-no-ikde de, | ll hasu no haná ga | l hiráku toki ni | ll otó ga | ll surú | to | ka | ll sinai to ka, | ll zuibun | ll giron sita koto ga | l arimáshitá l nér ‘There was quite a debate over whether when the lotuses in Ueno's Sinobazu Pond open they make a noise or not’ (Tk 2.289b).

(11) S zya nání ‘it isn’t a matter/question of S’: Maa | ll i | ll sá, | ll-Maa | ll i | ll zya | ll nái wa | yó ‘Well, that’s enough (about that).—Whaddaya mean that’s enough?! ... ’ (? Fn). See also S zya nái ka etc., §15.16.

(12) Adnominalizations of direct nominalizations: V-rú no N, A-í no N. Although from a colloquial viewpoint this looks grossly ungrammatical, it seems to have been popular in Meiji writings and is still found in bookish texts (cf. 32-4 in the list earlier in this section). In contemporary prose this pattern can perhaps be treated as an ellipsis of S no ã|da to iu⇒ N. Compare S no ími = S to no ími = S to iu ími ã|da ‘it means S’.

(12a) Adnominalizations of paired antonymous nominalizations: Kindái-ka(−) ni tomonau |l syo-mondai no |l náká ni wa, |ll sono mondai ga | ll hyoomén-ka(−) surú |ll zó|ka ni |l hayáí |l osó| ni |l sá(−) wa |ll á|ra gu, ... ‘Among the various problems that accompany modernization, there ARE differences of being early or late in the time of the (particular) problem’s surfacing, but ... ’ (CK 985.291); Yói |ll warui no |l mondai dé wa |ll nákú, |ll i-žínru |l wa |l i-žínruí da ‘It’s not a question of good or bad, but race is race’ (SA 2660.136c);

Mookátte iru, |ll mookátte |l ináí no |ll mondai zya nái to |l omóu ‘I don’t think it is a question of making money or not making money’ (SA 2681.26b).

(12b) Adnominalization of other paired nominalizations: ... boó de nagúrú |l kéró no |l ranbo no hatarai ‘they beat [and kicked =] the living daylights out of him with a stick’ (SA 2647.116). In another text (SA 2680.143b) a comma separates the two verbs: ... nagúrú, |ll kéró no |l ranbo-roózeki ‘an outrage of punching and kicking’.

(12c) Other adnominalizations of direct nominalizations: ... terebí ni |l sita|smi no |l kó| to |l moosemasyóo ‘(I suggest that) we can call it the season for familiarizing ourselves with television’ (SA 2660.128a); Matumoto san wa |ll ‘San-nén máe, l Tookyoo de |l kíssá-ten o |l keie| site ita tokí no |l nazími-kyaku de, |ll sanzís-sai “kúraí” |ll ã|to iu⇒ no hoka wa |ll nání mo |l sira|náí no ã|da to iu⇒ |l itten-bári(−) |ll [dá] ‘Mr Matsumoto sticks to the story that he knows nothing beyond that “He was a good customer at the time I was running a Tókyó teashop three years ago and he is about thirty years old”’ (SA 2663.127e); Wákáí |ll monó mo |l yagáte |l loó|ru. |ll Soo sita |l sake-eráre|náí |l žízi|tu o |l músi site wa |ll ningen táru no |l skákáu surá |l nái ‘Young people eventually get old. If you ignore that unavoidable fact, you lack even the qualifications to be a human being’ (SA 2655.29d)—for táru, see p. 748. There is a way of making a title that places the literary attributive before ... no ki ‘a chronicle of ...’: Nákí |l háha o |l koó|ru no |l kí ‘A chronicle of loving one’s late mother’ (SA 2684.238—heading).

In this example, koó|ru was spelled with kana u rather than the historically correct hu; even so, the form is a puzzle until we discover that although the verb ków- ‘love’ is a consonant base in the colloquial (and accordingly we would expect the attributive and predicative forms of the literary to converge as kó[h]u) in the literary language it is a vowel-base verb, with the infinitive kó[h]i identical to the colloquial, but with the imperfect ko[h]u, the predicative kó[h]u, and the negative kó[h]izu. A rare example of the direct nominalization of an adjectival noun + ná is cited by Khodolovich (118), from the 16th-century translation of AESOP’s fables: Āru-toki |l yazín |ll kaíhen (=

50. According to Noriko Kajikawa the example Nagái no no |l háo ga |l yóí ‘The longer (one) is better’ is cited as early Meiji usage by Yamada Yoshio (Nihon bumpó kógi p. 205, Tókyó 1924).
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Matta, the perfect of matsu 'waits', is used as a noun in the expression matta o kaku'ru/suru 'calls a halt': ... kookoku o ni matta o kacaketa Koo-tori-i (= Kossei-torihioki-inika) e no uramī wa hukai 'Deep is the resentment toward the Fair Trade Commission that called a halt on the advertising ...' (SA 2674.130b). This is also used in the idiomatic Matta-nashi da 'No "time out" allowed'. Other examples of directly nominalized perfects: Syakeikeiken no tobosii(−) wa wakamono(−) ga wakatta wakatta de, l tuppasiru to l abunai 'It is dangerous when young men with no social experience go dashing in with the idea they know it all' (SA 2678.49ab); Seiyō-zin dattara, l yappāri l boomei sitā l boomei sitā de, l soko no kuni de l sinu māde l kursas to i hito gā l zuibun l ōōi l wāke desu l yō l nē 'When it comes to Occidentals, if they go into exile they are (really) IN exile and there are lots who live till death in the other country, you see' (Tanigawa 165); ... Sagāreba sagatta de, l l 'When they fall ...' (SA 2679.28bc—the full example is given in § 9.3.1); Koo iu tokoro no hito wa, l sōre, l tē ga l sawatta, l asī ga l sawattā de l kane o tōru 'People in this sort of position, why, they take in money every time they lift a finger or move a toe' (Fm 146b); ... subētta l korondā de l atamā ga l ippai désu l nē 'my head's abuzz with all the criticism' (SA 2838.42a).

There are a few situations which leave infinitives dangling in odd places, as if suddenly nominalized; e.g., with the ellipsis shown below that leaves us with a rare example of ni o: Soko de l kekkōn-siki wa l gensyuku ni l [site], l hiroō-en wa l kānso NI l [surū no] O l mōttoo ni l [site] l kekkonsikizyou o l sekkei sitā n desu 'Thereupon we set up a wedding festivity hall with the motto "Make the wedding ceremony solemn, the reception simple", you see' (SA 2684.65c). In the following example the infinitive āri is used three times in the function of a literary predicative, and the conjoint phrase that results is directly nominalized: Gensoku āri, l reigai āri, l kyōyōo āri de, l l l 'What with rules, with exceptions, with dispensations, ...' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.276). Cf. § 13.9, where you will find more examples. A negative version of this structure will replace āri with nāsi: Ko nāsi, l le nāsi, l kane nāsi de no l hidōi l kurashi desu ga, l sēni-takū mo l arimasēn 'It is a terrible life, with no children, no home, no money, but I have no desire to die'. And you will find the literary copula nāri used in a similar way: Mukashi wa l musumē nari, l tūma nari, l zōyōyuu nāri de, l l sono l kami-katāti [= kami-gata] mo l ħukū mo l tigatē ita monō de 'In the old days it used to be that both your hair style and your clothes differed as a girl, as a wife, as a maid'; Soko ni atumātta l hitō-tattā ni wa l gakusya āri l ongak[u]-ka āri l geizyutu-ka āri de, l tōroo na hitō ga l imāsita 'There were all sorts of people gathered there—scholars, musicians, artists'.

There are various other kinds of direct nominalizations, often hypostatic as in the quasi quotation in this sentence: Ryōkō-syā no l ningen to l āezu ni l l hagurete l simattāra, l l 'bānzi l kyūu-su' de aru 'If we should stray so we can't get in touch with a person from Intourist, all would be lost [since one can not eat without food coupons]' (SA 2656.62a).
§14.6.1. *Ni [wa/mo] tigai nai*

A sentence in the imperfect or perfect (but not the tentative) will allow you to add *ni tigai nai* with the meaning 'surely, undoubtedly, no doubt' or '(surely) must be/do' etc. In a nominal sentence the imperfect copula *da* obligatorily drops:

Yo- bu. → Yobu ni tigai nai ‘Surely he calls (or will call)’.

Yonda. → Yondā ni tigai nai ‘Surely he called’.

Ookūi. → Ookūi ni tigai nai ‘Surely it is large’.

Ōōkikatta. → Ōōkikatta ni tigai nai ‘Surely it was large’.

Hōn da. → Hōn ni tigai nai ‘Surely it is a book’.

Hōn datta. → Hōn datta ni tigai nai ‘Surely it was a book’.

Sizuka da. → Sizuka ni tigai nai ‘Surely it is quiet’.

Sizuka datta. → Sizuka datta ni tigai nai ‘Surely it was quiet’.

Tigai is a noun ‘discrepancy’ derived from the infinitive of *tigau* ‘it differs’, and *tigai nai* can be thought of as a reduction from *tigai ga/wa nai* ‘there is no discrepancy (in the fact that ...)’; the form with *wa* is also heard: Kākkoku *ki* sīyā-dan wa, *itte* mīreba, *o-tagai ni* *k*yōosō-āite de *lārū kotō ni I tigai wa nai ga ... ‘The corps of international reporters no doubt are, so to speak, rivals to one another but ...’ (SA 2658.62d). A less colloquial way to say the same thing is *ni* *kōa* nai; *kōa* is a synonym of *tigai*. *Ima de mo, Iī Mōtokō wa Iī konnā hūukeī no I nāka ni I itā ni I sooi nai* ‘Surely Motoko was still in a setting of this sort’ (lg 1962.86); Kāre wa Iī hidōku Iī yopparatte itā ni I sooi arimasēn ‘There is no doubt that he was dreadfully drunk’ (SA 2637.29b).

These expressions can be made from most imperfect or perfect sentences, regardless of origin, including negatives: Yobanai ni tigai nai ‘Surely he won’t call’; Ōōkiku ni tigai nai ‘Surely it isn’t large’; Hōn zaō nai ni tigai nai ‘Surely it isn’t a book’; Osōraku tābete inā ni tigai nai ‘No doubt they don’t eat it’ (SA 2677.62e). You can even create such involved sentences as Yobanai kotō ga nāki kotō mo nai ni tigai nai ‘Surely it also never happens that they unfailingly call’ with a quadraple negative (§14.1.1). But the expression is incompatible with hearsay (*... sóo ni tigai nai*), with the sembative (*... rašī ni tigai nai*), and with the evidential (*... -soo/-ge ni tigai nai*).

The sentence that you end up with can be stylized (ni tigai *{wa} arimasēn/gozaimasēn*), quoted (ni tigai nai to iu), hearsay-reported (ni tigai nai sóo da); it can be made perfect *(ni tigai nākatta)* or tentative (ni tigai nai darōo) or perfect tentative (ni tigai nākatta darōo); it can be extended (ni tigai nai ne/ka/etc.–even ni tigai nai ka mo sirenai ‘maybe there’s no doubt that’); it can be adnominalized (ni tigai nai N ‘The N that undoubtedly’) or nominalized (ni tigai nai kotō [ga arū], ni tigai nai no da), converted to infinitive (ni tigai nāku [nāru]) or to gerund (ni tigai nākute wa/mo, ni tigai nai de), made concessive (ni tigai nai nagara ‘while surely’), made provisional (ni tigai nākereba) or conditional (ni tigai nākattara) or representative (ni tigai nākattari); it can be conjunctionalized (ni tigai nai kara/to/si/etc.); it can become evidential (ni tigai nasa-sōo da, ni tigai na-gē da) and sembative (ni tigai nai rašī); the nucleus can be subdued (ni tigai nāku wa arū) or highlighted (ni tigai nāku mo arū, ni tigai nāku saē areba). But the expression cannot be made excessive: there is no ‘... ni tigai nasa-sugiru’ (cf. Tīgai ga wa nasa-sugiru ‘There are too

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51. Sore wa Iī sóo {de arū} ni Iī tigai nākatta ‘There was no question but of it’s being true’ (lg 1962.86).

52. But further uses are subject to the limitations of *arū* itself, e.g. you do not expect to get ‘... ni tigai nai de kudasai.’
few discrepancies'). And it is limited with respect to a few other things more generally precluded from adjectivals (e.g. forming a desiderative) or verbs outside human control (e.g. favors, potentials).

As elsewhere, there are subtle differences depending on whether a conversion is applied to the inner or the outer expression: Sore datta ni tigai nai means 'There's no doubt it was that', Sore ni tigai nai means 'There's no doubt it is that', Sore ni tigai nakkatta means 'There was no doubt that it was that', and Sore datta ni tigai nakkatta means 'There was no doubt that it was (had been) that'.

Additional examples: Ōoki na | kutuzyoku datta ni | tigai nai 'It was unquestionably a great humiliation' (SA 2649.105e); ... kowāreta | dōa kara | hazusitā ni tigai nai | kugi-ana no hiraki-sugīta (1) kanagu | 'a metal fitting with over-wide nail holes that must have been removed from a broken door' (SA 2645.46a); Surōogan wa, | koooyaku no issyu ni wa | tigai nai 'Surely a slogan IS a kind of public commitment' (SA 2666.37b); Mēga ni wa | tigai nai no | dāroōga, ... 'It is probably undeniable that it is a famous painting but...' (SA 2648.4); Kono naka kara | sugūreta | isi o mituke-dāsu koto wa, | 'It is certainly a hard job to find an outstanding poem among these, even though they are not hard to understand' (SA 2654.43b); ... GNP (zīeti- pi) no | zoodeai wa | sinpo no | hitōtō ni wa | tigai nai ga | 'increase of GNP is certainly a (kind of) progress but...' (SA 2689.140d).

In subordinate and dialect speech you will hear the pronunciation tigeē nē: Sōo ni wa | tigee nē 'That must be right' (Kb 95a). (This will sound more natural with ni wa reduced to nyā.) According to Fujiwara 67 the sentence Tigai nai is used in Shizuka to mean 'Yes, indeed'. The Köchi dialect of Shikoku uses ... ni kaaran (= kawaranai) to mean ... ni tigai nai or ... rasii, according to Zhs 5.18.

14.6.2. Ni [wa/mo] sugīnai.

When a sentence is followed by ni sugīnai the meaning is 'It is nothing more than (a case of) ...' or 'only, just, merely'. Often there is an anticipatory tāda 'just' or tān ni 'simply': Kore-ra wa | tān ni | doogū ni | sugīnai ga | 'These [examples] are nothing more than merely [words for] tools but ...' (Ōno 1966.162); Tāda | iu | 'bēki | sūbē | o | sirānai ga | 'They only talk like that because they don't know what to say' (Maeda 1962.54). An imperfect nominal sentence obligatorily drops the copula [dā]: Tiisa na | hōn ni | sugīnai 'It is merely a little book'. Adjectival nouns can take the expression: Mare(-) ni sugīnai 'It is just rare (that's all)'; cf. Mare-sugiru 'It is overly rare' (or 'Too many of them are rare'), Mare-sugīnai 'It is not overly rare' (Or 'It is not true that too many of them are rare')—said only as contradiction or sarcasm.

The sentence to which ni sugīnai is attached can be imperfect, perfect, negative, etc., but not tentative (*Yobu daroo ni sugīnai) nor hearsay (*Yobu sōo ni sugīnai). The semitative has been reported, though with some disapproval, in sentences like Sensoo ga okōtta 'rāsīku mirēru ni sugīnai' (= Sensoo ga okōtta 'rāsīku mirēru ni sugīnai') 'It just LOOKED as if a war had broken out'; and there seems to be some doubt about approving the evidential in sentences like Zyoobu-sōo [na no] ni sugīnai = Zyoobu-sōo ni mirēru ni sugīnai 'He only LOOKS robust'. Both ... ni tigai nai ni sugīnai and ... ni sugīnai ni tigai nai are said to be acceptable.

The resulting sentence can be converted into any sentence appropriate for a negative,
including the evidential (ni suginasa-sóó da) and the semblative (ni suginai -raši). But it can not have its nucleus put in focus: *ni sugínaku wa áru,* *ni súgi wa sinai;* *ni sugínaku mo/sae áru,* *ni súgi mo/sae sinai.*

The form N ni sika suginai ‘it is nothing more than just ...’ also occurs: Zitú wá róbóttó ni sika suginai ‘It is really nothing but a robot’ (SA 2635.21); Seiyóo-zin no l gai­koo -zyo­o no l bizi (l) (l) (l) reiku wa l hizoku na l dón’yoku(−) o l oo­i­kakusu, l tán naru l vëéru ni sika suginai no de wa l nái­ka ‘Isn’t the diplomatic eloquence of the westerner nothing but just a mere veil to cover up his vulgar greed?’ (CK 985.295). Here is an elicited example of V-tá/-ru ni sika suginai: Gutai-teki na kotô wa l nô­bezu, l táda l ippan-teki na kotô o l setumei sità/surú ni sika suginai ‘Instead of saying something concrete they only explained/explain in generalities’. But it is difficult even to elicit an example of A-í/-káta ni sika suginai.

14.6.3. Ni [wa/?]mo kima­tte iru.

Any imperfect or perfect sentence can add ni kima­tte iru ‘obviously’, ‘you must expect it to (be true that)’, ‘it is sure (certain, bound) to be the case that’: Seikoo surú ni wa l kima­tte iru gá l zikan ga kaká­ru desyoo ‘He is bound to succeed but it will take time’; Konna ni tábetara,l o-naka [o] kowášu ni l kima­tte ‘ru wá ‘If he ate this much, he’s sure to be in for a stomach upset’ (Ariyoshi 33); Mukóo(−) ga (l) kátu ni l kima­tte iru ‘The other side is bound to win’; Káre wa l korosaréru ni l kima­tte ita ‘It was clear that he would be killed’; I kaná ni l kima­tte iru l sá ‘Of course I won’t go’; Nátu wa l atú’ ni l kima­tte iru ‘You have to expect summers to be hot’; Kusúri wa mazú’ ni l kima­tte iru ‘Medicine always tastes bad’; Kono ié mo l káno-zyo no l monó de aru ni l kima­tte iru ‘Obviously this house belongs to her, too’. In the last example, de aru ni could be made more colloquial by using ná no ni or simply ní (with the imperfect copula dropping).

The resulting sentence can not be made negative,53 but it can be turned into a tentative (ni kima­tte irú daro o ‘I think that obviously ...’) and it can be converted to polite style: Aa iu l yaru kí no náí l sensoo wa,l l makerú ni l kima­tte imášu ‘An (unwilling =) unpopular war like that you’re bound to lose’ (SA 2668.47c).

14.6.4. Ni kagi­ru.

The expression ni kagi­ru can be added to an imperfect sentence with the meaning ‘the best (or only) way is to (do/be):’ Kimi wa l damátté irú ni l kagi­ru l yó ‘Your best bet is to keep your mouth shut’; Isogáši ni l kagi­ru ‘The only thing to do is be busy’; Tatami wa l atasáši ni l kagi­ru ‘Mats are best when new’; Syaberá­íni ni l kagi­ru l yó ‘You do best to cut out the chatter’; Heiki de írú no ni l kagi­ru ‘It’s best to stay unperturbed’; Eigo ni zyukutatu surú ni wa l Amerika ni itte benkyoo surú ni l kagi­ru ‘The best way to master English is to go study in America’. But the imperfect copula in a nominal sentence will obligatorily drop: Kore ni kagi­ru ‘This is the best’. The expression can be made negative, as a denial or contradiction. But internal focus is rejected: *... ni wa/mo kagi­ru. Cf. [NEGA TIVE +] ... tó mo kagirá­ní; ... tó wa kagirá­ní—§ 21.1.8).


The expression ni [mo] koto-kaite can be added to a verbal imperfect with the meaning

53. Not even as a denial or contradiction. Where that is wanted you will find S tó wa kima­tte inai.
14. Nominalizations: General and Specific

There are two patterns of verbal iteration that involve direct nominalization of the imperfect verbal. The first is \( V_1 \) ni wa (?/mo) \( V_1 \) and it seems to be roughly equivalent to \( V_1 \) kotō wa \( V_1 \) (§14.1—that pattern holds not just for \( V \) but for any \( S \)): Ikū ni wa ikū ga/kedō = Ikū kotō wa ikū ga/kedō ‘I’m going, all right, but ...’; Reigai mo āru ni wa arimāsū ga ‘There are exceptions, to be sure, but ...’; Hanāsu ni wa hanāsīta desu ga ‘I spoke, all right, but ...’; Irū nya (= ni wa) irū kedō ‘There ARE some but ...’ (Saitama, Zhs 2.179); Sakana mo tabēru ni wa tabēru ga, ānmarī suki zya nai n da ‘Fish, too, I’ll eat, but I’m not too fond of them(, either)’; Ittā ni wa ittā ga /ī /ā /kāetyatta n da ‘I went all right but I came right back’; Dōa wa āru ni wa āru ga kagi mo /zyō mo nāi karā, sore wa i issyu no /soosyoukā nā do to /kangaetā hōo ga /tadasikattā ‘It has = had) a door all right but no key or lock, so that it was more accurate to think of it as a kind of decoration’ (SA 2659.67b); Kāesu ni wa kāesu ni /sitē /mo –/utī(−) e /han-tūki ‘bākari /oit’ō /ā /sore karā kāesu kotō ni /simasyyō ka ‘We WILL return it, of course, but shall we plan to put it away in the house for a couple of weeks and then return it?’ (R)—note the second direct nominalization with ... ni sitē mo, p. 893. The sentence can end without expressing the reservation of the ‘but’ clause: Mukasī karā, /syokugyōo-byōo to /sitē no /zensoku wa, āru ni wa /ātta ‘From early days asthma HAS been around as an occupational disease, to be sure’ (SA 2649.41c).

The second pattern is \( V_1 \)-ru /ni /\( V_1 \)-POTENTIAL NEGATIVE with the meaning ‘can not possibly (do)’: Urū ni /urenai /utī(−) ... ‘A house one can’t sell for the life of one ...’; Kosū ni /kosarenu /kakā /gā /āru ‘There is a fence impossible to cross’; Yamū ni /yamarenai /kimoti ... ‘An impulse too strong to resist’; Ŭū ni /wenarenu /kanashīmi(−) ... ‘An agony beyond description’; Sussūni /i susumarenu /kōnzu ... ‘A total impasse’; Ka’ū ni /kawarenai /kōtōo-hin(−) ... ‘A curio that can not be bought for love nor money’; Tōku ni /tokaraenu /mondai ... ‘A problem beyond solution’; Kora’ēru ni /koraerānu /ktūu(−) ... ‘A pain one can not possibly endure’; Dēru ni /derārenu /kago no tori ... ‘A caged bird that can not get out’; Miru ni /mi-kanete ‘unable to look’ (Fn 50a). There are examples of highlighting: Nakū ni mo /nakenu /ningyou ... ‘A doll that can not even cry’; Sinū ni mo /sinezu, ikīru ni mo /ikirārenai ‘I can’t die, nor can I go on living’ (Fn 412b).

In contrast with \( V_1 \)-i [wa/mo] \( V_1 \)-ru (§9.1.1a), this pattern is rather literary and seems to be largely limited to imperfect adnominal use, as in most of the above examples. But KKK 3.145 has an example with a hortative adnominal: Dēnsha(−) /wa /tyōo-mā’n’in [de],
§ 14.7. Abstract nominalizations of adjectives and adjectival nouns (A-sa, AN-sa; A-mi, AN-mi)

In addition to the regular paradigmatic forms that are used in the various conversations we have discussed, there are a number of ways to derive nouns from adjectives, adjectival nouns, and verbs. In §14.5 we discussed nouns directly derived from verb infinitives, and in §14.8 we describe some abstract nouns derived from verbs by attaching suffixes to the infinitive.

Each adjective will derive an abstract noun by adding the suffix -sa. In some of the dialects, notably those of the Ryūkyūs, these forms function much like the infinitive -ku and combine with the auxiliary ar- to predicate the adjectives. But in standard Japanese the forms are limited to use as nouns, and our principal reason for discussing them in terms of sentence conversions is that the subject of a particular adjective can be genitivized to the abstract noun derived from it: kī ga takai 'the tree is tall' → kī no taka-sa 'the height of the tree', koto ga mizukashi ('the matter is difficult' → kō to no mizukashisa 'the difficulty in/of the matter'. Examples: Kuzirano emu no naga-sa (-) wa zyuujitoru ni mo narū yo 'The length of a whale’s M[embrym = penis] may be a whopping ten meters!' (SA 2676.114c); Sono his-ri-sa o kan-zita 'He felt his (-) humanness'.

The accentuation of the -sa forms is unstable. In general, the accent will follow the basic accent of the infinitive (haya-ku: haya-sa 'speed, earliness') but the traditionally "atonic" adjective bases cause difficulties, since the infinitive shows its basic accent only when a particle follows, and then there are two versions: though abunakunaru 'becomes dangerous' displays no accent in the infinitive, abunakunaranai 'does NOT become dangerous' is said with the accent either on the ending or on the last syllable of the base. When the ending is -sa, the atonic base will ordinarily be accented on the last syllable of the base: abunasa 'dangerousness'. But for shorter atonic verbs, the usual practice is to treat the noun as atonic: aka-sa 'redness', despite akakū wa narānai 'does NOT become red'; omo-sa 'heaviness', despite omokū wa narānai 'does NOT become heavy'. Some speakers also prefer to atonicize the derived nouns from shorter TONIC adjectives as well; K cites taka-sa, naga-sa, and tuyo-sa as "newer" versions for the traditional taka-sa, naga-sa 'length', and tuyo-sa 'strength'—and also lists both huto-sa and huto-sa for huto-'fat around'. Atonic oo-sa 'muchness' and ooki-sa 'bigness = size' are the only forms reported for oo- 'much, many' and ōki- 'big'.

Most adjectival nouns will also attach -sa to make an abstract noun.⁵⁴ The prevailing accentuation rules (Aki naga 49 in NHK) yield atonic forms from atonic adjectival nouns but accentuate the syllable just before the suffix when -sa is added to a tonic adjectival noun: seikaku 'exact', seikaku-sa 'exactness'; kiraku 'comfortable', kiraku-sa 'comfortableness'; ōroka 'stupid', orokā-sa 'stupidity'; gēnki 'healthy', gēnki-sa 'healthiness'.

⁵⁴. And this is true regardless of the pedigree of the adjectival noun: Derakkusu-wa arimasen ga, ... 'There's nothing of the deluxe to it, but ...' (Tsunagoshi 131a).
This sentence contains an abstract noun from an adjective (yōi) as well as one from an adjectival noun (bentō): Keirin keiba no yō-sa wa sūhyakū-en de kēn ga kae, uti(“) de l terebi o miru koṭō mo dekī ru to iu l bennī-sa ni l āru no de wa l nai ka ‘The good thing about bicycle races and horse races surely lies in the convenience that you can buy a ticket for a few hundred yen and watch them on television at home, even’ (SA 2664.33d). And here is an example of a fairly long adjectival noun (ii-kagen): ... kore māde no l kyooiku no l ikagen-sa ga wakāru ‘You can see the perfunctory nature of education up to now’ (SA 2666.97d). Sizuka is usually given the irregular form sizukē-sa ‘quietness’, but sizukā-sa has recently been turning up in automobile advertisements;\(^{55}\) it is the traditional reading given to the word in a haiku by Bashō composed in 1869: Sizukā-sa ya l iwā ni l simi-īru l demi no kōe ‘The stillness!—the cicada voices permeate the rock’ (cf. Miyara 1954.188). Sizukē-sa is formed on a literary adjective sizuke-si = sizuka da ‘is quiet’.

Abstract nouns can be made from desideratives and negatives, including nāi, the negative of āru: ... zisin no nā-sa ... ‘lack of self-confidence’ (Tk 2.140a); ... tōnai ni l okēru(“) l hīhan(“) no l nā-sa ... ‘the nonexistence of criticism within the party’ (SA 2663.20a). The accent of such forms will usually follow the accentuation of the underlying form. Atonic negatives will yield atonic -sa forms, tonic negatives will accentuate the -sa form on the same syllable as the other negative forms.

Abstract nouns form compounds rather freely with -kagen ‘the extent of its being ...’ (see §9.1.7); this is the form in which you will often find the abstract nouns from negativized verbs (V-ana-sa · kagen), but occasionally V-ana appears in other contexts: Sono l wakarā-sa ni l heikoo sita ‘I was amazed at his failure to understand’; Zibun no itaran-sa wa l zikaku site orimāsu ‘I am fully aware of my own inadequacy’; ... kōun ni mo, l tatimati l kāre wa, l sono kakko no tukā-sa kara l sukuwarenta ‘as fortune would have it, suddenly he was saved from the unseemliness of the situation’ (Kb 302a). It seems to be rare for the negativized adjective to make an abstract noun; I have no examples of A-ku nā-sa, despite an unusual example of an abstract noun made on the negativized copula (N de nā-sa): Sono sūgata no l karisome de nā-sa ga, l itoko l omoku ūtta ‘The untriviality of the figure struck Itoko heavily’ (Ig 1959.57).

There are compound nouns made by attaching hōsi-sa ‘desire’ to adjective + noun: amai-mono-hōsisa ‘a desire for sweet things’, takai-mono-hōsisa ‘a taste for expensive things’, mezurasi-mono-hōsisa ‘a yearning for exotic things’, ... The -sa form is sometimes used as an expletive (cf. Hayashi 155-6) as in this example: Amaī no kudaranā-sa ‘Stupidity to spare!’ = ‘How terribly stupid!’ An emphatic iteration of the adjective is made by subduing the abstract noun and following with the literary predicative A-sa wa A-si ‘is ever so A’: Kura-sa wa kurā-si ‘It is ever so dark’ (Kb 227b); Sāmu-sa wa sāmu-si ‘It is cold as cold can be’.

For adjectives that express a psychological or emotional state, there is a type of sentence conversion that will leave adjuncts intact while adding -sa ni to mean ‘out of a feeling of ...’: Soo iu kotō ga iyā-sa ni, l Kenʻiti wa l suki-ppara o osārō kotō ga l tabitabi de ātta ‘Out of a feeling of dislike for such things, Kenʻichi found himself having to put up with an empty stomach quite often’ (Ig 57); Sīkararurū no ga l kōwa-sa ni, l uti(“) e l kaerānakatta ‘From a dread of getting scolded, he would not go home’; Syozai-nā-sa ni ...
§14.8. Abstract nominalizations of verbs (V-i-yoo/-kata) 911

'From boredom...'; Kāre no giron-mēita hanashi o hāyaku yamete morai-ta-sa ni, ...
'Out of a desire to have a speedy end put to his argumentative talk,...'; ... waribiki site morai-ta-sa ni ... 'from a desire to get a discount' (Endō 189); Yooroppa-kēnbutsu isita-sa ni ll ... 'With the desire to see Europe...' (SA 2670.138); ... sono onnō no kao [o] mita-sa ni ... 'from a desire to see that woman’s face' (Endō 189). From kowai monogaq/mī-ta-sa ni 'out of a desire to look at scary things' comes a derived noun kowaimonitsa ‘a desire to look at scary things’; it is followed by the gerund dém in F n 62a. The structure of the noun is similar to that of naimono-nēdāri ‘asking for the unobtainable’ ← nāi monō o nedari ‘pestering for that which does not exist’.

In addition to the -sa form, some adjectives derive a somewhat less abstract noun with the suffix -mi: taka-mi ‘height (= high place)’, omo-mi ‘weight (= pressure)’. According to Akinaga (49 in NHK) the appropriate accentuation rule tells us to make atonic forms from atonic adjectives (ama-mi, akaru-mi, yasasi-mi) and to put the accent on the suffix for shorter tonic adjectives (niga-mi, sibu-mi); the longer tonic adjectives yield forms accentuated on either the suffix or the last syllable of the base, or atonic forms: omosirō-mi, omosiro-mi, umosiro-mi. But there seem to be individual fluctuations and exceptions (taka-mi ‘height’). A few adjectival nouns also produce -mi forms, and the accentuation is variable: sinken ‘earnest’ yields sinken-mi or sinkēn-mi; sinsetu yields sinsetu-mi, sinsetū-mi, or sinsetu-mi (Akinaga, ibid.).

For some words, variant accentuation correlates with a difference in meaning: atu-sa means either ‘hotness, heat’ or ‘summer heat’ but atu-sa is limited to the second meaning; sāmu-sa means either ‘cold(ness)’ or ‘winter cold’, but samu-sa is limited to the specialized meaning. In the meaning ‘deep place’ K lists both huka-mi and hukā-mi, but in the meaning ‘depth’ only huka-mi; sīrō-mi means only ‘sap, albumen; white meat’ but sīro-mi has the general meaning ‘whiteness’ in addition to the specialized meanings.

Little is known about the origin of these suffixes. The suffix -mi is usually taken to be identical with the old literary “alternative” form (V_{1}-i-mi V_{2}-i-mi = V_{1}-tari V_{2}-tari, §9.4) and with the suffix that participated in a peculiar construction of early Japanese, No A-mi ‘because the N is A’. It seems likely that the source for these several kinds of -mi is the infinitive of a verbalizing suffix -m-, still found in over 20 verbs derived from adjectives, e.g. itāmu ‘hurts’ from itā ‘is painful’, and as part of the suffixes -me- and -mar- that occur (separately or, with paired transitivity, jointly) for over 30 adjectives: hiromēru ‘widens it’, hiromāru ‘it widens’ from hirōi ‘is wide’. The suffix -sa has been etymologically associated with samā ‘appearance’ (earlier also ‘direction’); see the discussion of the dialect particle sa ‘to’ on p. 49.

14.8. ABSTRACT LEXICAL AND SENTENTIAL NOMINALIZATIONS OF VERBS (V-i-yoo, V-i-kata)

Virtually every verb will derive an abstract noun by attaching to the infinitive the suffix -kata; if the verb is tonic, the noun will carry an accent on the penultimate syllable (hanashi ‘talking’, hanasi-kata ‘way of talking’) and if the verb is atonic the noun will also be atonic (yobi ‘calling’, yobi-kata ‘way of calling’). Although the resulting noun will retain the possibilities of the underlying verb for selecting particular adjuncts, the adjuncts are usually adnominalized (by propredication or genitivization): Watasi ga mē o mihāttā no wa, māzu dāi-iti ni gakkī e no kare-ra no nazime-kata de aru ‘What caught
my eye was, first of all, the way they were familiar with their instruments' (SA 2665.33a) ← kāre-ra ga l gakkī (e =) ni nażimu ‘they become familiar with their instruments’; ... kabe no kizuki-kāta ‘the construction of the walls’ ← kabe o kizuku ‘they construct the walls’; Syakai-ka [no] zyūgū no l uke-kāta ... ‘Receiving instruction in social studies’ ← zyūgū o l ukēru ‘they receive instruction’;

±- kabe o ki zuku (ni) l sasseru (l) sōre ga l wağ-a-ya no l inû no l a-i-si-kāta datta ‘Giving the dog his freedom—that was the way we loved dogs in our family’ (SA 2663.103a) ← inû o l a-i-suru ‘we love dogs’; ... ki no l ue-kata l arūi-wa l ishi no oki-kata de, l hitōtō no l niwa ga l hiroku l nätayaran l nâtataru sururu ‘By the planting of trees or the placing of stones, a single garden gets wider or narrower’ (Tk 2.327a) ← ki o l ueru ‘they plant trees’, isi o l oku ‘they place stones’. The noun need not carry any of the underlying adjuncts; it can be modified by other adnominalizations: Ke no seissu wa l amari zyoottō de nāku, l arai monō de, l arai tumugi-kāta o l site iru ‘The quality of the wool being none too high, it is coarse stuff and is given a coarse weave’ (SA 2685.79);

Sikā-mo l kono umare-kata mo l sodati-kāta mo l kyōyō mo l mimnā tigattā n desu ‘Moreover, both this way of being born and of being brought up, and the education, too—all were different’ (R).

The abstract noun can be made from voice-converted verbs (sase-kata ‘way of making one do’, sare-kata ‘way of being made to do’), from verbal nouns (VN si-kata), and from verb infinitive + auxiliary (si-tuzuke-kata ‘way of continuing to do it’).56 A few examples:
...

hanasi-yō ‘way of talking’, yobi-yō ‘way of calling’. It is particularly common to replace si-kata ‘way of doing’ by si-yō or its contraction syō in the expression Si-yō (Syō) ga nai ‘There’s nothing can be done’. In Kansai dialects this is pronounced Si-yā[a] nai, and that is evidence confirming the historical spelling that shows us the older form was yā, coming from Chinese yāng ‘appearance’. We can compare other cases of au > aa, which seems to be particularly common from northeast Hyōgo through Izumo (Zh 4.314 n. 4): ka[h]u-te > kau-te > kaa-te ‘buying’ (Zh 4.327)57 where Kyōto has koo-te; n[i]te ar-amu > de ara[m]u > darau > dara[a] ‘probably is’ (=da-rō, Zh 4.305 n. 5); kura[k]u natte > kuraa nätte ‘becoming dark’ (Zh 4.312) where Kyōto has kuroo nätte.

There is another use of V-i-yoo as a SENTENTIAL nominalization that can retain the adjuncts of the underlying verb: Oetu o l osae-yō ga l nākatta ‘There was no way to suppress the sobs’ (Tk 4.271a);

... mattaku’ll peten ni kakātta to sika l ii-yōo ga nai ‘It can only be said that he was completely deceived’ (SA 2687.137e); Ano baai, l l dare d’at[e] [o] l tome-yōo ga nai desu l yo ‘In such a situation there’s no way to detain anybody’ (SA 2681.123d); Nai l monō o l

56. Notice also motte iki-kata (Tk 3.195b) = hakobi-kata ‘way to carry on (continue)’.

57. A variant kaa-tte is also reported here; it is unclear whether this is perhaps a transitional form to the eastern katte or whether it is merely emphatic.
mise-yóo ga nái zya nái ka ‘Surely there’s no way to show something that doesn’t exist!’ (Okitsu 1.17). All the examples I have found are followed by ga/mo nái ‘there is no (way to ...)’. Are other predicates permitted? The sentential nominalization would seem to be relatively uncommon; when the adjuncts fail to surface, we will assume the lexical nominalization: Kangae-yóo de wa (... to mo toréru) ‘Depending on how you look at it, (it can also be taken that ...)’ (Shibata 1965.205). In the following example utagai no could be taken either as diagnostic of the sentential nominalization (being a stylistic variant of utagai ga under adnominalization) or as diagnostic of the lexical nominalization (a subject that has been genitivized or propredicated and then adnominalized): ... Táhara san ni l utagai no oki-yóo wa l nákkatta ‘Mr Tahara ... had no way for suspicions to arise’ (SA 2666.112c). But in té no l tüké-yóo no nái l kyóóri ‘a distance out of (hand’s) reach’ we must assume an objectival genitive, derived from té o tükéru ‘brings one’s hand in contact (with)’.

Very occasionally, you may find V-i-kata also used as a sentential nominalizer, with an adjunct intact: Tokoró-de, l Táro no l yuumei ni nari-káta wa l ippuu l kawatte ita ‘Now, Taró’s way of becoming famous was quite odd’ (lg 58). In this example, the conversion is made on [Táro ga] yuumei ni nári ‘Taró become famous’, but the underlying subject is genitivized to the resulting nominalization.

There are a few other suffixes that make lexical nominalizations from verb infinitives, notably -ppuri ‘manner, way’: ... sono syookai no si-ppuri nánka ... ‘the way the introduction was made’ (Tk 2.116b); ... piano no hiki-ppuri ... ‘the way the piano is played’; ... nomi-ppuri ga ii ... ‘is a good drinker’ (Tk 2.250b); ... hanasi-ppuri mo yóoku nite iru ‘are much alike in the way they talk’; ... utai-ppuri ... ‘(way of) singing’ (SA 2645.106d). This is a variant of the quasi-restrictive ‘buri ‘manner’ (§2.4).
15 SENTENCE EXTENSIONS

As H. Kindaichi has observed (1957.170), the speaker of Japanese hates to let a sentence end on a note of finality. This attitude has helped foster the development of certain verbal auxiliary expressions, stylization devices (§22), purely formal uses of quotations (§21), and extravagant nominalizations. And it accounts for the tendency to attach a FINAL PARTICLE to impart some additional hint of the speaker’s attitude toward what he is saying—doubt, conviction, caution, inquiry, confirmation or request for confirmation, recollection, etc. Some of the particles (sá, yó, né, etc.) are little more than interjections that have been tacked on to the end of the sentence, as often can be seen from an examination of their phrasing: typically the particle is separated from the sentence by a minor juncture, needed in our description to account for the unvoicing of final /u/ and the high pitch on the particle in such sentences as Sóó desu I yó. Some of the particles (ká, ná, kke, tté, etc.) are like the grammatical markers of case, of adverbialization, and of conjunctionalization; they are attached with no juncture: Hanásu na ‘Don’t speak!’ has a voiced /u/ and the particle is low in pitch, cf. Hanásu I ná ‘I’ll speak, you see’ with voiceless /u/. (In Sóó desu ka the unvoicing of the /u/ is accounted for by the surrounding voiceless sounds, not by a juncture.) Certain sentence extensions (ká mo sirenai, zya nái ka, daróo) are normally attached without juncture, but may be preceded by an underlying juncture (as evidenced by various accentual manifestations) in order to emphasize the meanings they impart, as explained in the relevant sections. By its meaning the tentative (S + daróo/desyóo) obviously belongs with these “sentence extensions” but it has been treated separately (in §12.1) for several reasons.

A fair number of other sentence conversions that here, for a variety of reasons, are treated separately would perhaps belong with the “sentence extensions” if we were starting from the deeper meanings, notably these: hearsay reporting (sóó da §18) and quotations (§21), the semblative (rasiii §19), the evidential (sóó da §20), many of the types of command or request (§16), the hortative (§12.2), certain of the nominalization uses (nó da §14.2), a number of the postadnominals (hazu da, tumori da, yóó da, ...), some of the direct nominalizations (such as ni tigai nái §14.5.1), a few auxiliaries (-te simau in one meaning, that of displeasure, and -i-yagaru—at least); and even the desiderative, the negative, and the stylizations.

In the following sections each sentence extension is taken up individually with notes on its meaning and use. Unless otherwise stated, the extension can be applied to any finite sentence—imperfect, perfect, tentative, etc. (This is one reason for describing the tentative separately.) The particles í and é are treated as variants of yó or of néd; see §15.4 (wá í), §15.7 (ká í/e, dá í/e; -i-mássé, dósse/dássé, -rú na í, -e ró í), §16.1 (-é í, -e ró í).

The “interjection”-type particles—called “cessational” (i.e. sentence-enders) by Fujiwara—are used to add a personal touch to what one is saying; often they defy ready translation. The particles né(e) and ná[a] in particular are used to involve both speakers and hearer in what is being said, as English speakers often do with ‘you know, you see, I’d say, I’d think, it seems to me, I mean, I want to tell you, as I’m sure you know (have heard)’, etc. Another device used by English speakers is the frequent insertion of a vocative (‘Now, Tom, ... And that’s what happened, Tom’) or some generalized substitute for a vocative—such as ‘my dear, my friend, darling, honey, sweetheart, beautiful, love, lover,
old man, old fellow; guys, you guys, fellows, you fellows, friends\(^1\) that was originally intended as an endearment, in contrast with the similar use of ‘sir’ or ‘ma’am’ to pay respect, much as the honorific stylization does in Japanese. In Japan vocatives are used more sparingly, so that ... né[e] often turns out to be the suitable translation for the vocatives that may be strewn through an English sentence; conversely, one of the English vocatives (or an endearing substitute) may prove an apt translation for a Japanese né[e]. Sometimes a ‘now’ inserted into the English—with or without the vocative—will catch the conversational intimacy implied by né[e]: ‘Now THAT would be fun’ = Sō sitāra omosirō nē. Sometimes né expresses a concession: Sōo na n desu né ‘That’s true, all right’. But the force of the interjectional particles is often carried in English and other languages by GESTURES—a smile, a frown, a shrug, a jab, a wag.

To our list of exclamatory particles we might well wish to add the final glottal catch that is represented in writing by a reduced kana TU (often katakana), rendered into romanized form as an apostrophe or as -q.\(^2\) Kowaiq! or Kowai’! ‘I’m afraid!’ (SA 2664.35a—spelled with small katakana TU); Eq suyunyyuu dēsu ka? ‘Eh?—(you wonder about) earnings?’ (SA 2671.30b—small hiragana TU). This is common with peremptory commands: Modōreq! ‘Go back!’ When followed by a quotative tō, the glottal catch assimilates so that we hear a long /tt/: ‘O-kotowariq’ to kūti o tugumārēru no ga itiban yari-nikū ‘It’s the hardest thing to be clammed up on with a “Not interested!”’ (SA); Simātaq to omōtte ... ‘Thinking “Damn!” ...’ (SA 2677.122d—written with small katakana TU); Dē, toozī-sya wa “Kore daq” to omōtta ‘rasi ‘And so the concerned parties apparently thought “This is it!”’ (SA 2684.118b—small katakana TU); ... yarētaq to omōttara ... ‘if you think “I’ve been had [= poisoned]!”’ (SA 2674.50b); ... kore wāq to omōtta n zya nāi? ‘didn’t you think “what’s this?!”’ (SA 2674.46b—written with small hiragana TU).

See also tō, §21.1.(20). In the example Ooya san q! ‘Landlord!’ (Okitsu 1.72), the spelling (small hiragana TU after N) probably represents a brusque tone of voice.

A similar kind of quasi-particle is the half-lengthening of a final vowel used to signal a question: Kore dēsu[: ’This?’. This is seldom shown in print, but I have seen Sōo desu kaa? ‘Ohhh?’ written with hiragana /a/.\(^3\) See §15.6.

The plain imperfect of the copula (dā) often drops before a particle. It is common to drop dā before kā and extensions (kā sira, kā mo sirenai, kā né etc.), and before sā the ellipsis seems to be obligatory; before né (or nā) and yō, speakers have a choice: for the meaning ‘Mind you, it’s that’ men usually say Sore dā yo or (§14.2) Sore nā n dā yō, women say Sore yō or Sore nā no yō. (Just the opposite in some dialects.)

The word dā itself is used as an interjectional particle, interpolated by certain male speakers to give an “overbearing, preachy tone” (Y 384). Examples of this use of dā (and dā nā, dā né, dā ga né, dā yō) will be found in Y 384. As a sentence-final particle dā sounds rustic (Y 384). On other interpolations of the copula, see §24.

1. Or the “‘there’” that means “I recognize you but your name slips my mind” as in “Why hello, there”: Notice how English also uses personal pronouns as interjections: “My (oh) my!”, “Yoo [= you] hoo [= who]!”

2. Or, as in Kenkyusha’s dictionary, with a breve over the vowel to mark it as extra-short: å = aq, a’.

3. The lengthening is sometimes used to emphasize an adverb: ... sore kara hāhā wa SUKŌOSI masi ni nāri, ... ‘then my mother got a little better’ (SA 2684.139b) spelled, in hiragana, ‘su-kousi’. Emphatic lengthening of particles and mimetic words is often represented by katakana: Āra, sōō[: ‘Oh, really??’ (Arīyoshi 71) has the hiragana spelling “so-u” followed by small katakana “o”.

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§15. Sentence extensions
15.1. | * né[e] | * ná[a] |

The particles *né[e]* and *ná[a]* soften a statement and invite confirmation on the part of the hearer: 'don't you think, n'est-ce pas?' The *ná[a]* form is more rustic and vigorous, hence often used by men and boys among friends or people of the same age and social status—or to inferiors, but usually not to superiors. In speaking to yourself ná is often more natural than né; notice the appropriate English pronominal references in the translation of this example: 'Zůibun tigau ná to omóttá né 'It's quite different, I thought to myself, you see' (Tk 4.295a). Nominal sentences (like Kore dā né 'It is this') optionally drop the plain copula (Kore né), and this is the source of the né or ná interpolated so freely after phrases throughout the sentence, especially in the speech of women and in telephone conversations, where a quick response of hā[a] or é[e] or ō[n] 'uh-huh' is often called for.

Constant marking of pauses with né or sā or yō can be irritating to the listener; I am told there is a movement afoot to discourage promiscuous use of these particles, appropriately called the ne-sa-yo-ündoo or (Uyeno 133) ne-sa-yo - tuhoo-ündoo 'Movement to banish né sā yō'. Such a movement will probably be of little interest to the 5-year-old girl giving her definition of a postwar Japanese phenomenon: Santa-Kuróosu tte né, akai o-yōohuku kite né, ōoki na hukuro katúide né, yasasii kaizyyuu mitai na hitō 'Santa Claus—he's a man who wears a red suit and uh, carries a big bag on his shoulder, and uh, is like a nice monster' (SA 2658.116c).

The particle *né[e]* is often used to soften requests (§16) and proposals (§12.2); but apparently (Uyeno 106) the plain imperative is semantically incompatible (*Nôme né*) unless accompanied by yō (Nôme yō né). For abbreviation of né to i or é, see §15.7 (kā i, dā i). Stylized sentences are often extended with *né[e]* (... desu né[e], ... de gozaimasú né[e]); they are sometimes heard also with ná[a]. *Né[e]* and Ná[a] are also used as interjections (§23) to equals or inferiors, somewhat like English 'Say, ...' or 'Look, ...'. Né[e] or ná[a] will sometimes appear after other sentence extenders as a kind of minor sentence, usually with major juncture: Sō i yō I né 'That's right, my dear' (woman to woman). For the feminine ... wā né[e], see §15.4; for kā né, see below. There are rustic dialects that use a particle nōo in place of náa: Soko de nóoo wasi mo kēssin sita n zya 'That's when ah made up mah mind, yuh see' (=Soko de née/náa watasi mo kēssin sita n da); Síkási, wasi-ra gen’eki ‘zidai to tigaote (=tigatte), yamanobóri-dōogu wa sinpo sita. Kane wa kakarimásu nōo 'But, unlike the period when we were in active service, mountain-climbing equipment has improved. It takes money, you see' (SA 2680.114e—a 57-year-old Kansai male).

Examples of *S zya ken nóo (= S dā kara née) from a Yamaguchi woman and of ...te nōo, ... (= -te nēe) from a Gifu man can be found in SA 2673.26a/c. We would expect a shortened form nō, as well as nōo, and the following sentence might be taken as an example: Sore de ádóresu o kāke tte iū kara kakimásita nó ‘Then they told me to write my address so I wrote it, you see' (SA 2685.43b—speaking is the writer Kojima Mieko, born in Tottori province). But (especially since the speaker is female) this is perhaps more likely to be taken as a nominalization of the polite sentence, here used as a statement marker (§15.13). Fujiwara (1965.83ff) reports a dialect form nî[i].

4. According to Uyeno a male will use ná[a] with statements addressed to others as well as himself but a female will use the particle only when speaking to herself or in making requests or commands, the command form with ná being rather feminine, since men would be more likely to use ná yō.
The confirmatory particles are used in many situations that seem highly idiosyncratic to the foreigner, as in the following leavetaking that was once overheard: Sayonara née.—Sayonara ‘G’bye now.—Good-bye’. Notice how the addressee can be brought into the picture with née: O-naka ga sukimāsha née; syokuzi simasyōo ‘I’m hungry and you must be, too; let’s eat’. In responding to a statement that ends in née, the addressee will often come back with née (cf. Uyeno 119): Samuï née—Soo née ‘It’s cold, isn’t it.—Yes, it is’.

In Kansai speech a preceding -si[u] is often assimilated so that you will hear -mān nē[e] for -māsu nē[e] and dē nē[e] for dēsu nē[e], dēn nā[a] for dēsu nā[a]: Sore ga mondai dēn nāa ‘THAT is the problem’ (SA 2669.101c). (On Kansai s[u]n > hn > nn, see Zhs 4.229.)

By ellipsis (of sore or soo) expressions such as dā nē/nā, dēsu nē/nā, and dē nē/nā often turn up as interpolations within the sentence—or at the very beginning: [Sore] dē nē, Raito-san wa koko de hōteru o benkyō nasatta wake desyoo. [Soo] dē aru kara, Raito- san wa ryōoori-zyoo no kotō wa zenzen siranai ‘Well, you see at this point Mr. Wright had applied himself to (the study of) hotels. That meant he knew nothing of dining facilities’ (SA 2669.47b). Similar introducers are Dā kedo nē and Dā ga nā ‘But...’. Cf. §24.

Hayashi 157 observes that -tāra (conditional) and -réba (provisional) are sometimes followed directly by nāa as well as by ii nāa and ii n da ga nāa to express yearnings: Sōra o tobetāra [ ] nāa ‘If only I could fly in the sky!'; Mitiko san no yōo ni utukusikattara [ ] nāa ‘If only I were beautiful the way Michiko is!'; Hime ga ite kureréba [ ] nāa ‘If only we have a “princess” (= [baby] girl)!’; Sēmete anō-hito “gūrai nāra(-ba) [ ] nāa ‘If only it’s him (or an equivalent) at least!’.

Although the origins of nē[e], nā[a], and nō{o} are obscure, it is possible that they are all abbreviations from the negative: nāi becoming nēe by the common crasis characteristic of downtown Tōkyō speech (and widespread elsewhere, as well), nāa coming from nāi[k] by abbreviation, with compensatory lengthening of the vowel (later shortened in all three versions); and nōo representing the Kansai version of nāki (i.e. nā[k]i = nā’u). An alternative explanation of nōo would take it back to the Azuma (= eastern) dialect of Old Japanese, which had negative verb forms ending in -nahw-[nF] (and -nohw- ?—see Miller 169). A wilder speculation is that nē[e] and nā[a] might be from an old word for ‘you’, nandi < na-muti; cf. the suggestion in §15.4 that the particle wā may have once been the word for ‘I’, proto-Japanese ba(nu). Other speculations involve the word for ‘what’ nāi (but Ryūkyū nāi) and the literary particle nāmu/nān ‘indeed’.

In place of V-i-nā[sāi] yo ‘do VI’ downtown Tōkyō men often use a variant V-i-nēe as in Susi ku-i-nēe = Susi o kui-nā[sāi] yo ‘Eat some sushi’—cf. kuwānee ‘I will not eat’. With vowel verbs, this can lead to ambiguity: /sinee/ can represent either sinee = sina’i ‘I will not do it’ or si-nēe = si-nā[sāi] yo. But the accent will show the difference: tabēnee = tabēnāi, tabe-nēe = tabe-nā[sāi] yo. Do not confuse this with nē[e].

In Saitama prefecture (Shibata 1961.71) nāi—probably a variant of nā+ yō—is used to
mean né, and the word corresponding to standard náï (= arimasén) is pronounced néé, as in downtown Tókyó speech. Thus Saitama Sóo da né is equivalent to Soo da né ‘That’s right, isn’t it’ and is not to be taken as Sóo zya né = Sóo zya né ‘That’s not right’, though there are dialects which use N da né for N zya né (see p. 373n).

15.2.  | Sá

The particle sá is vigorous and ego-assertive; it is put on at the end of a sentence (often containing motiron ‘of course’) to mean ‘indeed’ or ‘believe-you-me’ or ‘let-me-tell-you...’. The particle is too frank to be used with the polite style (Uyeno 83). A nominal sentence obligatorily drops da when adding sá: Kore da. → Kore ō 닥다 닥 (or, §14.2, Kore na no 닥다 닥) ‘It’s quiet!’ This is perhaps the source of the occasional interpolation of sá after phrases within the sentence, especially with kára ‘because’ and kedo ‘however’ (cf. KKK 3.54); for certain speakers Dá kara sá ‘And that’s why...’ and Dá kedo sá ‘But anyway...’ are frequent sentence-introducers (§24). We also find D’átte sá... = Dé mo sá... ‘But still...’—not to be confused with Sóo da tte sá! ‘That’s what they say (all right)’! There is an interjection Sá[a]... ‘Well (now) ...’ or ‘Now (then) ...’, often used to introduce an exhortation or command, to express urgency, or to reveal perplexity—as when at a loss for an answer. Cf. Né[e]..., Ná[a]..., in the preceding section.

But sá is not limited to assertions; KKK 3.54 lists insistent questions of this sort: Ná ni sá ‘What (is it)?’; Zya dôko e nerú no sá ‘Well WHERE shall I lie down?’; Dóo site sá—o-tósoan no o-tomodati ná no ni ‘How come—when he’s your father’s friend?’; Dóo iu kotó na no sá ‘What IS this?!’ Such questions always contain an interrogative word and must not be marked by ká; the predicate must be nominal (Uyeno 85): *Ná ni o suru sá → Ná ni o surú no sá ‘What WILL we do?’ A sentence ending... tó sá! or... tte sá! is a lively way of quoting someone, as in Kenkyusha’s example Kára wa mata kúru to sá ‘He says he will come again’; sometimes the quotational meaning is attenuated—Mukasi aru tokoró ni ožisán to obáasan ga áttá to sá ‘Once upon a time, they say, there was in a certain place an old man and an old woman’ (KKK 3.54)—and sometimes an element of contempt is implied as in Aitó anó kôe de nôdo-zimán ni dêta na tte sá ‘And to think he put a voice like that on display!’ (KKK 3.54) and perhaps in Móo hárú da tte sá ‘So it’s springtime!’ (SA 2665.89c—spoken by an unconcerned stone in a cartoon). For... tte ‘tttára sá sore kósó ... (theme + anaphoric reprise) see the example in §21.2. For... si sá, see §17.3. The adverb yassá-móssa ‘in disorder/trouble, helter-skelter’ is derived from the exchange Yu-rú sá—Modó-sú sá ‘I’ll give it to ya—I’ll return it!’ A declarative sentence ending in sá can add né (Uyeno 93). S daróo sá and S ni tigai náï sá are possible, but not *S yóo/rašii/sóo sá (Uyeno 85). Do not confuse sá with ‘s’ a, the contraction of désu [w]á, as in Sóo ‘s’ a ná[a] = Sóo desu wa náa (Okitsu 1.227, 248).

The origin of sá is unknown, but it may very well have developed from the deictic sa/so ‘th(at etc.)’; cf. English ‘... so there!’ Notice also the suggestion (in §22.3) of a dialect development from the old auxiliary sooróó.

15.3.  | Yo'

The particle yó is an insistent ‘indeed’, used in asserting a claim, advocating a course of action, or emphasizing a warning: Abunai yó ‘(Look out—) it’s dangerous!’ Some useful
translations are ‘I want you to know’, ‘Believe (you) me ...’, ‘I tell you’, ‘I’d say’, ‘let me tell you’, ‘mind you’ (interpolated just about anywhere in the English sentence); ‘But ...’, ‘Look, ...’, ‘Hey, ...’, ‘Say, ...’, ‘Why, ...!’ In standard speech yó does not occur except at the end of a sentence; the sentence may be perfect, imperfect, tentative—including what we have called “literary” tentative, § 12.3: Masaka uso zya arimasu “mai yó = ... zya nai desyoo yó ‘I certainly don’t think it’s untrue!’, etc. Yó can also occur after the feminine particle wá (Abunái wa yó!) which is limited to imperfect and perfect. But see the note at end of § 15.6 on women’s avoidance of simple yó (like ká) after a sentence-final plain-style form; there is a masculine sound to Surú yó!, for a woman would say either Surú no yó! or Surú wa yó! And Mio says that ... dá wa yó! is rare, being usually replaced by simple ... yó!

In country dialects (southwest Kantō, Zhs 2.21) yó is sometimes used like sá or né to punctuate phrases within a sentence; in such dialects the vowel is often lengthened: Dá kara yó[o], gakkó[o] e yó[o], ikanai yó[o] ‘That’s why, see, I’m not going to school, see’. Lately the short form yó is said to be in vogue among rough young men in Tókyó as a synonym of sá, which may be losing some of its vigor now that everyone is using it.6 Yó is also said to be common in the speech of nagging children. Occasionally N yó is used as a vocative: Tároo yó! ‘Hey, Tárö!’ (This corresponds to the literary and dialect use of yá. Usually people are hailed without a particle.)

The copula dá is optionally omitted: Kore 4dá] yó (or, § 14.2, Kore ná no 4dá] yó) ‘It’s this!’; Damé 4dá] yó! (Damé ná no 4dá] yó!) ‘It’s no good!’

The particle yó can also be used to firm up one’s authority in making commands, requests and proposals. 7 See § 12.2, § 16. There is a dialect form i that occurs at least as a variant of yó after the imperative or imperative + ró; see § 16.1. There is a Kansai form s é for sé yó ‘do it!’ as in Mokuteki wa, wareware ga ningen ‘rāsii seikatu ga dekér[u = dekiru] yó[o ni, seihō wa hāiryō se e, to iu kotō na n desu wá ‘The aim is that the government should concern itself to see that we can live like human beings’ (SA 2678.65bc—Ösaka speaker). Maeda 1961.20 says that é for yó is no longer so much used in Ösaka but still is frequent in Kýoto.

A sequence of yó né/ná is possible:8 Kono bún zya syátyoo wa, ore dá yó né ‘At this rate, I tell you, I’ll be the next head of the company’ (SA 2655.113a); Gendai no seikatu to iú ka, íma no sarariiman-tétugaku to iu monó ni pittári da yó né ‘It fits to a T what is known as modern life or the white-collar philosophy of the day, you see’ (Maeda 1962.149); Kekkyóku wa, dootóku-sin no mondai désu yó né ‘After all, it is a question of one’s sense of morality, you see’ (SA 2670.54c); Sikkári yaré yó ná ‘Keep your chin up!’ (SA 2672.27e); Omosörü désu yó né. Kyooógen hodo omosörü monó wa nái désu né ‘They ARE amusing, you know. There’s nothing so amusing as kyógen farces, I’d say’ (SA 2659.52d). Uyéno (103-4) says that ká yó can be used to emphasize a rhetorical question, and may be interpreted as “an insult for the addressee”; it can not be followed by né (107).

6. Sore ga yó [=sá], mattakú no kitai-házure ni nátta no sá! ‘That, I tell you, was not what I expected at all!’

7. The need to firm up the authority makes the commands or requests seem softer. Cf. Uyéno 101-2, who observes that commands with yó are often followed by ii (desu) ka ‘OK?’ and requests with yó are often followed by Tánómu kara (or O-negai dá/désu kara) ‘I’m asking you to’.

8. As is the feminine wá yó né; see §15.4.
I know of no suggestions for the origin of yo; but consider ya (§ 15.6a), yaa 'hey!'; yō'u = yō(k)u 'well', yō-si 'good!'. A remote connection with zó and its Ryukyuan equivalent do[ō] is also possible.

15.4. [1] Wa

At the end of unstylized sentences, the particle wa is almost exclusively a woman’s item and it helps give female speech its characteristically feminine flavor. Uyeno observes that the female use of wa carries an implication of the speaker’s feminity and hence is inappropriate in “official” situations—particularly to a male boss or the like, since the female use of wa in speaking to a male often implies an intimate relationship. With polite and honorific stylizations (§ 22: -másu wa, dèsu wa, de gozaimásu wa) the particle is also much used by women, but in addition you will hear middle-aged gentlemen using it when they deliver an assertion with a certain air of assurance or authority. Wá, unlike yó, is not used after tentative (*Kore daróo wa), command (*Iké wa), or proposal (*Ikóo wa). Sentence-final /wai/, apparently [1] wa = [1] wa yó (see § 15.7) is dialectal: Wasi no yóo na roozinn ga syabérù wa n̄i mo ari mas en wa ‘There’s nothing for an old codger like me to talk about’ (SA 2662.60c); Kore wa taihen na tokóró e kite simatta wa ‘What a terrible place I’ve ended up in!’ (SA 2669.62—speaking is a young man from Rishirí-tō, an island off Hokkaidō).

For wa yó see § 15.3; both that sequence and wa nē[el]/nā[a] seem to be exclusively feminine:9 lutára, bizinesu-hóteru to awáseta yóo na seikaku dèsu wa ná ‘Why, it [= a rendezvous hotel (abeakk-kóteru)] has the characteristics of having been blended with a businessman’s hotel, so to speak’ (SA 2659.133b—a Kansai woman is writing; the first word is pronounced yuutára and is equivalent to Tókyō ittára or yuttára).

But the following two examples of wa ná are from the speech of the critic Nakano Yoshio (who appears to be from Kansai): Rókun-téepu ga áru to iú kara, sore ga déreba, dónna hanasiai dátta ka, wakarímásu wa ná ‘Since there is said to be a tape recording, if it is brought out then it will be clear what sort of agreement there was’ (SA 2663.22d); Síkási, mondai wa seizí to sinkoo no kankei dèsu wa ná ‘But the question is the relationship of government and religion’ (SA 2663.23d). And this example is from the speech of a 57-year-old Kansai male: Hitórí hyakuman-en hodo zakarímásu wa ná ‘It [= the expedition] costs a million yen a person, you know’ (SA 2680.114d). On Tókyō men’s use of wa EVEN WITH PLAIN-STYLE FORMS see Mio 357, from which I take these examples: Áru wa, áru wa, mono-súgóku áru ‘There are, there are, there are indeed!’; Are mo hosíi wa, kore mo hosíi wa, dé wa komárú ‘I want this and I want that, so I’m at a loss what to do!’ These cases involve repetition within an utterance as in the sentences presented next below, but Mio also cites—as dialect—the masculine Ore mo ikú wa ‘I’ll go too’. An example from an Ōsaka-born male: Umái kotó ittá monk da to omóu wa ‘He was clever saying that, I think’ (Shiba 121).

Is the difference between masculine and feminine usage of wa correlated with the difference between the two phrasing treatments (wa with no juncture versus wa with preceding

9. There is also wa yó née: Ara Í sitte ‘ré wa yó Í né ‘Oh, I’ve got it (= I know it)!’ (R). The feminine expression ... dá wa ýóo is said to have started in theater and brothel during the early part of the Meiji period and gradually gained respectability and widespread use; in Sagami it is a masculine usage (Y 378).
juncture)? According to H. Kindaichi (1957.50) distinctions between male and female speech are fairly new and urban; the trend toward a distinction has been diminishing since Meiji times, and especially since World War II (51-2), but public opinion still favors keeping what distinctions there are (52). Iterated sentences ending in わ are sometimes inserted as lively circumstances in a larger setting: ガ、くちゅ wa kuru wa, yon-mân nis-en-nin no zyukën-sya ga na-norî(−) déta 'But, come one come all, forty-two thousand examinees appeared as candidates' (SA 2654.140a); わる wa aru wa, zurâri to hôteru ga nokî o narabete sukima mo naku, miti o ha-ände ryoogawa ni hisimêki tatte irû no da 'What a lot there are—hotels lined up eave to eave solidly crowding both sides of the street' (SA 2659.130e); で mo, makû ga akû to sugu ni, lutâ de isyoo o tuke-nâgara, serîhu(−) wa iu wa, utâu wa, sigusa wa aru wa, desyô 'But when the curtain goes up, then—still dressing on stage—I say my lines, I sing, I act, you see' (SA 2664.36b); Ano onnâ wa, syabêru wa syabêru wa, akirêru hodo da yô 'That woman will talk your ear off!'; タろ wa, tabérû wa tabérû wa yamâ-hodo âtha o-kásî o zênbu tairâgetyaâtta(−) yô 'Tarô ate his way through the stack of cakes that had been there'. Sometimes iterated sentences ending in わ are followed by dé—with or without juncture—as a list of emphatic reasons: サアキ wa suru wa syakkîn wa (or siharai wa) tamaru wa dé komättê iru 'Incurring debts, piling up debts (or payments)—with all that I’m in a fix'; タンto-o-sya ga yobi-tukarâte, o-medâma o tyooodai suru wa, Okumura no hwân "râsiki sîtîo-sya ... karâ wa "teêpu nara yôkute, naze hînîn ga détê utâ no wâ jenâi no ka" to itta tuikyuu no denwa ga zyân-zyan kakatte kuru wa, dé matakkû atamâ no itai koto 'I get called in by the manager and bawled out; viewers who appear to be fans of Okumura’s ... keep my phone jangling with complaints “if it’s OK on tape why can’t it be sung in person”; so, what a headache!' (SA 2647.111b). All the authentic examples I have come across seem to have verbs before わ; do adjectival and nominal sentences also occur? Negatives? Desideratives? Perfects?

We have noted elsewhere that the focus particle わ sometimes contracts to a[.a]. The emphatic particle わ also contracts in the same way, and V[r] wa will sometimes be heard as V[r]a[.a]: や、koko ni hyaku-en ar’a (= aru wa) 'Well here’s a hundred yen' (R); Huzâkérû na i, tosima sugîr’ a i (= sugiru wa yo) 'Don’t kid me, she’s well over forty!' (Okitsu 1.109); Moo îp-pai, tanon’aa (= tanômu wa) 'Gimme another drink!' (Fn 439b); Ñhîni no nai kuküi no naka o orite ki-i ku yôo na kanzi dês’aa né (= dêsu wa né) 'It’s a feeling like going down through empty air, you see!' (Tk 4.44a); "Sînkoo-syüûkyyoo wa intiki(−) nàri" to iu kangae-kâta ga, îna mo wakai hito-tâî no mune ni wa né o hatte ‘r’aa né (= hatte iru wa né) 'The idea is firmly rooted in the breast of the young people that “new religions are fakes”' (Tk 4.272b). Notice that /... desa/ may represent either ... dê sá (copula gerund + emphatic particle) or dés’aa (= dês[u w]lá.

On the Tôkyô male use of [wa], see Maeda 1961.160, who describes such forms as N dá’a, N dês’aa, Kúr’aa (Kûru wa), li ya = li wa (with intrusive ý). But Zhs 2.21 observes that in southwest Kantô people often lengthen N dá[a] and V-tâ[a] regularly; in western Yamanashi (Zhs 2.24) the equivalent forms are N doo and V-too; and in parts of Yamanashi and Shizuoka V-noo is used for V-nai (Zhs 2.24). It is not clear whether these various forms may come from shortenings of dá (etc.) + ý or + mo[nó].

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922 § 15. Sentence Extensions

15.5. Zō, zé

Two forceful particles zō and zé are almost exclusively used by men: Keikan ga kita zō, hayaku nigē ro ‘Cheese-it, the cops!’ (SA 2655.37c); Ōya, mata nani ka nāgeta zō ‘Oh-oh, they’ve thrown something else!’ (KKK 3.63). Té o age roq—nigeyōo ‘tt’atte damé da zō ‘Hands up—you can’t get away!’ (KKK 3.63). Uyeno says that a woman may use zō, but only in speaking to herself. Of the two, only zé can follow the hortative (Ikóo zé ‘Let’s go, man!’ but not *Ikóo zō!) and neither can follow a command (*Iké zé/zó).

Zé is apparently friendlier than zō; see Alfonso 1145, who says it is “less rough ... and ... widely used among classmates and close friends”, and KKK 3.63, which cites the example Zyāa, asitā mo kono-hen da zé ‘Well, I’ll see you around here again tomorrow’. An example of this friendly use: Mítu tyan, móo kaen-ná yó (= kaeri-ná yó = kaeri-nasá yó). Osoku nárú to mata ohukuro-san ga sipnai suru zé ‘Go home, now, Mitsu. If you’re late your mother will worry again’ (SA 2640.107c). According to Uyeno (77) the particle zé is used in buddy-buddy or boss-henchman exchanges; it is not used in speaking to oneself, so it will not normally be quoted as “thought”. Zé is also used to show disdain, as in this sentence: Koko no tāisyoo d’atte, amari matomo zya arimasén zé ‘Our boss is none too honest, either!’ (KKK 3.63). But except for situations of that sort, zō and zé sound strange with polite stylization.

In literary or pseudo-literary phraseology, you will come across zō yā to mean little more than an insistent dá kā: Mótō-yori mondai wa, sinkō to wa nání zo ya to iu, makoto ni kongen-teki na tokoró kara okōte iru wake de, ... ‘Of course, the problem arises from the truly basic question of what IS faith, ...’ (SA 2640.24c); ... zínsei to wa nán zo ya o syōmōnen kara toi-kākētārī, ... ‘asking head-on what “human life” (really) is, and ...’ (SA 2673.112d)—nán = nán[i]. Another literary use is as an emphatic ga: Kámi nómi zo siru ‘God only knows!’ (= Kámi-sama dakē ga sitte iru ‘Only God knows!’).

Both zé and zō have coexisted as dialect variants for over a thousand years (cf. nánzō = náze ‘why’ and nazo ‘riddle’); the particle zō was much used for emphasis in the literary language and is related to some uses of to and -do (see §2.3.4). Maeda (1961.164) suggests that zé is a shortening of zee < zoe < zo yo; zo ya has also been suggested as the origin (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/5.56b).

According to Maeda (id. 41) Osaka has replaced zē b y dé10 and uses tē[e] for sá (id. 168-70), Ōsaka N ya de being equivalent to Tōkyō N da yo/ze and Ōsaka N ya te being equivalent to Tōkyō N to sá. (Cf. Ōsaka kâte, §2.9.) The use of tē[e] is reminiscent of the Kyūshū sentence-final tāi: Kēkkō desu tāi ‘That’s fine’ (SA 2678.135ab); Kangaete mirēba, okási na hanashi desu tāi ‘When you think about it, it’s a funny story’ (id. 135d). Fujimura 115 suggests that Kyūshū tāi is from tō i < to yō; the vowel development is peculiar—but notice sā (and the interjection sā[a]), perhaps from the deictic sa/so; and má[a] ‘well’ (short form SA 2676.111) or ‘now; more’ (= ima, as in [i]ma sukōsi = mo[o] sukōsi), which are etymologically akin to móo ‘already; now’ and mo[o]/motto ‘more’, cf. Ryükyū nāa ‘now, already’ < nyaa < myaa < (y)imya < (y)ima. (This would open

10. An example: Watasi wa ore ya nai de [= ore zya nai zé] to kotēeta ga, osoraku sore wa watasi dátta ka mo sirenu ‘1 answered “It’s not me!” but likely it was me, perhaps’ (Endō 81).
another line of pursuit for the explanation of the baffling Miyako particle mai = mó.) In
the northeast, mázu is widely used for the interjection mà. The interpolated maa of
Hyōgo is from maan < omahan = omae ‘you’, according to Zhs 4.274 n 1. Kyūshū also
has sentence-final particles bāi and (meaning ‘of course’) kusai (Tōjo 1954.76). In southern
Kyūshū S tōo corresponds to western Kyūshū S tāi and S óo corresponds to S bāi (Zhs
6.21). Other emphatic sentence extensions used in western Kyūshū are S môn nā and S tó
zyā. Also S + banta, kanta, nomai; S + bana, ban, kan. These all are said to have anáta ‘you’
built in except for nomai which has omai = omae ‘you’ within it. Kumamoto uses S baita.
(In these particles /ka/ is presumably the interrogative particle, and /ba/ is to be con-
ected with wā—and ultimately, perhaps, with the first-person pronoun.)

15.6. Ka

The particle ka marks a question. Most questions are directed toward the listener, but
some are self-directed and some are rhetorical: Mata ka ‘Not again?!’ (SA 2642.32d).
Questions can be asked either with this particle (or some substitute such as nó, §15.14,
or-té, §9.2) or with no particle but with half-lengthening of the final vowel (or ū) and a
rise of intonation; the half-lengthening restores voicing to any syllable that has become
unvoiced under the devoocalization rules: Sōosu da ‘It’s sauce’, Sōosu ‘Sauce’, Sōosu ka
‘Is it sauce?’, Sōosu [:? ‘Sauce?’. For nominal sentences, the unstylized copula dá usually
drops, as in the preceding example; it is in doubt whether *Nán da ka and *Dāre da ka (etc.)
ever normally occur as complete sentences, for the ellipsis of dá may be obligatory (as
with sá, contrast yó).11 But when stylized the copula is present: Sōosu desu [:? = Sōosu
desu ka? And when the sentence contains a content-interrogative (an indeterminate), it is
often ká that drops: Dāre da or Dāre ka ‘Who is it?’, Nán da or Náni ka ‘What is it?’
(Since dá by itself can sound a bit blunt as a sentence ending, S dá is more common in the
speech of males.) Within a sentence, the content-interrogative questions with ká can have a
special meaning ‘somebody, something, etc.’:12 Dāre ka (or Dāre da ka) sirimasén ‘I
don’t know who it is’ or ‘Somebody doesn’t know’; Dāre datta ka sirimasen desita ‘I
didn’t know who it was’ or ‘Somebody didn’t know’ (the ‘somebody’ meaning is somewhat
less common with the perfect); Nán daroo ka (or Nán ni kira) nóo ni tukáeta yóó na
kanzi da ‘It feels as if something or other were stuck in my throat’. The sentence Náni ka
kiita is ambiguous: it can mean ‘I asked something’ or (usually with juncture after ká) ‘I
asked what it was’. Nán da ka kiita can also be taken both ways, as can Nán datta ka kiita;
but Náni ka da ka kiita or Náni ka kiita is unambiguously ‘I asked whether it was
something’. Náni ka ‘something’ is sometimes pronounced nán ka and that is the source of
a synonym of nádo (§2.9). For ‘once (upon a time)’ you will hear both ítu ka and ítu datta
ka. The expression ítu-no-má-ni-ka ‘in no time at all’ is usually treated by dictionaries as a

11. The forms are all right within a larger structure: Nán ni gá na da ka wakaránaí (or Náni ga náni
ka wakaránaí) ‘I don’t know what is what [= what everything is]’; Dāre da Tanaka ídáš ka sitte ‘rú no?
‘You know which one is Tanaka?’; Nán da ka kentoo ga tukimáku ka ‘Can you guess what it is?’ (SA
2666.42a); Nán da ka sinnai [=siránai] kedo ‘I don’t know what it is but ...’ (SA 2666.44a). And nán
da ka has an extended meaning ‘somehow (or other), somewhat’ (=nán to naku) in such sentences as
Go-kúrōo bákari kákete nán da ka warui désu nè ‘I feel somewhat guilty causing you so much trouble’. In
eastern Mikawa, N dá ka is common (Hōgen-gaku gaisetsu 405).

12. This is why the content-interrogatives are more broadly called ‘indeterminates’ (or interrogative-
indefinites).
lexical adverb (note the three different accentuations that are listed in K); it is derived from ītu no ma nǐ ʻnda ka ‘it is at the interval of when’. Ītu-no-hī-ni-ka ‘on some day or other’ is a similar case. The syntactic looseness of the indefinite expressions is shown by the fact that the copula + kā can occur before or after a relational particle such as the ablative kara: Dāre kara ʻnda ka tegami ga kimāsita = Dāre ʻnda ka ka tegami ga kimāsita; Dāre kara datta ka tegami ga kimāsita = Dāre datta ka kara tegami ga kimāsita. These four sentences all mean ‘A letter came from somebody’. Examples with the case particle between the interrogative-indefinite word and kā: Ga mo dōko e ka sātta(‘) ‘The moth went off somewhere’ (Kb 82b); Sibārakū site génan wa dōko kara ka ude-ippai ni zyuū o motidasite kita ‘After a while the started bringing out armloads of guns from somewhere’ (SA 2685.98c). When an interrogative number is followed by kā, the meaning is ‘some (number of)’ as in nanzēn-ken kara no mukashi kara ‘from some thousands of years back’ and iti-ten to nan-kāgetu kara ‘a year and some months’.

Alternative questions are asked with a rising intonation on the first and a falling intonation on the second, which is often introduced by sore to mo ‘or else’: Kore ka, ʻsore to mo+ sore ka ‘Is it this, or that?’. Kore dāta ka, ʻsore to mo+ sore dāta ka ‘Was it this, or that?’; ... ʻūso ka hontōo kara wakarānai yō na hanasi o sitē wa ‘... telling such stories that you didn’t know whether they were false or true ... ’ (SA 2650.61b). Such a structure is the source of the idiomatic noru kara sōru kara ‘win or lose, sink or swim’. Alternative questions can be stated as separate consecutive sentences, with or without Sore to mo ‘Or else’ to introduce the second sentence: Kyōō ni simāsu ka, ʻsore to mo+ asītā ni simāsu ka ‘Will you (decide to) do it today, or tomorrow?’ can be said also as: Kyōō ni simāsu ka, ʻsore to mo+ asītā ni simāsu ka ‘Will you (decide to) do it today? Or, will you do it tomorrow?’ An example: Okyaku-sama no desu ka? Sore to mo purēzenso desu ka? ‘Is it for yourself, madam? Or is it a present (for someone else)?’ (SA 2672.64ab). When the second question is ‘or not’ you can stop with sore to mo: Inumaru san go−zisō no seikatu wa zeitāku desu ka, sore to mo ‘Is your own life, Mr Inumaru, on the luxurious side?’ (SA 2669.48c—what is omitted at the end is zeitāku/sō zu yai nai desu ka ‘or isn’t it luxurious’). A further use of the alternative question is with the last question de-interrogativized: Kore ka sore da ‘It is this or that’. A ka B (ka C) ga ii daroo ‘A or B (or C) would be fine’. Cf. A ʻto B (§2.7) which might be regarded as coming from quotation (§21), as I have indicated for A ʻto kā B (see §21.6); or, again, from A dā ʻto (§17.2—cf. A da B da C da to ...), though derivation from the particle ‘with’ may be simpler. In Kore ka nānī ka da ‘It is this or something’ we have the special meaning of kā with an indefinite, and this does not de-interrogativize (to *Kore ka nān da) directly; instead, nānī ka (ʻNān da ka) is directly nominalized and the sentence is to be treated as N1 ʻdā ka + N2 ʻdā ka N1 ʻdā ka N2 ʻdā ka ‘It is N1 or N2’ with N2 derived from a sentence ‘N ʻdā ka. The copula is not always omitted in expressions of the type N1 [ʻdā] ka N2 [ʻdā] ka ‘N1 or N2’: Watasi no tanzyō−bi wa kyūū Nihon−gun no Sinzū−wan kōgoeki no yokuzitu. Sono iti−niti ʻda ka hutukada ʻda katotī(—) ni umareta rasī Sakamoto Kyōū san ‘My birth was the day after the former Japanese military forces attacked Pearl Harbor. Kyū Sakamoto was born, I understand, a day or two after that’ (SA 2664.41a)—both sentences have dropped the final copula ʻdā or ʻdatta, and the latter sentence is an epithematic identification (§3.10a). Conjoined structures N1 ʻdāl/ʻdatta ka N2 ʻdāl/ʻdatta ka can take case markers such as gā and ō and nī: Watasi ka ootōo ka ga o−ukagai simāsu ‘Either I or my little brother will call on you’; ... “kimī” ʻdatta ka “bōku (—)” ʻdatta ka o motī−iru kotō ... ‘... to
use "kimi" or "boku" ...' (Maeda 1962.69—the full sentence will be found on p. 167); ... zibun no misé no wakáki monó ká dáré ká ní kíite ...‘asking (= inquiring of) a young man from one’s own shop or someone ...’ (SA 2677.56d).

Other situations where the sentence INDETERMINATE + [dá] + ka is directly nominalized are these: Dáré [datta] ká ni aimásíta ‘I met somebody’; [tú [datta] ká ìga] mondáí da ‘It is a question when it is (was)’; Dóno-yóó ni tiga ká o simesóó(−) ‘I will show how they differ’; Dónna ni óói ká ni odorokásaíta ‘I was surprised at how many there were’. But direct nominalization is typical for any question, with or without an indeterminate: Kónban kúru ká ìga] wakaránaí ‘I don’t know whether he is coming tonight (or not)’. It is not clear that we should treat this as direct nominalization (of the sort noted in §14.6); perhaps rather we should say that the addition of ká is itself a nominalization—at least when attached to perfect and imperfect, and the use of the question with the optionally omissible particles gá and ó is the expected use, so that we are not surprised to find questions used in other noun-like contexts, e.g. uexíni(−) o surú ká nusubíto ni nárú ká ni mayóú ‘is puzzled over whether to starve to death or to become a thief’. If we take this point of view, then the sentence-final use of ká implies an obligatorily omitted copula: Nusubíto ni nárú ká ‘Will I become a thief’ is derived from ‘Nusubíto ni nárú ká da ‘It is a question of whether I will become a thief’. This view becomes a bit troublesome when we get to stylization; do we really want to derive Wakarimasén ká ‘Don’t you understand?’ from ‘Wakarimasén ká da/désu ‘It is a question of whether you don’t understand? But treating ká-questions as nominalizations points up their similarity to questions asked with the nó-nominalization (§15.13—see also dá no §15.17).

In such situations, when there is a general alternative ‘or not’ the Japanese, like English, can give just the one question (as in the preceding example); or, it can give a minimal alternative “pro-sentence” (§29) Dóó [da] ká ‘How is it?’: Kónban kúru ká dóó ká ìga] wakaránaí ‘I don’t know whether he is coming tonight or not/what’. (In written Japanese you will also find ... iná ká ‘or not’.) It is more common to do this rather than repeat the sentence in its negative form: Kúru ká kónnaí ká ìga] wakaránaí ‘I don’t know whether he is coming or not’; but there is nothing ungrammatical about such a sentence. In place of Dóó ká you also hear Nání ká as the alternative to a pure nominal sentence: Kore nání/dóó ká ìga] wakaránaí ‘I don’t know whether it’s this or what/not’. But adjectival nominals, like adjectives and verbs, will take only Dóó ká: Bénri ká dóó ká ojí sitte irú ká ‘Do you know whether it is convenient or not?’

More examples of noun-like uses of ká-marked questions: Huyú ni nárú to zyooku káara úete irú ke[da]mono ga ináí ká dóó ká o siráíbe, ... ‘In winter they check from the air whether there might not be animals starving (or might be), and ...’ (SA 2663.50b); Sosíte sore wa, náze sóo na no ká o ōkíai(−) surú no ni wa yaku-datimásu ‘And that is useful in understanding why things are that way’ (SA 2679.104a); Dóó de tomarú ká ga dái-iti no mondáí da ‘Where it [= the Chinese revolution] will stop is the Number One question = The Number One question is where it will come to rest’ (Tk 4.186a); Dáre ká tüketa ká wa wakaránaí ‘I don’t know who attached it (or: turned it on)’ (ISJ 8.1.66); Nihón-kókumin no sóóí ga tyuuríutó o nozomó ká nozomán ká de, tyuuríutó ga dekurú ga dekin ká ga kimaru to omóú n désu ‘I think whether neutrality is possible or not will be determined by whether the collective will of the Japanese people aspires to neutrality or not’ (Tk 4.233a); Sorega itu made tuzukú ká da ná ‘It’s a question of how long it will continue’
(SA 2679.48d); Yoo-suru ni nagérku ka nagénai ka de wa naku, mótu kotó ga sekiGen-ha ni zoku-suru tamé ni hituyoo dátta to ii kotó [1]. In short it is not a question of throwing [bombs] or not throwing, but that it was necessary to have them [= bombs] in order to belong to the Red Army faction’ (SA 2677.152e); ... mirai no hénka o, iká-ni háyaku yómu ka de syóoBu ga kimaru ‘The winner is decided on the basis of how fast he can read the future changes ... ’ (SA 2662.29a); Kono Aaru-andó-D’i ni dôre-dake(=) tikará(=) o irérú ka de, sono kuni no syóorai ga kimaru ... ’ ... a country’s future is decided by how much power it puts into this R and D [= research and development]’ (SA 2662.29a); Yameté kara dóó suru ka de, ika no san-táipu ni bunrui dekurú to ii ‘It is said that they can be classified into the following three types, depending on what they do after they quit [their professorships]’ (SA 2661.30b); ... dóó ni dóó syóbun site irú ka made tukánde wa iná ni no gázuuyo no yóó da ‘The facts seem to be that they have not yet come to grips with even the question of how to deal with what aspect ... ’ (SA 2668.29e).

According to Mio (360, 364) women do not use ka or yó (§ 15.3) with sentence-final plain-style forms; instead they substitute the nominalization with nó (§ 15.13), so that such forms as surú ka and surú yó are marked as men’s speech.

By way of direct nominalization (=?- see remarks above) questions can be adnominalized: (Maru-de / Ataka-mo) ... áru/áttá ka no yóó da ‘It is just as if we had (got) ... ’; surú ka no yóó ni (miéru/omowáréru or suru) ‘(seems or makes) as if to do’; ... de áru ka no gótoku kangaérú tokoró ... ‘when we think as if to wonder whether it is ...’; etc. One special use of the ‘or not’ alternative question (without reduction to Dóó ka) is found in Surú’ ka sinai utí(=) ni ... sita ‘I did it before I knew it’ [for which there is a literary or semi-literary equivalent Surú ya Ína ya, in which iná ‘nay’ functions as an analog to colloquial dóó, and yá to colloquial ká); we would instead expect (?*)Surú’ ka sinai ka no utí(=) ni ... , with the former regarded as an abbreviation, that also explaining surú ka sinai ka ni—described below. The following sentences would seem to be direct adverbialization (rather than, say, ó-ellipsis): Zibun de kau ka hitó ni tanómu ka itasimásu ‘I’ll either buy it myself or ask someone’; Kono natú wa úmi e ikú ka yamá e iku ka simásu ‘This summer I’ll go either to the sea or to the mountains’. (But, for the ó-ellipsis interpretation, cf. Kooii ka otya ka folmesi agarim asen ka ‘Will you have coffee, or tea’—from NOUN dá ka [o], see p. 924.)

A common way to complain or protest is to use an imperfect sentence adnominalized to monó/món da ‘it is natural (to be expected) that’ (§ 13.2) as a rhetorical question: Sonna kotó ga áru món ka ‘How can such things be?!’; Takái món ka ‘How can it be so expensive?!’; Nománaí monó desu ka ‘Surely you will drink something!’; Ano teppén made ikéni monó ka ‘Surely we can make it to the summit!’ (Hayashi 157); Káre ga itinén-sei na monó ka ‘He surely can’t be a freshman!’ It is unusual to find a perfect verb used in this way, but the adjectival perfect seems to occur: Atúkkatta món ka—sámkutta gúrai sá ‘It certainly wasn’t hot—it was positively cold!’ A rhetorical question can, of course, be asked with just ká; and dissatisfaction can be indicated by such introductory adverbs as iyóoiyo ‘at last, really’ or mata ‘(not) again?!’, as in these examples from Hayashi 156: Iyóoiyo zaat-tó kúru ka ‘Is it [the rain] going to start coming down in earnest?’

13. As in ... situmón ga owarú ka owaranai utí(=) ni ... ‘the question was barely finished when ...’ (SA 2661.25c); ... boku(=) no mono-gatari ga owarú ka owaranu syúukan ni tu-to tati-agatte ... ‘the instant my tale was done, she jumped to her feet and ...’ (Esperanto 52.343a). On the optional cancellation of the accent of the affirmative question, see below.
lyóýo g kakko to mo o-wakare ka ‘Are we really saying farewell to school at last?’; Mata áme ka ‘Not rain again!’; Mata dámé ka ‘Another mistake?’!

Another way to ask a question, a friendly use much favored by women and children, is to use a no-nominalization (§14.2) as a complete sentence (with a slight rise of pitch): Kónban kúru no? ‘Are you coming this evening?’; Omósórikattá no? ‘Was it fun?’; Senséi datta no? ‘Was it the teacher?’; Kore ná no? ‘Is it this one?’ This works only for imperfect and perfect sentences; there is no tentative *Senséi daroo no? (*Kore daróo no?) because the tentative does not normally adnominalize (§13.3). Cf. §15.14 ff.

The particle ka can be used not only with the imperfect, perfect, and tentative (Ikú daroo ka ‘I wonder if he will go?’) but also with the hortative: Ikóo ka? ‘Shall we go?’ = ‘Let’s go’ or ‘You wanna go?’. For sentence-final ... ka to, see §21.1.(15).

Alfonso 813-4 calls our attention to the use of questions to show surprise at something contrary to expectations, especially N1 ka to omóttara N2 dá/dátta ‘To my surprise it is/ was not the N1 I was expecting but is/was N2 instead’ and S1 ka to omó ‘If you think that S1 then to your surprise S2 = not only S1 but also/even S2’; cf. the sentence opener Ká to omóu to ... ‘If that surprises’ or ‘If you question (or wonder about) that’ (Fn 265a). Examples will be found in SA 2640.24a and in the sentence Dáré ka to omóttara anáta desu ka ‘(Just when I was wondering who it might be)—what a nice surprise, it’s you!’ said to an unexpected caller. The sentence opener Ká to itté ‘Should that be surprising/questioned ...’ starts with an ellipsis of S1 or of Sóó/Sore.

When you directly nominalize a structure which comprises an affirmative sentence that is questioned and then immediately answered in the negative, the meaning is ‘surprisingly, contrary to expectations’ and thus ‘hardly, barely’ or the like, as in these examples: Sóó de náí hí de mo, Utídá-sí wa yóru no zyuuní-zí ~máe ni kitaku surú no wa tuki ni iti-dó áru ka náí [= náí ka da] ‘Even on days that aren’t like that, hardly one time in a month does Mr Uchida get home before midnight’ (SA 2651.71c)—i.e. ‘you might think he would ... at least once in a month, but no’; ... kawáí ogawa na nagárete ite, haba ga san-méetoru áru ka da ga, soko ni masú ga súnde áru ‘... a charming stream flows, a bare three meters wide, and trout live there’ (SA 2671.92b); Igrísu hógo ‘–ka [= hógo-ka] no dokóō-koku de, zinkóo wa iti-máñ áru ka náí ka, nami no seká-tízu ni wa notte inai mini-kókkka de áru ‘It is an emirate (sheikdom) under British protection, the population hardly ten thousand, a mini-nation uncarnied on the usual world map’ (SA 2673.139a). A similar use is found in this sentence: Yat-tő utí(-) ni túita toki, DÔÔ SÍTA KOTÔ KA, kuti no náka ni wa mōō nání ni mo nokótte inákkáta ‘When I finally reached home, WHAT DO YOU KNOW BUT there was nothing left in my mouth [for the iced sweet had melted]!’ (SA 2666.110d).

Notice the various ways you can phrase an affirmative-vs.-negative question to express the meaning ‘no sooner [does] than; as soon as [one does]’ or ‘hardly/barely [does one when]’, similar to surú ya ína ya (above), surú ga hayáí ka (§14.6) and sitá ka to omóu to (§21.1.(18)):

1. surú/sitá ka sinái ka no utí(-) ni:14 Túita ka tukánaí ka no utí(-) ni móó káette kityatta ‘We no sooner got there when we turned around and came back’.

2. surú ka sinái utí(-) ni: Senséi ga káeru ka kaéránaí utí(-) ni káno-zyo ga kimásita

14. The accent on the affirmative question is sometimes cancelled in these expressions, the pattern being said as two phrases or even—dropping the minor juncture before utí thus removing its accent—as one phrase: deru ka l dénái l utí(-) ni can also be said as deru ka dénái l utí(-) ni and as deru ka dénái utí ni.
'No sooner had you left to go home, sir, than she arrived'; Nihyaku-nin ga kawā o watattā ga, watari-owaru ka owaranai utī(‘) ni kaihoo-sensō no zyuugeki ga hazimatta ‘Two hundred men got across the river, but they hardly made it before the Liberation Front (= the Vietnamese NLF) opened fire’ (SA 2679.39a).

(3) surū kā sinai nā ni: To o akerū kā akenai kā ni, ikiō yōku néko ga tobi-kōnde kita ‘I barely opened the door when in rushed the cat’ (Nagano 177); Sensēi ga kāru kā kaerānai ka ni kāno-zyo ga kimāsita ‘You had barely left to go home, sir, when she arrived’. (4) surū kā sinai [ ] ni:15 ... kāre ga yose-gayoi o hazimerū kā hazimenāi [ ] ni, ... ‘No sooner had he started attending vaudeville (than) ...’ (Kb 279b).

(4a) surū kā sezu ni: ... yuumyōo ga nākutte, hattati ni nāru kā nārazu ni konoyō(‘) o sātta(‘) ‘... did not live long, leaving this world at hardly twenty years of age’ (Kb 50a).

(5) surū kā sinai kā no N: Segōbīa nānte iū wa hyakū-nin ni hitorī dēru kā denai kā no ‘tyoo-tensai’ desu yō ‘Let me tell you a Segovia (or the like) is a “super-talent” that barely turns up once in a century’ (SA 2679.119c).

(6) surū kā sinai N: Yōku rokuzyūha hāti-nen no Ititāgu ni Betonamu e okuraretā kāre wa, ni-kāgetu tātū kā tatānai Sāngatu tuitsati no sentoo de hīnī(‘) no zyuusyōo o ottā no datta ‘Sent to Vietnam in January of the following year, 1968, he sustained a near-fatal injury in the battle of the first of March, barely two months later’ (SA 2679.40d).

An adnominalized sentence + nōkā or + sēi kā (obligatory reductions from nō [da] ka and sēi [da] ka) can be used to mark a suggested cause ‘perhaps it is that ...’ or ‘perhaps it is owing to ...’ = ‘perhaps/apparently because ...’: ... gakusei da wa wakāru to sin’yōo ga takai no kā, taitei nosete kurēru ‘They generally give me a lift, I guess (= perhaps/apparently) because they see I’m a student they have confidence (that they can trust me) ...’; Sono sēi kā ‘Perhaps that’s why ...’; ... Hūkukō no kōe o mimi ni sita no ka huri-muīta otokō ... ‘a man who turned his head apparently because he had heard Hukukō’s voice’ (Ig 1962.105); Śī no Nihon-go wa rippa dā ga, Nihon-go dē wa ōmi ga zyuubūn ni tuuzinai to kan-zītā no kā, itu kā Eigo ni kawatte ita ‘His Japanese is excellent, but occasionally, apparently feeling he wasn’t getting his meaning across adequately in Japanese, he would switch to English’ (SA 2660.41c); Sonna wake de, suteru monō ga nāhi no nākatta no kā, utī(‘) no wakī ni ātta gomi-bako(‘) wa tukatte nāku, zitēn-sya no kuuki-ire ga hoori-konde ātta ‘Apparently because there was nothing to be thrown away, he didn’t use the trash-can that was beside the house, a bicycle pump having been tossed into it’ (SA 2665.117a). This use of nō is similar to that in nō de, §14.2.1. Since the vowel of nō optionally drops, you will hear such sequences as N nā n kā (cf. N nānka ‘N or the like, the likes of N), A-i n kā, V-rū n kā, V-tā n kā, etc. And /-run[ō]/ sometimes assimilates to /-nn[ō]/ so that for surū no kā you may hear sūn no kā → sūn n kā = /sūnkā/ — with the usual reduction of nnC to nC; and for site [i]rū no kā you may hear site ‘n no kā → site ‘n n kā = /sitenkā/.

Nō kā can also, of course, be any of the expected interrogativizations of ... nō da, as in these examples from KKK 3.173: Nāže soo nāru no kā ‘Why is it that it turns out that way?;’ Sikāsi hutarī wa dōo sitāra zyūtū ga tokēru no kā wakarānai no de ... ‘But the two

15. Since the “atonic” negatives show an accent before [ ] ni, we will assume that what is omitted is kā: sinai [ka] ni. If the ellipsis were an omission of utī(‘), we would have difficulty explaining the reversal in the accent cancellation found in sinai utī(‘) ni (which owes to the underlying juncture before utī).
did not know how they could dispel the sorcery and ...'. On S₁ [nō] ka S₂ to express "a guessed cause and effect 'perhaps it's (that)'", cf. Alfonso 800. And ... kā no yōo ni is used as an equivalent of ... kā to omō yōo ni, §21.1.(18), to mean 'as if perhaps': ...

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... nāni mo nākatta ka no yōo ni ... 'as if nothing had happened' (SA 2679.41d); Hō'o nādete toori-sugiru yōkaze ga natū no owari o tugerū ka no yōo ni tumetai 'The night wind rubbing past one's cheek is cold as if to tell the end of summer' (SA 2647.116); Nuru-hodo, gēnō wa ikā-ni mo sizen ni kawārū ka no yōo ni kawaru 'Indeed language changes very much as if perhaps it changes of its own accord' (Shibata 1965.200). These expressions are, of course, an adverbialization of ... kā no yōo da 'it seems as if': Kore wa sa-nāgarâ(−) gendai no inpāsōnaru na ningen-kānkei o syootyoo site irú ka no yōo de aru 'This seems as if it really symbolizes the impersonal human relationships of the present day' (SA 2659.134a). For that matter, simple kā is sometimes equivalent to 'perhaps' or 'apparently': 16 Seisan-teki de āta zidai wa yāya hūrū ka to omowarēru ga, ... 'The era when it was productive would seem to perhaps a bit earlier, but ...' (Sakakura 320); Go-zōnzi ka to omoimāsu ga 'I think you perhaps know but ...', Go-zōnzi zya nāi ka to omoimāsu ga 'I think you perhaps don't know but' (or, if taken rhetorically, the same meaning as the preceding)—in these expressions kā is equivalent to darōo and that could be used instead; Go-zōnzi da to omoimāsu ga 'I think you know but ...' is more direct. Sometimes an introductory question will best translate as 'I think': Yon-kai desu ka, ōoki na o-niwa ga dek iru yōo desu ne 'I think it's the fourth floor where you seem to have a large garden in the making' (SA 2669.46b—on a new hotel building).

Expressions with ...-te kā 'perhaps/apparently because' are to be regarded as containing an ellipsis ...-te ōda ka, representing a nominalization of the gerund (§9.2.1): Sono tame mo āte ka, ... 'Maybe THAT's why ...' (SA 2640.105d); Sono sei mo āte ka, ... 'Perhaps partly for that reason ...' (SA 2664.29a); Sono kai āte ka ... 'Apparently as the effect of that ...' (SA 2665.9d); SF-syōsetu ... no eikyō mo āte ka ... 'Perhaps/apparently under the influence of science fiction' (SA 2659.38a); Kāmo wa māniniti(−), kimito yo-sasūō ni suimen o oyo-gī, kozakana o ottē ka ikiō ni yōkusu sensu sita 'The wild ducks each day would swim on the water looking in good spirits and make vigorous dives apparently in pursuit of small fish' (SA 2661.33c); Mooretu-ūrikomi ga seikoo sitē ka, Toonān-Azia de wa Nihon-seihin ga hanran site iru 'Apparently as the result of success in hot-shot salesmanship, Japanese products are flooding Southeast Asia' (SA 2659.43c). Also note mōsī ka/ya 'if (perchance)', §13.7.

The expression dōō iu wāke ka (or dōō iu monō ka or dōō sita wāke/kotō ka) means 'for some reason or other' and could be regarded perhaps as an ellipsis of dōō iu wāke ka [siranā ga] ... '[I don't know] what the reason is [but], ...' (cf. nāni ka 'something [or other]' ). Similar in meaning and derivation are dōō iu riyyu de ōda ka for some reason or other and soo iu wāke de ōda ka dōō ōda ka 'whether for that reason or some other (= or what)'. You will also find paired examples, translated something like '[I don't know OR It is not apparent] whether because ... or because ...': Zyuuiitā-gatū tuitai[−], guu-zen ka kōi ka, zietai-kínēbi ni tāhō sareta 'Whether by accident or by design, he was arrested on the first of November, the anniversary of the Self Defense Force' (SA 2662.26); the opposite order kōi ka guu-zen ka 'whether by design or by accident' will be found in

16. Hōka ni sen'yaku ga ... āte no/kara/tamē ka, āte ōda ka, kāre wa kesseki sita 'He was absent, apparently having a previous engagement elsewhere' (Mikami 1963.85).
SA 2660.23e. And here is a sentence created by a female critic who loaded it with kā-phrases: Sore to ko’oo sitē ka, aru’i-wa sore ga saki ka, hōteru ga āto ka, hōteru ga saki ka, sei-kākumei ga āto ka, mōtītu motāretu no kankei de hōteru wa zoosyoku si, yagatē ziwazīwa to syākai ni nē o orōsite ki-sōo de aru ‘Perhaps in response to that [= the sexual revolution] or perhaps from mutual influences—whether that was first and the hotels later or whether the hotels were first and the sexual revolution later—the [rendezvous-type] hotels are proliferating and gradually seem to be taking root in the society’ (SA 2659.133c).

The particle kā is sometimes used for little more than emphasis, e.g. in yōri ka [mo] or yō’ ka = yōri mo ‘than’ (p. 141), mōsi ka [sitāra, suru to] ‘if (perchance)’, ... See also ... si ka, p. 80. One usage that can disconcert a non-Japanese is the echoing of obvious questions as a stalling device, in order to gain time in which to formulate the socially appropriate response. Sometimes this is a way of backing out of a proposal: Watasi desu ka? Kōnban? Kāre o turete ttē? Sore wa nē ... ‘Me? Tonight? You say bringing him? Well, ...’. In Shikoku dialects N ka is used like N ttāra, §21.1, to set up a theme (Doi 283).

The particle kā is used in virtually every dialect of Japanese. A variant (S+) kō is reported for Ishikawa (Zhs 3.149 etc.); this may be a contraction of k(a)nō, fortuitously resembling the Korean doublet ka/ko. In Kansai speech you will find -māka for -māsu ka: Sore wa dāre de mo hairemākka [= hairemāsu ka] ‘Well, can anybody go in?’ (SA 2669.111d); ... tigaimākka [= tigaimāsu ka] ‘... isn’t it?’ (SA 2669.101c). And for desu kā you will find -dekkā, (Kyōto) -dōkka, and (Ōsaka) -dakkā: Watakushī dekkā ‘You mean me?’ (SA 2669.101e): E? Wate dekkā? ‘Eh? You mean me?’ (SA 2672.17a); Dō dekkā ‘How is it?’ (SA 2669.112d). A dialect variant of ...rū ka is ...kka: Misetsē yakka [= yarū ka] ‘Shall I show it?’

S+bākari ʃ daʃ ka by itself means ‘Is it just that S?’; when another sentence is conjoined, the meaning is ‘Not only S but ...’: Sore ga kōndo wa pitāri to syabānai bākari ka, haizime wa hita-ʃ[ʃ]kākusī(−) ni kakusite ‘yagan da (= i-yagān no da) da = i-yagāru no da) ‘He now not only does not talk to the point but he’s concealing every damn thing from the beginning’ (KKK 3.202; the third word after the comma, as the notation is intended to indicate, can be pronounced hitakākusī, hitakakusī, hitagaokusī, or hitagakusū). N bākari ʃ daʃ ka ‘not only N but ...’ appears in the sentence-opener Sore bākari ka ... ‘Not only that but ...’ = ‘What’s more, ...’ moreover, ...

S/N + ʃdōkoro ʃ daʃ ka is a kind of rhetorical question (‘How could anyone think merely S/N?!’) implying the answer S/N + ʃdōkoro [no sāwagi/sātā/hanasi] de wa nai ‘It is anything but [a matter of] ...’ or ‘Far from being [a matter of] ...’ or ‘In no wise is it [a matter of] ...’ or ‘Hardly ...’ or, in some cases, ‘Not only [is it [a matter of]] ... but’. The question seldom, if ever (?), occurs alone. Rather, it is used to introduce a stronger statement, often to the contrary: Soko de, itidoō kāmo o mi ni ura-niwa ni dekakeru ga, kāmo ʃdōkoro ka, suzume ip-pik[ʃ]nai ‘Then we all go out to the back garden to see the wild ducks, but wild ducks?—there isn’t even a single sparrow!’ (KKK 3.121); ... bunsyoo ʃdōkoro ka namea sūra mānzione ni kakēnai ‘...can’t even write his name satisfactorily, much less a sentence’ (KKK 3.121); Are wa rippa na sikēi(−) da, Watasi wa a-zen to suru dōkoro ka osorōsiku natta ‘It was a fine example of lynching. I was more than dumb-founded; I was frightened’ (KKK 3.120); Kono daigaku ni wa, hīgasi-kāigan kara ʃdōkoro
ka, Ázia ya Ahurika kará sae, gakusei ga kíte iru ‘In this university there are students not only from the East Coast but even from Asia and Africa’; Tokoró-ga, sono káre ga ití-nen tátte mo sinaní dókoro ka, zibün de hakken sita kusuri o nomi-házimété kara wa, méki-meki to kóoka ga arawáre, yagáto móto no tóori no karada ni kéetta no o mite murá no hitóbíto wa kíi no kán ni utarezu ni wa inákatta ‘But not only did a year go by without his dying but after he started taking a medicine that he discovered himself a remarkable effect took place and by and by he returned to his original health; which seeing, the village folk could not help being struck by an odd feeling’ (KKK 3.120). From this usage comes the sentence-opener Sore “dókoro ka ‘On the contrary’ or ‘That’s quite out of the question (because ...)’. (This expression will not permit ellipsis; a sentence cannot begin *Dókoro ka.)

Dókoro is not confined to rhetorical questions, of course, for what is implied by such questions is the negative ... dókoro de wa [or zya] náí ‘it is unthinkable (out of the question)’ as in these examples: Sonna ni tooi tokoró made iku dókoro zya arimasén yó ‘It is out of the question to think of going to such a faraway place’; Tokoró-ga, yonzúu-nen no hukyoo de yakyuu “dókoro de wa náku natta ‘But with the 1965 recession, [company-sponsored team] basketball became out of the question’ (SA 2669.16a); Bôoryoku(’) to ka téro, sonna monó wa demókurásii no yo-nó-naka de imi ga náí dókoro zya nákute, taíhen na gái ga áru ‘Violence and terror, such things are not merely devoid of meaning in a democratic society but are actually quite harmful’ (SA 2678.50c); Hikkosi wa tanosíi ga, nímotu o hakobu no wa tanosíi dókoro de wa náí ‘It is fun to move, but it is far from being a pleasure to carry the luggage’.

Dókoro is a restrictive (§2.4). The accent of a preceding noun is cancelled by “dókoro, but a sentence attaches the word as a postadnominal (§13.2) with an underlying juncture between.17 You may run across an ellipsis AN ½na/l½ “dókoro in which the accent of a tonic adjectival noun is cancelled: sízuka “dókoro = sízuka na l dókoro ‘far from being quiet’. However, in the following sentence hima is to be taken as an ordinary noun (‘free time’) rather than an adjectival noun (‘being at leisure’): Zissai, watasi zisin de mo, hima “dókoro ka, tamaranaku zikan ga osii ‘Actually, even I myself, far from having free time, begrudge the hours terribly’ (SA 2673.39c). In the sentence Kiikeki ga dekíru no dekinai no, sonna dókoro no sátá zya née n da ‘Whether he can do comedy or not, such a matter is hardly the question’ (Kb 100a), the phrase sonna dókoro seems to represent an ellipsis sonna [koto] “dókoro or the like; otherwise we would expect (?) sonna na l dókoro ‘far from (its) being like that’.

As a unit ... “dókoro ka can be used to restrict nuclear and other structures, as shown in the chart in §5.5; these uses are probably to be explained as ellipsis of a nominalized predicate. Examples: Káre ni aimásita ka?—Ái “dókoro ka sírasé mo sinákatta ‘Did you see him? See him—why, I didn’t even let him know [I was in town]’; Wakáré ga kanásikute

17. These are the patterns followed in this book. According to K the accent cancellation applies optionally to a preceding tonic verb or adjective, i.e. yómu (”)Idókoro can be said either as yómu (”)Idókoro or as yómu dókoro (= yómu (’) dókoro), but the cancellation is obligatory (perhaps owing to the underlying juncture) for the “atonic” verb or adjective forms: nakú (”)Idókoro will only be said as nakudókoro. After nouns, according to K, the cancellation is optional and the dókoro can be treated as a particle, instead: áime (”)Idókoro can be said as ámedókoro or as ámedókoro, hána (”)Idókoro can be said as hándókoro or as hánadókoro, the latter version being indistinguishable from hána (”)Idókoro.
In all its uses dōkoro can be shortened to dōko.

15.6a. Ya

In Literary Japanese the question particle ya has a number of uses, some of which are heard in expressions that have been borrowed into the colloquial language, such as あに hakarán ya ‘quite unexpectedly’—roughly equivalent in structure to dōo site hakarōo (= hakarú daroo) ka ‘how is one to estimate?’—and especially ya いな ya, which means either ‘whether or not’ (= ka dōo ka) or ‘no sooner ... than; as soon as ...’ (= sitā ka to omōu to, surū ka sinai utī(-) ni or surū ka sinai ka ni, suru to sūgu; cf. -ru nari, §15.19): あに ya いな ya wa gimon da ‘Whether it exists or not is in doubt’; ... tokudane de ある ya いな ya mo wakarán desu kara ne ‘For I don’t know whether it is a scoop or not ... ’ (Tk); あに ya いな ya haki-hazimeta ‘No sooner had I eaten it than I started vomiting’; Syoku zu o surū ya いな ya tonde itta ‘As soon as he had finished eating he dashed away’; koogeki wa seihoo karā kaisi saretā ga, hazimaru ya いな ya Seihū-gun wa nigate simatta ‘The attack opened from the west and it had hardly begun when the Government troops fled’ (SA 2686.40c). In the meaning ‘as soon as’ いな ya may be omitted: Sotugyō surū ya yookoo sita ‘Right after graduating he took a trip abroad’; Patō-kaa ga arawarēru ya kāno-zyō-tati no sūgata wa kiete simatta ‘As soon as the patrol car appeared the women vanished’ (SA 2681.104b). The noun いな ya ‘an objection’, as in Kaike o dāsu kotō ni いな wa nai ni da ‘I have no objection to paying the money’, is derived from いな ya ‘is it not?’ いな ‘nay’ also underlies the verb inām- ‘nay-say, gainsay, deny, refuse’ as in Inaménai no wa ... ‘It can not be denied that ...’.

Literary clichés such as Osoru kotō ya ある = Osorēru kotō ga ある mon ka ‘Is there anything to fear?! = Surely there is nothing to fear’ are best explained in terms of the grammar of the literary language, where the structure is a permutation (almost obligatory) from ... kotō ある ya with the appropriate attributive form of the existential verb あり. (But unperturbed ... ある/あり ya can be found. On the vexing question of whether the appropriate verb form is attributive or predicative, see Henderson 345-7.)

18. A minor juncture always separates V-te kara from ～dōkoro ka (for reasons not entirely clear) and so the accent cancellation is inoperative.
Another stereotyped usage is $V_1$-ru $ya$ $V_1$-azu da 'almost, nearly; hardly' as in these examples (from Ig 76): Hotondo kuu $ya$ kuuwazu de ... 'Almost half starved ...'; Sore wa mózi "dóori kuu ya kuuwazu no máníni(t)" de átta 'It was day after day of, literally, near starvation'; Yómu ya yóma zu de hógo ni site simai ... 'It's hardly read before it's thrown away as wastepaper ...'. This is sometimes similar in meaning to $V$-ru ya ina ya: ... syótai men no áitsu ga súmu ya súmu zu ni, ... 'with the introductory greetings barely finished ...' (Fn 162a); ... sánzyuu ni nárú ya nárzu no wakái mi-sora no yaku suya ... 'an actor with a young body barely thirty years old' (Kb 187a).

Another use is in iwán ya ... ó ya da, a literary permutation of ... [w]ó iwán [= iwamú] $ya$ 'shall I say ...?! = surely not ...', with the meaning 'to say nothing of ...; still more/less ...' as in the example offered by Henderson and Kenkyusha: Káre wa keizági-kaku sura wakaránaí—iwán ya Marukusu-syúgi o ya da 'He doesn't even know any economics, much less Marxism!' A common variant of this usage is Iwán $ya$ ni mo óite(−) $ya$ de áru 'How much less need is there to mention ...!' as in Iwán ya sarárii-man to site nyuusya si, syátyoo no íti no tuita hitóbito ni óite(−) $ya$ ni de áru 'And that is all the more true for those people who entered a company as salaried employees and ended up presidents!' In the following example the text spelled it with hiragana "oya" rather than "woya": Usyútu-kóótyoo no zidō-asya(−) mo, totan ni rieki o usinai-dasu. Iwán ya zoósén-gyoo ni óite(−) $ya$ ni de áru 'Even such a favorable export as the automobile will suddenly begin to lose profits. How much worse for the ship-building industry!' (SA 2685.25c). Sometimes ... ó ya V represents a literary permutation of ... ó V ya as in Henderson's schoolbook example (342): Kuni ni hánh o ya no nokósú ‘ramu ‘Has he perhaps left a mother back home (in his native province)?' In this example Nokósú ‘ramu is equivalent to the colloquial nokósu daróó ‘probably leaves behind' (see p. 615, §12.3). The form [a]rámu (also [a]rán) is added to the PREDICATIVE form of the verb (Chamberlain 1924.83 mistakenly says the attributive)—including the morphologically genuine predicative forms of áru, óru, and derivatives, which coincide with the attributive forms (as do those of all consonant verbs) but are replaced in most predicative uses by the infinitive (ári, óri, etc.); see Henderson 237-8.

Like ká (and nári), the particle yá is borrowed for nominal conjoining; see §2.7. In the following example (from KKK 3.248) yá mo sirenú is used as a semi-literary equivalent of ká mo sirenai 'perhaps' (§15.8): Kazyyu na kazei wa toti-káikaku keikaku o suihoo ni ki-sèsimeru ya mo sirenú ... 'Excessive taxes may spell the end of plans for land reform ...'; the form sèsimeru is semi-literary for the literary attributive sèsimuru (< så-asim [e s]uru) equivalent to colloquial sasan ‘causes to do’.

The particle yá sometimes is added to a sentence (usually by a man) for emphasis, much like yó or zó or zé: Mái ñi yá, sikkári yá noo ‘Well OK! let's hold tight’ (KKK 3.224); Kaeróó yá ‘Let’s go home!’ (KKK 3.224); Kón’ya wa bihuteki o tabeyóó yá ‘Tonight let’s have steak’ (SA 2662.51c); Bóku(−) mo koohi de ñi yá ‘Make mine coffee, too’; Daitai, o-sú wa tiisáí ni nè ‘The male is usually small, you see’ (Tk 4.295b); Omosirói yá ‘It’s fun!’ (SA 2640.11); Zyooodáy zya arimasen yá ‘It’s no joke, I tell you’ (SA 2660.51a). It is also used—in old-fashioned (regional or literary) speech—as a name as a vocative marker (where yó also is used): Obaa-san yá ‘Hey there, granny!’; Sóre, Usa-tyan yá, asa-góhan ageyo[o] ‘There, Bunnykins, have your breakfast!’ (KKK 3.225). These uses probably come from the interjection yá[a] ‘hey!’ Cf. the remarks on Yose yái ‘Cut it out!’ in §16.1.

The yá used after adverbs in KKK 3.225—íma ya ‘nowadays’, matá-mo ya ‘yet again’,
másite ya, kanarazu ya—would appear to be in most cases a variant of the focus particle và. But yómo ya ‘surely (not)’ and mósí ya (= mósí ka/mó) ‘if (perchance)’ seem clearly to have the question particle; the other cases might be similarly treated. (Cf. yóri ka/mó/wà.)

Not to be confused with the yá we have been discussing is the yá2 that, like zyá2, serves as a dialect variant for dá in western and southern Japan. Occasionally you will run across this yá in print, as when a writer wants to lend local flavor to a quotation: “... sore ga kakumei ya tó wa ien to omoimáasu”’ “... I don’t think THAT can be called a revolution”’ (Kagaku-Asahi 1968/7.96). For yá3 = zyá (= dé wa), see §8, p. 373n: ... yá n[ái] ka = ... zya nái ka, §15.16. Note also the yá4 that is a variant of the focus particle và (§2.3.4). For zó ya (= dá ka), see §15.5.

15.7. Ká né[e]/ná[a]; (ká, dá, -tá) i/e

The particle sequence ká né[e] is a softer way to ask a question. It is also used when talking to yourself—with others invited to eavesdrop, and in that event né[e] is usually replaced by ná[a]: Sóó ka ná[a] ‘I wonder about that’; Dáre ka kore o katteru hitó wa inái ka náa ‘Isn’t there ANYBODY who will buy this from me?’ (Hayashi 157); Yóru, osokú made, màtte ‘tá kedo, kónai n da. Dénkí tükét’ oita kara, ókité ‘ru no wákattyatta no ka náa. Dé mo, inái n zya nái ka ná ‘I stayed up till late at night, but he [= Santa Claus] never showed up. I wonder if he knew I was up because I had the light on. But maybe he doesn’t exist?’ (SA 2658.117a—a five-year-old boy talking).

In place of ká né, many people use what is said to be an abbreviation19 ká i; others, said to be dialect speakers (but MKZ says “feminine”), use ká é: Ano né, kimi, himitó ga mamorëru ka i ‘Say, you think you can keep a secret?’ (KKK 3.10); Kími nó tókó ni sake wa nái ka i ‘Haven’t you got anything to drink at your place?’ (KKK 3.10). Just as ... dá ka usually shortens to ... ka, ... dá ka né usually shortens to ... ká né/i/e: Kóre ká i? ‘Is it this one?’; Daizyóóbu ka i ‘OK?’; Bôku(”) ní ka i—dáre kara? ‘For me?—who from?’ (KKK 3.10). After content-interrogatives, just as ... dá ka shortens to ... dá, ... dá ka né shortens to ... dá né, and this is often pronounced dá (or dá é by those who say ká é): Nán da i, sore ‘What is it, that thing?’ (KKK 3.10); Dó[o] da i ‘How about it?’ (Kb 100a); Dóó sita no da e ... ‘What happened?’ (KKK 3.11). Similarly, ...tá ka né can shorten to ...tá né and this may be pronounced ...tá i/e: Dáre datta i ‘Who was it?’; Ésu wa dóó sita i ‘What’s happened to S?’ (Kb 33b—not si-tai ‘wants to do’); Ítsu sinda i ‘When did he die?’; Dóó kangaëta i ‘What did you think up?’ (Okitsu 1.24—not Dóó kangaë–tai ‘How do you want to think?’).

Ká né, like ká, can be used to extend imperfect, perfect, and tentative sentences, and also can be used withhortatives: Ikóó ka né ‘Shall we/wl go?’ (Also: Ikóó ka i/e—?). Notice that ká i and dá i may be pronounced as kée and dée by speakers who regularly or often substitute /ee/ for /ai/: Dóó site = Dóó sita i ‘What happened?’; Dóó dee = Dóó da i ‘How is it?’; How about it?’

19. There are other instances of dropped /n/ under similar conditions (see p. 406), so the notion that ká é/i and dá é/i are simply abbreviations of ká/dá né is quite plausible. But it has also been suggested that é/i perhaps comes from the literary question marker yá (Tsuru 55c). The Kansai use of sentence-final é in -masu é (etc.) is probably from yó; see below.
On ï as a variant of yó after the imperative, see § 16.1. The third group of examples in KKK 3.10 seem to have í as a variant of yó, mostly after imperatives or negative commands: Hi o tuke ró i 'Light the fire!'; Yokei na koto surú na i 'Don't stick your nose in other people's business!'; Yóo mo née (= náí) no ni, yokei na koto o iú na i 'Don't put in your two cents' worth when it's none of your business'. But there are also examples (in the same place) which seem to be abbreviations of wá í (= wá yó): Taihen dá [wáí], Tengu-góri ka kisen kara nigeta [wáí] 'Terrible, Long-Nose Gorilla has escaped from the ship!'; íyá da [wáí]! Úso da [wáí]! Damé da [wáí]! 'No! It's a lie! It's no good!' In the following vaudeville exchange the first ... n da i represents ... no ka, the second ... no da yó: Dóko e ikú n da i. -Tokoya e ikú n da i 'Where are you going?—I'm going to the barbershop,(of course)!' (Okitsu 1.162). For a clear example of wá í, see § 15.4.

This use of í or é for yó may be the best explanation for the Kansai form -máí = -masu yó: O-tosiyori mo miemá 'Old folks come also' (SA 2659.133b). Similar are dosé (Kyóto) and dássé (Osaka) for désu é = désu yó. You will also find désé: Ni-nó-mai wa go-men désé (= désu yó) 'Never again, thank you' (SA 2670.21d); Án[i]-sán, oríppikku kité(‘) wa íma, sén nihyakú-en désé 'Young man, let me tell you those Olympic stamps are now worth twelve hundred yen' (SA 2672.18a). Notice too the Kyóto example Tyót-to o-turi ga tarimáhen é (= tarimásen yó) 'The change is a bit short' (Inokuchi 100; also tarimáhen dosé).

Kindaichi KyósuKe (1959.175-6) suggests that the question usage of (dá/ká) í comes from sentence-final yó[o] “used in areas around Tókyó (... désu ka yoo). That would help explain these examples, where í appears after -ru and désu: Sono oyá no ooya no kao wa dóko de tátérú i 'How can you give “face” to the landlord who is [like] a father to you?' (Okitsu 1.233); ... itée, kónó wa nán no yó désu i 'well NOW what on earth do you want?' (Okitsu 1.472). (Kindaichi derives dá né and ká né from the sentence-final dá ná i of Fukushima prefecture. He observes that speakers in Gummer prefecture put í on the end of a sentence for politeness.)

15.8. [I] Ká mo siren[ai]

Questions are often put into sentences meaning ‘asks whether ...’, ‘knows if ...’, etc., by the direct nominalization mentioned above; from this come expressions with the question highlighted by the particle mó and followed by what is either the negative of the intransitive verb siren- ‘be known’ → sirenai ‘is not known’ or the negative potential form of siru (→ siru) → sirenai ‘can’t know’: ‘it is not known whether (= there’s no telling whether)’ or ‘we can’t know whether’ = ‘maybe, perhaps’. This differs from the tentative in that no opinion is offered about probability: Sóo daroo means I think ‘I think it must be that way’; Sóo ka mo sirenai means ‘It may be that way’ but I have no way of knowing or guessing. The form can be stylized: ká mo sirenásén or ká mo sirená desu (§22.1). It can be nominalized (ká mo sirená no da) and adnominalized (Kúru ka mo sirenai hitó da 'It is a person who may come'), adverbialized (..., de áru ka mo sîrezu, ... Ariyoshi 232), conjunctionalized (ká mo sirená kara etc.), quoted (ká mo sirenai to iu), hearsay-reported (ká mo sirenai sóo da), and so forth; it can be put in the tentative (ká mo sirená daroo [ga ...]). It can be followed by further sentence extensions: ká mo siren[ai] né[e]/sá/yó/wá/zó, but not *ká mo sirenai ka [né/i], though (?) ká mo sirenai ka sirá (§15.9) is occasionally heard. An example of ká
mo sirenai zya nai ka will be found in §15.16. Downtown speakers permit nuclear focus subdual: S kamo siré ya sinee (= siré wa sinei) (Okitsu 1.505).

Sometimes the expression is left dangling without the verb: Sóo kamo mo, née ‘Maybe so, you know’ (R); Nanzyuyu-néndai ni wa utyuu-simín te na (= to iu yó no) monó mo tanzyóó(‘) suru kamo mo—‘In the 70’s perhaps there will be born citizens of space’ (SA 2659.11). And occasionally the specific question is omitted: Ká mo sirenai né ‘Maybe [so]’ (Ariyoshi 217).

Instead of sirenai, you will sometimes hear siran[a]i: Sóo kamo mo siran ‘Maybe so’; it is not clear whether this (like ikanai for ikenai = damé da) is dialect. Cf. ká sira (§15.9). One example is from the speech of the critic Nakano Yoshio, who is apparently from Kansai, since shortly afterward he uses yá nai for zya nai: Sikáái né, kore wa ánta to iken ga tigáí ka mo sigrán kerido mo ... ‘However, you see, this may differ from your view, but ...’ (SA).

A more common substitute for sirenai is wakaránai ‘there’s no telling’: Sóo kamo wakaránei. Since the sequence /-ranai/ is often reduced to /-nnai/ you will also hear ... ká mo wakánnai/siinai; and /ee/ is substituted for /ai/ in downtown Tókyó and other inelegant areas, so you may come across ... ká mo wakaránai=siinai and ... ká mo wakánnei/sinnée, as in this example: Mitu tyan wa ore wo kóto o keibet suuru kamo sinnée kerido ... ‘Mitsu, you may despise me, but ...’ (SA 2640.108e). For an example of yá mo siren as a semi-literary equivalent of ká mo sirenai, see §15.6a.

A roughly synonymous expression is NEGATIVE + tó mo kagiránai ‘it is not impossible that; it may very well be that’: kónai to mo kagiránai = kuru ká mo sirenai ‘may come’.

Although the usual phrasing would attach the phrase either with no juncture or with juncture before sirenai, quite often a speaker will pause and tack on the extension ká mo sirenai—perhaps as an afterthought—with a juncture (sometimes even major) that leaves a clearly heard accent on ká.20 The predicate with ká mo sirenai will sometimes be introduced by the adverb arúi-wa ‘perhaps’ (also a conjunction ‘or’ and ‘some ... others’): Kono otóko arúi-wa kitigai ká mo sirenai ‘Perhaps this man is crazy’ (SA 2672.119c). The sentence may be nominalized before ká mo sirenai is attached: ... dai-syookengaísa ni o-rei o iwanakereba naránai no ká mo sirenai ‘it may be a matter of having to express gratitude to the big securities companies’ (SA 2679.30e).

15.9. Ká sira

The word sira is a shortening of siranu = sirenai ‘I don’t know’, and the sequence ká sira is tucked onto a sentence that you wonder about to yourself: Sóo kamo sira ‘I wonder about that’; Náze hityuu ná no ká sira ‘I wonder why it is necessary’. Unlike ká né[e], which invites others to listen in on your musings, you are really talking just to yourself with ká sira. Yet the expression can be used with hortatives: Minná de ikóó ká sira ‘I wonder whether we should all go’. And the form in any use is largely confined to women’s speech; men prefer ká né[ná] (§15.7) though a man may use ká sira in speaking to a woman. The following example (from the speech of Yoshinaga Sayuri, born in Tókyó 1945) has ká siran in place of ká sira: Kokóró de omóotte mo, iwanái n zya nái ka siran ‘I may think it in my heart but I doubt I would every say it’ (SA 2645.49d). Women sometimes add ká

20. This is probably another instance of the “emphatic” accentuation of a sentence extension, found also in S [ ] zya nái ka and the tentative S [ ] daróó. See §15.16 and §12.1.
Paragraph 1

The retrospective particle kké can be added to the perfect of verbal, adjectival, and nominal sentences, and also to the unstylized imperfect of nominal sentences: Yondá kke ‘He called, I recall’; Óokikatta kke ‘It was large, I recall’; Senséi datta kke ‘It was the teacher, I recall’; Sensei da kke ‘It is the teacher, I recall’. The sentences are used in thinking back, recollecting to oneself, or questioning oneself about some situation to be recalled: Ano tokí utatte irásita kke ‘You were singing at that time, I recall’; Nán datta kke ñka ñee ‘What was it, now let me see’; Dóko ni oítá kke ‘Now let’s see if I can recall where I put it’; Ee-to, nán te tokoró da, waseutá wá ‘Uhm, lemme think, I’ve forgotten what place it is’ (KKK 3.43); Anáta wa kotosi kazoëdósi de nán-sai da kke ‘Now let me see, how old would you be this year by Japanese count?’ The particle kké can be followed by né, ná, ká, ká né, zó: Kuusoo ni muné o hukuramasetá kotó mo atta kke né ‘There were times too, I recall, when I let my chest swell with daydreams, you know’. Anó-hito no nmae wa nán to iú n da kke né/ná ‘Now what was his name, I wonder’; Omeé (= Òmae) mo itií wa koré ni ki ga átta n da kke náa ‘YOU used to be interested in this, I recall’ (Y 387); Aa, sósó sóó, sonna yóoyuu ga ita kke née ‘Oh, that’s right, there WAS such an actress, now, wasn’t there’ (KKK 3.43); Sono móe wa uróóti, sono móe wa kutíôëni, sono móe wa–nán datta kke ná ‘Before that there was the brooch [that you wanted me to buy], before that, the lipstick, and before that–what WAS it now?’ (KKK 3.43); Ore [w]a kínóo wa omóakute hídókatta kke zó ‘Man, did I feel lousy yesterday!’ (Y 231); Dáre da kke ka ga, ... ‘Someone ...’ (Kb 17a).

It is possible to put the perfect into polite style (§ 22.1) before adding kké: O-ikutó désita kke né–Kyúúuyúuyu desu tte ‘How old WAS he, now?–Ninety, they say’ (Ariyoshi 174); Dóko désita kke né ‘Where was it, now?’; Íkura désita kke ‘How much was that, now?’ (Fn 185b); Née-san wa ikutó désita kke né ‘How old did you say you were, my dear?’ (Y 231); Senséi wa ýóoku tankó o rooei simásita kke ‘The teacher (or You) would often read poems aloud, I recall’; Kooi inánsi o kíita kotó ga arímasita kke ‘I seem to recall having heard such talk as this’ (Y 231). Note that there is no polite ‘... désu kke alongside the plain imperfect ... dá kke–itself something of an anomaly, perhaps allowed
because of the shape resemblance between dā and -tā. In Tōkyō kke is not used after A-i, though A'katta kke is accepted, and some speakers are hesitant about N dātta kke, except when N includes an interrogative as in Dāre no hōn dā kke ka nāa 'Whose book was it, I wonder'. For one locality where A-i kke is used, see Zhs 3.17.

It is generally assumed that kke comes from an abbreviation of the literary -kēri < -ki árī. Yoshida (231-2), who speaks of it as "retrospective or past-past", traces -tā kke from earlier -tākkeru < -tārikkeru; he says the form began in Muromachi times, flourished in the Edo period, and is still popular in the Kantō area. Although in Tōkyō the expression is mostly exclamatory, in Shizuoka there are wider uses (Y 231-2); the anomalous form N dātta kke is largely limited to Tōkyō (Y 232).

15.11. Tē; kāte

In addition to certain obvious abbreviations which will be described below, there appear to be two kinds of marker that are often discussed together as a "particle tē". One is used to mark quotations as if a variant of to (§21—examples of this tē will be found in KKK 3.72-3); the other serves as a lively equivalent of the highlighted gerund used to express a concession: -tē mo 'even doing/being'.

When marking a quotation, the particle attaches quite regularly, though the first /t/ is normally suppressed after /n/ in accordance with a general rule of consonant-cluster reduction by which nC → nC and nnC → nC, so that Hōn tē is pronounced (and sometimes written) /hōnte/ and Nān[i] tē will sound the same as the word nānte (§2.9). In the following examples "te" was written for tē after /n/: Ningen te sono-nōn na n desu yo' 'People are like that, I tell you' (SA 2669.92c); ... Rosiyā-zin to Nihon-zin te, sugōku nite 'ru to omōtta no ne' 'I felt that the Russians and the Japanese were very similar, you see' (SA 2666.44b). And even after a vowel we sometimes run across "te" written for what is to be pronounced tē: ... kō i-i-tai baa mo āru te [= āru tē] 'I understand there are occasions when you want to say this' (SA 2674.101a).

But the rules needed to describe how the particle tē attaches in the second situation (marking a concession) seem a bit odd if we merely assume that tē is a synonym of mō and, like it, attaches to the gerund: V-tē mo = V-tā tte, A-kūte mo = A-kūta tte, N de mo = N dā tte. To uphold an analysis of that sort we would have to assume that the gerund changes its final mid vowel /e/ to the low vowel /a/ when—and only when—the particle tē is attached. I believe a better explanation is to regard the concessive /tē/ as a special use of the gerund åtte 'being', with the final vowel of the gerund obligatorily dropped: V-tē åtte, A-kūte åtte, N dē åtte. The usage in question, however, is more extensive than the usual conversions of gerund + āru would lead us to expect, so I propose writing the forms as V-t'ätte, A-k'ut'atte, and N d'atte, with no space between the apostrophe and åtte. We will write Dāre ga kīt'atte = Dāre ga kīte mo 'Whoever comes', Dōre ga hōsikut'atte = Dōre ga hōsikute mo 'Whichever is wanted', Nān d'ätte i = Nān dē mo i 'Anything will do'. Examples: Kōndo no ga dame da to iwaret'ätte situboo wa sinai yo 'I won't be disappointed even if I've told this one is no good' (Y 239); Hito no
You will recall that to express a concession the gerund need not always be highlighted: *itté ippo* 'It's all right to go.' And there are occasional examples of *...tätte mo:* *gakū-geun ni natta *itté mo seisete *otosu-*mii to *itté mo: ... 'not wanting to let the grades drop even though it becomes just one of many schools' (SA 2673.17c); *Dōko made *itté mo, tuite iku *'I'll follow you anywhere' (Terase 116).

Sentence-final *tätte* is used, often after polite stylization, as an equivalent of *...sō da or of ...* tō no kotō da or ... tō iu hanasi/kotō da 'they say ...', *'I hear ...' (see §18): Gaizin no minā-san, sooo ossyaimasū, Nihon-zin te kiyoo da tätte *'All the foreigners say that, that the Japanese are skillful' (SA 2664.37a). The "sentence-final" *tätte* can be followed by *ne[ ]:* Sin bun-kisya ni natta n da tätte *'I hear he's become a reporter, you see' (KK K 3.75); É mo kāku n desu tätte *'I hear you draw pictures, too?' (SA 2666.43b). And it can be preceded by *yō:* Kono namea de san-nen tātara, anāta wa tii to meiyo to o-kane o éru kotō ni naramisū yō tätte *'With this name, he [= the Name-Doctor (a kind of prognosticator)] told me, in three years you will come to gain position and fame and money' (SA 2685.46b). As an intonation-marked question the final *tätte* can mean *'Did I hear (you say) ...?'* as in these examples: *Māiniti(*) vaoron o hiite *ru n desu tätte *'Did you say you play the violin every day?' (KK 3.173); Hānnin o tukamaeta yō!—Tukamaeta tätte *'We've caught the culprit!—You've caught him?' (KKK 3.75); Dāre ga iku tätte = Dāre ga ikū ka tätte *'Who'd you say was going?' See §14.2.3 for paired no-marked questions followed by *tätte*, often AFFIRMATIVE nō NEGATIVE nō *tätte *'What do you mean ...?! = very ...'. On *të sā,* see §15.2. In KKK 3.75 there are two examples that have da tätte as an afterthought at the very end of a report: Sositāra, ... teikyū-ūbu ga âru n desu tätte nē da tätte *'And I hear they have a tennis group ..., as I understand it'; Tō ittāra, mai-tosite *rū zya nai ka, dā tätte *'From what is said I understand they must do it every year'. Observe that what confronts us here is not the *Dätte 'But' (= Dē mo) that is found in such examples as Dätte, kuyasii n desu mono! 'But it's simply mortifying!' (KKK 3.257).

Tätte (like *tē[e]*) is also used as an abbreviation of the expressions to *iu 22* and to *iu no wa* (usually with an identificational or adjectival sentence—examples are in KKK 3.74); but *tē no wa* also occurs, with *tē* substituting for just the two words tō and *iu,* as in this example: *Konō-goro(*)* no gakusei wa sonkei suru tätte no wa odatueru kotō da to omōtē ru n desu *'Students nowadays think to respect means to flatter' (Ōno 1966.55). Often tätte,

22. As in *Takasimaya tätte tokorō ga ... '[the place called] Takashimaya' (SA 2672.61b) and *Watasi ga Tooyoo _ūmare da tätte kotō de wa nākute ... 'It's not (a matter of) my being Tōkyō-born, but ...' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.224). Other examples will be found in KKK 3.73-4. Here is one preceded by ellipsis: *... go-onagae sinakereba ūnarānai tätte kimoti ga tuyoï ... 'I have a strong feeling that I must repay my obligation ...' (SA 2670.113b). An example in an apposition: *Atityūudo, tätte mono wa nē, ... 'The "taito"—(what is called) attitude, you see, ...' (ISA 2671.17c).
tté no wa, or tte monó wa is used to cite a theme (cf. §3.9): (Énniti e iku to, o-kane tukaú n desu.—) Ênniti tté, dóko desu? 'When I go to the (temple) fair I spend my money.—' Which fair is it?' (SA 2663.46b); Sensoo tté, otokó ni wa tokidoki hituyoo na monó zya nai ka sira 'I wonder if war isn't something the male needs every now and then' (SA 2664.92e); ... okámasan te monó wa ... 'the housewife ... ' (Tt 2.104b); Okosan te ângail(·) karee-zuki desu né 'Children are unusually fond of curry, aren't they' (SA 2679.122d); Tyoosyu-sya tte no wa, yonáká ni ókite benkyoo sute iru hazu no hitó ga syutai na wáke desyo 'It must mean that the [radio] audience is mostly comprised of people who are presumably studying late at night' (SA 2684.115a). An example of ttté = to iú no [wa] used as a thematic afterthought: Iyá desu î n née î otokó tte 'Aren't they awful?'—men ... ' (with the afterthought spoken in a lowered register of voice). In some sentences ttté represents a contraction of to itte, there is additional ellipsis in this example: Sutorippaa ni nátte mo [ïi to ïtté, anáta, karada ni zisin ga áru no né 'Your saying you could become a stripper must mean you have confidence in your body' (SA 2666.45b)—cf. §9.2.2. I am inclined to treat -kattatte in the following example as -katta tte with tte representing an abbreviation of to itte [mo], unless it is to be taken as a dialect version of -kut'atte: Káko nháka íkura utúkúshíkattatte, yókattatte, nán ni nárú 'The past and all, however beautiful [you say] it was, however nice, what does it come to?' (Y 239). In the example ... taihen da, tte n de ... 'they say it would be terrible ... so ... ' (SA 2672.28b) /ttenden/ represents a contraction of ... to itte irú no de.

A less colloquial version of ttté in both quotative and concessive uses is tóte, from which ttté is usually said by Japanese grammarians to have been contracted. The entry of tóte into the picture casts a shadow on my explanation of /-tatte/ as ...-t'átte, since tóte permits the concessive use: íkura de áru tóte = íkura da t[ó]te = íkura d'atte = íkura de mo 'however much', dóko e ittá tóte = dóko e ittá t[ó]te = dóko e ittá tóte = dóko e ittá mo 'wherever one goes'. But I believe that the use of ...-tá to tóte for ... t'áte may be a back-formation, pseudo-literary in nature, and that all historically legitimate cases of tóte are to be taken as equivalent to ... to itte 'saying that ... ' and attached to finite forms only, so that ...-ta tóte should only be used where ...-ta to ittá mo is possible; accordingly (*)-kut'áte to tóte should be avoided, and Siranakút'áte hazukãshíku nái 'There's no shame in not knowing' should not be cited as (*)Siranakút 'átte tóte ... .23 (The examples in KKK 3.123 are V-t'áte and N de attá tóte. Presumably the appropriate reflex for N d'áte would be N fídaŧ tóte or N de áru tóte.) And we will join Kazama (203 ff) in condemning (*)d'áte tóte as a pleonasm for d'áte 'even being' (= d'áte mo) while allowing the homonymous datta tte 'saying that it was'. See the discussion in §21.3.

The sequence /ttatte/ is an abbreviation that can be spelled 'tt'áte = [i]tt'áte 'even saying' (= itte mo);24 and /ttatatte/ represents tte 'ttt'áte = to ittá tte 'even saying that ... '  

23. Tera se 146 constructs examples of "colloquial" tóte [mo] as equivalent to d'áte (= d'áte mo) after a case-marked noun (Nihon e tóte mo); as equivalent to A-kut'áte (= A-kute mo) after an adject ive imperfect (kurúsii tóte mo); and as equivalent to V-t'áte after a verb perfect (yónda tóte). In Wakayama the form nák'áte (from nákú ári-te) is used where standard Japanese would have nákute (Zhs 4.329). Yoshida says -tt'áte is from -tá tóte, which will be found in written versions of conversation only under special circumstances: Ki ni surú na; ki ni surú na, ki ni sitá tóte dóo dekuru monó ka 'Don't let it bother you; don't let it bother you, how can you let it bother you' (Y 240). No one seems to have considered the problem presented by the adjective form -kut'átte.

24. But in western Japan the quotative particle tó freely drops, so that ttt'áte will turn up where you would expect to ittí t'áte = t[tí]t tóte: Sikásí soro wa Nihon-zín no syúkan desyóo. Kyuú ni ka
(= to itte mo), with the first /t/ automatically suppressed after /n/, so that /nántetteatte/ represents nan [i] tte 'tt'atte = nan [i] to itt'atte 'whatever one says = when all is said and done, after all' (= nan to itte mo). Cf. nan t'atte (SA 2670.150), a further abbreviation of nan [i] to itt'atte.

Not to be confused with tte is the ending -kutte, a lively form of -kute (the adjective gerund §9.2) made by inserting the intensive infix that doubles a voiceless consonant and inserts a nasal before a voiced consonant (see Martin 1952).25 And /tette/ represents -tē 't'atte = -tē [i]t'atte 'even doing', equivalent to -tē [i]tē mo, as in this example: Sore ga tasyoo Sangin no yoo o oikittte to ogattte kamawānai zya nai desu ka 'Surely it doesn't matter that it differs somewhat from the prevailing sense of the Upper House' (SA 2660.48d).

In § 2.11 we observed that speakers in western Japan often use the particle kate after a noun26 that a Tōkyō speaker would mark with d'atte, de mo, or just mō. But kate also occurs after inflected forms:

\[
\text{V-t'atte = V-t'atte (= V-tē mo): } \text{Ato de naita kate siran wā yō 'She may have cried later, I don't know' (KKK 25.74b); Rokuzyū ni nāta kate, rippa ni yakū ni tāta hitō ga \text{oōi desu yō 'There are plenty of people who, though sixty years old, have rendered splendid service' (Ttk 3.285b); Nanbo yakuwakō itā kate ... (= Ikura yakuwakō o itt'atte) 'However much they promise, ...' (SA 2689.147a); ... kūroo ga āta kate (= ātt'atte, āte mo) tata-agaru seizōn-kyōōsoo wa hagē-si sa mo arōo ga, ... 'There will be quite a struggle for existence but we will stand (up to it) to the extent that we have worked hard' (SA 2686.49b).}
\]

\[
\text{V-ān kate = V-ān wākute mo, V-ān wākute: ... kakāan kate 'even without writing' (Zhs 4.230); Sinpaie sēn kate yoroosi (= Sinpai sinwākute mo yoroosii) 'You need not worry about it' (Y 512); Sonna hidōi kotō sēn kate ee ya nai ka (= Sonna hidōi kotō o sinwākute mo i zya nai ka) 'Must you do such a terrible thing?' (Makimura 1956.164a).}
\]

\[
\text{V-rū kate: Nāni o surū kate saki-dātu monō wa nān to yara 'Whatever you may do the important thing is something or other':}
\]

\[
\text{N yā kate (or N kate) = N d'atte: Kono tukī ya kate ... = Kōnetu d'atte ... 'This month even ...' (Maeda 1965.129).}
\]

\[
\text{A-ē[k]ū kate = A-kū d'atte, A-kū de mo: Nāgāu (/nāgo/) kate mizīkāu ([/mizīkoo]) kate dōō ni de mo kītāru de = Nāgaku d'atte mizīkāku d'atte dōō ni de mo kītē iru zē 'Both long and short, they are cut every which way!' (Makimura 1956.164a).}
\]

\[
\text{A-ku nā kate = A-ē[k]u nā[k]ute mo = A-ku nākut'atte: Ūmaku nāi kate = Ūmaku nāute mo, Ūma'u nā'ute mo ([/ūmoo nōotemo] 'Even if it is not tasty/skilful ...' (Maeda 1961.215).}
\]

According to Maeda (1965.129c) kate first appeared around 1860, replacing an earlier kätte, an abbreviation of kätete (which appeared around 1780), a form derived from kā tōte. All three forms (kate, katte, katete) are found in kana spellings of the modern period.

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25. But some would account for the double tē as the result of a contraction of -ku site. Notice that, as we would expect from A-kutte, the form A-kutt'atte is also heard, as a lively variant of A-kut'atte.

26. Or case-marked noun: Īma kara kate osoi koto arahen (= Īma kara de mo osoi kotō wa nai) 'You won't be late even (starting) now' (Makimura 1956.164a).
The forms katte and katete are reported for Fukui province: warui katte = wārūkute mo ‘even if it’s bad’ (Zhs 3.235), orōsu katete = orōsite mo ‘even if they lower it’ (Zhs 3.232). Makimura (1956, 164a) says that the Osaka sentence Mitai kamahen (= Mitatte kamawāna) ‘It doesn’t matter if you look’ can be further abbreviated to Mita te kamahen.

15.12. Nā; nākāre

A negative command (i.e. a direct prohibition) can be made by following the verbal imperfect V-ru with the particle nā: Kesu na ‘Do not erase!’ (Cf. Kesu nā ‘I will erase it, you see’ = Kesu I nā.) Carefully distinguish the infinitive V-i (+-)nā, an abbreviation of nasāi: Kesi-nā[sāi] ‘Erase!’ (see § 16.3).

The particle can be followed by yō for emphasis: Kesu nā yō ‘Don’t erase!’; Nigasū na yō ‘Don’t let it [= the fish] get away!’ (SA 2664.83b); Ōoki na kōe o dasu na yō ‘Don’t shout so!’ = Keep your voice down!’ (SA 2671.93a). And yō is sometimes pronounced Ō: Mūtya o surū na i ‘Don’t be rash!’ (KKK 25.74a). Some speakers pronounce /nai/ as /nee/: Ranbo no kōtō o iū nee [= iū na yō] ‘Don’t say such rough things!’ (Okitsu 1.61). The negative imperative can be put into a direct quotation, with or without yō: Keti-keti suru yō na tte ittā n desu kedo ne ‘He told me “Don’t be stingy!”’, you see, but ...’ (SA 2672.62a). The verb can take polite stylization before adding nā: Kemasū na ‘Do not erase!’ (with fully voiced u before na–cf. the unvoiced u in Kemasū nā ‘I will erase it, you see’).

The particle nā has the same meaning as nākāre < nāk[u] are ‘let there not be’ (a literary imperative), and that form is sometimes seen, especially in slogans or the like: Ogoru nākāre, zimin-too ‘Beware of pride, O Liberal Democratic Party!’ (SA 2661.116a); Taka-ga benpi to iu nākāre ‘Don’t say (it is) just constipation!’ (heading of a medical note in SA 2650.97b); Hagureru kōtō o osoeru nākāre ‘Have no fear of going astray’ (SA 2678.117d); Konpyūtā yō, sararii-man no sašyaka na tanosimī(‘) u obāu nākāre ‘O computer, rob not the salaried man of his little pleasures!’ The verbal imperfect in these expressions is functioning as a direct nominalization, and there is an underlying minor juncture before nākāre, so that the structure seems to be saying V-ru [no ga] nāk[u] are ‘let there be no V-ing’. Compare the noun koto-nakare, an abbreviation of kotonakare-syūgī ‘(the principle of) peace-at-any-price’ from kōtō ga nākāre ‘let there be no incident!’, as in ... koto-nakare no genzyou-izi-ha ‘the status-quo wing in favor of peace at all costs’ (Fn 200b).

15.12a. -Māi, -maśi/-mažiki; -(a)maśi1,2

As described in § 12.2, the negative form of the hortative (‘Let’s not do it!’) can be expressed by attaching -māi at the end of the verb imperfect, either plain (V-ru -māi) or polite (V-î -māsu -māi), and the forms are sometimes used as written equivalents of the negative tentative -(a)nāi daroo (§ 12.1).27 These forms are derived from an inflected

27. It is not always clear whether V-ru -māi is to be taken as a hortative or a tentative: Bōku(‘) wa kodomoto o tukūru ‘māi ‘I will father no children’ (SA 2792.44d—said by a man who has had a vasectomy). From what Yoshida says, it would appear that in modern fiction the “hortative” meaning of V-ru -māi is more like V-(a)nāi tumori da ‘I have it in mind (I intend) not to’ and the “tentative” meaning is more like V-(a)nāi ni tigai nāi ‘will surely not’, V-(a)nāi ni kimatte iru ‘is bound not to’, or V-(a)nāi rasī ‘will apparently not’, rather than like V-(a)nāi daroo.
auxiliary of the literary language with the attributive form -mázi-ki and the predicative form -mázi = -mázi-si:. In the literary language the auxiliary follows the predicative form, including the TRUE predicative of aru and derivatives (náru, tárú), òru, and habéru; which—as for all consonant verbs—coincides with the attributive, rather than following the infinitive (ári etc.) which unexpectedly substitutes for the true predicative form of these verbs in some but not all of the normal predicative uses. One form surviving into the modern language is aru-mázi-ki ‘unbecoming, unlikely’, which now functions as an adnoun and is sometimes given a more colloquial version aru-mázi (MKZ), the consonant of -[k]i having dropped for all adjectives in the modern language.

Henderson 153 says that the forms with -má are now “more used in the west and south than in Tókyó and apparently ... going out of use”. Yoshida 315 says they are old-fashioned and stiff, enjoying little favor with those who are young or female. Perhaps that accounts for the measure of insecurity as to the approved forms of certain verbs; thus SA 2658.39ab condemns iru -má, kuru -mái, and miru -má in favor of i-má, ko-mái, and mi-má. In this study we will say that the -ru of vowel verbs OPTIONALLY drops, so that kuru -mái and kú -mái are both acceptable (as are suru -mái and su’ -mái as well as miru -má and mi’ -mái, iru -má and i’ -mái etc.); we treat ko-mári or ki-mári and se-mári as dialect forms for kú[rú] -mái and su[rú] -mái respectively. The historical explanation is somewhat more complicated for each of the forms, but we will not go into that here.

These forms should not be confused with the literary forms -(a)mási ‘will probably (be/do)’, a derivative from -(a)mú the literary tentative-hortative (whence -a’u > -[y]oo the modern hortative); and -(a)mási ‘wants to (be/do)’, a contraction of -(a)má[kú] hósi < -[y]oo[kú] aku (nominalization of the literary tentative-hortative = V-[y]oo kotó) followed by the adjective hósi-si:, a contraction of *po[r-á]si- ‘desirable’, from the old verb hór ‘desire’ (in meaning equivalent to modern hosi-gárú) from which hór(e)- ‘become infatuated (with)’ is a derivative.

Dialect variants of -mái include -mée, -méi, -myáa, and -máa (Y 312). Examples of -mái taken from modern fiction will be found in Y 305-16.

15.12b. Besi/béki, -bêku, bekárazu/-bekarázaru; béi, -bê[e], -bê ná

The literary language has an inflected auxiliary with the predicative form -bê-si, the attributive form -bê-ki. It is attached in the same way as -mázi: to the predicative form—including the true predicative form of aru (and derivatives), òru, and habéru, which coincides with the attributive form, as does that of consonant verbs in general. (On the substitution of the infinitives ári, òri, and habéri for some but not all of the uses of the predicative, see pp. 608, 933.) Since the predicative form of surú is sú, the appropriate conversion is sú besi/béki:29 ‘ought to do (etc.)’; the predicative forms of vowel verbs with two-syllable

28. In colloquial materials from the Muromachi period the formation V-a-mai was common (Y 306); in the dialect of Ehime such forms as aromai (=árú "mái"), iromai (=irú "mái"), and ikomai (=ikú "mái") are reported (Y 305-6, 312).
29. For some reason, the accent cancellation is usually ignored in reading these literary formations: sú beki, sú besi. But the cancellation is operative when the colloquial imperfect (<literary attributive) is used: surú "bêki."
infinitives, such as tábe ‘eat’ and abí(3) ‘bathe in’, are shorter than the attributives (tabúru/ tábu = colloquial tabér ‘eats’, aburú/abú = abírú(4) ‘bathes’) so that the appropriate conversion is tábu ‘bési’/‘béki ‘ought to eat (etc.)’ and abú ‘bési’/‘béki ‘ought to bathe in (etc.)’.

The meaning of the literary forms varies: (1) obligation ‘ought to’ (= sinákereba naránai); (2) possibility ‘can’ (= suru koto ga dekíru); (3) presumption ‘is likely/expected/presumed to’ (= suru hazu dá);(3) tentative ‘probably does or will do’ (= surú daróo); definite future ‘will do’ (= suru in a restricted sense); indirect command (= suru kótó da, sé yo). Only the first meaning—‘ought to’ or ‘must’—is common in the colloquial, which uses the form ‘békí da (direct nominalization of the attributive adjective) after the plain imperfect of a verb. The negative is used as a PROHIBITION V-rú ‘béki zya nái ‘ought/must not’ (= site wa ikénai, surú na) but in writing there is often a replacement by the literary negatives ‘bekarázu < ‘bék[u] árazu (predicative) and ‘bekarázárú < ‘bék[u] arazárú (attributive); examples of the attributive will be found in KKK 3.247, and here is an example of the predicative: Tatsyóoben su ‘bekarázu ‘No urinating’ (Tk 4.260a). The double-negative expression V-(a)zárú ‘bekarázu is equivalent to the colloquial V-(a)nákereba naránai ‘must’ and thus is much the same as one use of V-rú ‘béki.

The infinitive form ‘béku ‘needing to’ also occurs: Nagái ryokkó ni iku ‘béku, zyúnbi o hazimete iru ‘Having to go on a long trip we are beginning our preparations’ (Morishige 168). Su[rú] ‘béku mo nái means ‘There should be no possibility of doing it’. (Cf. A-kú wa nái = A-i kótó wa nái, p. 372). And V-rú ‘béku yógi-nákú sarérú means ‘becomes/is inevitable’; examples will be found in Y 370. Although the colloquial will use ‘béki only after verbs, the literary language permits greater variety, as illustrated by this example of adjective +-karu (< -k[u] áru) ‘bési: ... tanosikará ‘béki syókutaku ‘the dining table that ought to be delightful’ (SA 2652.140c). The attributive form A-káru is a contraction of A-k[u] áru and thus follows the pattern of áru as the appropriate true predicative form.

An abbreviated form ‘bé[k]i appears in dialects, regularly following the pattern of k-dropping that led from the literary attributive -ki to the modern adjective imperfect ending -i. (Why is the -k- preserved in the auxiliary? Because the standard language lost the form except as a literary relic. Compare the competing forms aru-máziki and aru-mázii mentioned in the preceding section.) And ‘bési is widely pronounced as /bee/. This is the source of the form V-rú bee heard in dialect speech as an equivalent of the tentative V-rú daroo: Âme ga húru ‘bée = Âme ga húru daroo ‘It will likely rain’. With the copula the form seems to be /nbee/ as in Sóo da nbée = Sóo daroo ‘I guess so’; perhaps this is merely a stranded example of the pronunciation [nb] for /-b/- that is common to a number of dialects in different parts of the country. Most particles with a long vowel freely shorten the vowel, so you will also find bé for bée. And the particle ná[a]—also n[é] [e]—can follow, as in these examples: Attí wa tokku-ní yuki-hútte samuí ‘bé ná ‘It must be cold back there [at home] with snow on the ground for quite a while’ (SA 2660.141c—a male speaker from Fukushima prefecture); Hiki-sio de oki ni motte ‘karetá no mo zuíbun átta ‘bé náa ‘Musta been (= There must have been) a lot carried out to sea by the ebb tide, too’ (SA 2670.107b).

15.13. Kotó and nó; nánté

We have elsewhere treated sentence + kotó/nó as nominalizations (§14); typically, as with

30. But, although ‘béki would seem to include the meaning of hazu, the sequence ... ‘béki hazu is not uncommon (Y 369).
Adnominalized sentences in general, the sentence is unstylized. Women often use these nominalizations as full sentences—just as they often indulge in sentence fragments (§23), left dangling for modesty or other reasons; and since the sentences stylize readily before adding koto/nó (as often in other fragments such as those with ... karā), it would make sense to treat koto and nó by class overlap as sentence extensions together with the other sentence-final particles. In the case of koto (but not nó) a nominal sentence can stand unadnominalized with dā, but only as an exclamation: Kore dá koto! 'It’s this!' Kore ná koto can serve as an exclamation, too, but in addition it can be a statement or a question. The sentences extended with nó can be: (1) exclamations (with or without following né); (2) statements (with or without following yō); or (3) questions (accompanied by an appropriate rise of intonation). Examples: Dā ga ll sono umi no ll nán to I máa I kitanaí koto mı?daı 'But, my [máa], what a dirty sea it is!' (from a newspaper); ... okumen mo nái wakamonó(‘) ga nán to hueta koto mı?daı yō ‘... how the number of brazen young people has grown!' (SA 2654.134d); Žúibun, zisin ga o-ari désu koto ‘You DO have a lot of confidence in yourself!' (Fz 323b); Móo, kāeru no? ‘Are we leaving now?’ (SA 2653.59c); [Žúibun hiró desu né.--) Dě mo né, méda hiróku sitái no ‘[That’s a very wide range, I see.--) Yes, but I want to make it still wider, you know’ (SA 2672.62d). The koto exclamation can be preceded by a deictic used merely for emphasis: Sono tuyóí koto! ‘How strong!’ (Hayashi 155; cf. p. 859). For an example of exclamatory koto after a rhetorical question, see p. 948. People in Kanazawa often end sentences with ... tō koto, somewhat in the spirit of English ‘I tellya: ... děte kita n ya to koto = děte kita n desu yō ‘They’ve come out, I tellya’ (Zhs 3.210 n. 8).

Although especially common in the speech of women and children, the nó-forms are sometimes used by men; sentence-final koto, however, seems to be distinctively feminine, especially after dá: Máa, kírei na kusi dá koto ‘Why, what a lovely comb!’ (Y 388); Kansín dá koto. Wakán ī ni mo niwân de ‘I’m full of admiration. So young and yet not unbecoming’ (Y 388).

For paired echo-questions with ... nó, see p. 862. See also dá no, §15.17; ... nó ga = tokoró ga ‘but’, §17.5; ... nó ka ‘perhaps because’, §15.6. For sentence-final (postadnominal) ... koto [da] ‘one should, please to do’ (with obligatory ellipsis of dá), see §16.2.(17), p. 966.

In standard Japanese it is possible to abbreviate nó to n[ó] when it is followed by dá (or other copula forms) or ká: ikú n[ó] da, ikú n[ó] ka. And in dialect speech you may run across a sentence-final n[ó] of the same sort: Totie tyaan—itu gakkō[ó] e ikú n? Benkyō_dōnai surú n? (= Totie-tyan—itu gakkoo e ikú no ka; benkyō dōnā ni surú no ka) ‘Li’l Toshie, when you go’ in to school? How you gonna learn?’ (SA 2665.112c). On the use of S nó as a question, etc., see §14.2.

The kotō-exclamation shows surprise at a sudden apperception; SENTENCE + nánte is similar, but adds a touch of incredulity, as in these examples from Hayashi 153: Huyū(1), kaminārī ga áru nánte ‘What’s it doing thundering in the wintertime?I!’; Kúmó_yori mo takáí nánte ‘Why it’s higher than the clouds!’; Senséi no kotó o ‘kába’ da nánte ‘How can you speak of the teacher as an “ool-fay” [fool]?’ (The word “kába”, ostensibly ‘hippopotamus’, is an intentional metathesis of ba ka ‘fool’.) As Hayashi points out, these expressions are very similar to SENTENCE + tó wa ‘to think of ...I’, ‘imagine ...I’, §21.1.(10). For other uses of nánte, see §2.9.
15.14. **To mo**

To mo is used as a sentence-final extension to mean 'of course' or 'indeed': Sō da to mo 'Yes, indeed'; Kamaimasēn to mo 'Of course it's all right'; Kīta to mo 'Of course I'm here', Iku to mo (or Iku 1 to mo) 'I will go indeed' (all from KKK 3.125). As the last example illustrates, to mo attaches to an atonic verb form in the same way as to alone does: either losing its accent after the inherent accent of the ending (Iku 'to mo) or retaining its own accent at the expense of the accent of the ending (Iku to mo ← Iku 1 to mo). In §21.1.(14) it is suggested that this usage, which goes back to the Muromachi period (TSuru 56b), might be regarded as an abbreviation of some quotation, perhaps with ... omoēru or ... ieru as the omitted verb. In Shiga and Fukui (Zhs 4.126 n. 7) a sentence + kurai (or kurai?) is used like S to mo in Tōkyō to mean 'of course'.

In addition to the sentence-final usage, to mo can also represent a highlighted quotation—or a highlighted version of almost any of the various uses of quotations. Note in particular to mo tukanai §21.1.(7), to mo kagirainai §21.1.(8), to mo =-tē mo (etc.) and de mo §21.1.(9),32 to mo naku §21.1.(12), to mo arō mono/hīto §21.1.(13). For N nārazu to mo = N dakē de naku 'others besides (in addition to) N', see p. 368. For sore to mo 'or (else)' to introduce an alternative question, see p. 924. For nāri [to [mo] ] see §15.19. These examples show specialized uses of quotations: ... masarū to mo otorainai "kessaku" to syōo-sarēru 'it can be called a "masterpiece" equal to any' (SA 2689.19b); ... kore mo Tōkyō ni masarū to mo otorānu nedan gā da ... 'this is a price that neither exceeds nor trails Tōkyō but ...' (CK 985.271); ... mē o tukarasu to mo siranai de, kāre-RA wa syuukān-si o ōyōsu ... ignoring their tired eyes they read the weeklies' (Hayashi 117).

And, of course, to mo may be a highlighted reciprocal 'even/also with' as in Āni to mo ooto to mo kenka suru 'I quarrel with both my older and my younger brother'. The noun tōmo 'company' and the adverbialization tōmo(-) ni 'as a companion = together'—equivalent to issyo ni—are best treated separately. (The noun is the source of the collectivizer -dōmo, §2.7.) Synonyms of tōmo(-) ni 'together', in addition to issyo ni, are tomōdōmo(-) に and morotomo に.

There are two suffixes—or, likely, quasi-restrictives (§2.4)—that derive from the noun tōmo:

1. (-) -tomo (≤ tōmo) 'all ...' (atonicizing) as in hūhū -tomo = hūhuhotomo 'both husband and wife', ēmi -tomo = ēmitomo 'both/all the sisters', ryōsya -tomo = ryōosyatomo 'both persons together', ryōokun -tomo = ryōokuntomo 'both the two gentlemen' (SA 2681.95b), ryōo-zīko -tomo = ryōozikotomo 'both accidents' (SA 2688.130e), Ryoo-zīn e -tomo né = Ryoozin' eitomo né 'Both camps alike, you see' (Tk 2.247a), ryoohōōo(-) -tomo = ryoohootomo 'both', ryooogan -tomo = ryooogantomo 'both

31. This is explained in Martin 1967.251 n. 8. Another example of the accent option is Kore da to mo = Kore da to mo 'Of course it's this'—notice that da can not drop.

32. Of which I take kaku N to mo to be an example, since it means donō N de mo 'whatever N' as in this example: Kaku 1 sinku-tānku to mo î kore ni dōo î tāsyo 1surū ka ni, î kūryō site iru î kotō mo î zizitu da 'The fact is that all of the think tanks are struggling with the question of how to cope with this [= the cutback in government funds]' (SA 2661.29d). Other examples: kaku ea-rain to mo 'each and every airline' (SA 2685.80), kaku depāto to mo 'each and every department store' (SA 2685.112a). I believe kaku-syō to mo 'each and every firm' (SA 2672.30d) belongs here, too; cf. kaku-syōo 'gōto ni in each and every paragraph' (SA 2685.105a).
§15.16. [1] Zya nai ka

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eyes', mittú "tomo = mittutomo 'all three', mikka "tomo = mikkatomo 'all three days',
yonin "tomo = yonintomo 'all four people'.

(2) (-)tomo(-) 'including ...' (dominant prototonic but optionally atonicizing) as
in sóoryóöo "tomo(-) = sóoryóotomo or sóoryoottomo 'including postage', huroku "tomo(-)
= huroktomo or hurokutomo 'including appendix'.
The first suffix should not be confused with the use of tomo after a number as in Mikka
tó mo kokaránai 'It won't take even three days'; see §21.1.(4).

Expressions such as Kyóō l asú tomo(-) {ni} l háre desyoo 'Today and tomorrow will
both be fair' involve parataxis or ellipsis that leaves two nouns directly conjoined and
immediately followed by the adverbiał tomo(-) {ni} 'together': Kyóō [to] l asú [wa] l
tomo(-) {ni}. Examples: Humikiri-žíko no tamé Tóbú l Toozýoo-sen ga l nobori l
kudari tomo(-) l hutuú ni nátte imášu 'Owing to an accident at a crossing, on the Tóbú
Tójó line both the up-trains and down-trains are out of operation' (R); ... ími yóohoó
tomo(-) ... 'both meaning and use (together) ...'; máguti, okúyuki tomo(-) ni 'frontage
and depth (of the shop) together' (SA 2671.38c); ... író wa natú huyú tomo(-) kón de,
... 'the color is dark blue summer and winter alike, and ...' (SA 2671.107)—the ellipsis is
natú [to] l huyú [wa] l tomo(-) [ni] l with juctures that cancel the final accents on natú
and huyú and then automatically disappear so that natu huyu tomo(-) is pronounced as if
it were a single word.

Similar cases involve an inherently nonsingular noun: zí-ta tomo(-) ni 'both oneself and
others', méi-zitu(-) tomo(-) ni 'both in name and in reality'; dán-zyó tomo(-) 'both men
and women', sitú-ryóo tomo(-) 'both quality and quantity'. (These differ from the nouns
that take tomo 'all' in not being numbers.) The adverbiał expression zé-hi-tomo(-) 'at all
costs, for sure' apparently comes from zé-hí 'right or wrong = by all means' + to mo [áre
kákù mo áre] [be it even so or be it even thus] with the old deictic tó (= sóo) best
known in tó-ní-kákù = tó-mo-kákù [mo] = tó ni mo kákù ni mo 'whether so or thus' =
'nonetheless, anyway'; cf. Sore wa tó-mo-kákù ... 'Be that as it may ...'.

15.15. Ttará, tteba[a]; tó', ttó, tó ka

A number of sentence extensions derive from various quotational structures, and these
are treated in other sections. Ttará and tteba[a] are described in §21.2. On the use of a
quotation (§21) as a full sentence to report hearsay, see §18: Sóo da to = Sóo da tte
(§15.11) = Sóo da sóo da 'They say it is so'. The quotation can be followed by né, ná, yó,
or sá: "Íma ni, mata nágaku nárù kara mini nákha tükúttara oo-zón yó' tó ná 'She says
"Before long they [= skirts] will become long again so it would be a big waste of money
to make one of those minis!" you see' (SA 2659.118e). For an emphatic sentence-final
use of tó or ttó, see §21.1.(20). For sentence-final tó ka, see §21.6.

15.16. [1] Zya nái [ka/no], [1] zya arimasén ka (= zya nái desu ka),
[1] dé wa gozaimasén ka

A sentence can be turned into a rhetorical question by a direct nominalization that is
converted into a negative question, i.e. by adding to the sentence zya nái {ka/no}, politely
zya nái desu ka or zya arimasén ka, hyperpolite dé wa [or zya] gozaimasén ka. Imperfect
nominal sentences will either drop the copula dá or nominalize with ... ná no. The normal
pattern attaches the stretch that starts with zya (or de wa) as a sentence extension without juncture; the basic final accent of an "atomic" inflected form will surface and the underlying accents in the extension will automatically drop. (See further discussion at the end of this section.) Examples: Hayá i zya nai [ka]? ‘Aren’t we early? = Surely we are early’; Hâyaku ná zya nai [ka]? ‘Surely we aren’t early’; Há i zya nai desu ka ‘But isn’t that nice!’ (SA 2673.46c); Há i zya nai no? ‘Nice, isn’t it? = How nice!’ [said after putting a record on the record player]; Sonna koto, kangaeráenai zya nai desu ka ‘Surely such a thing is unthinkable!’ (KKK 3.282); Nihón ga Amerika o osae, booe ki no tóppu ni tátte iru koto o míté mo, Nihon-zín ga kirawarete iru hazu ga ná zya nai desu ka ‘Surely there is no reason for Japanese to be disliked just because (we see that) Japan has pushed America aside to become tops in trade’ (SA 2660.39a); Sono sinkoku ga kanarázú-sí-mo ryooisin-teki zya ná i mo sirenái zya nái ka, to iwarerú n desu né ‘We get asked whether it isn’t likely that those [income] reports may not always be as conscientious as they might be’ (SA 2670.52a); Koítu wa dé’i atte uresikáráóo zya arimaséh ka (= uresii daroo zya arimaséh = arésii hazu de wa arimaséh ka) ‘Surely ANYONE would be delighted with this one’; Sonna koto ni nátte wa komáyú zya arimaséh ka ‘If such things happen surely we’ll be embarrassed’ (Alfonso 803). Cf. Hayashi 165. Sometimes this device is used to add lively vividness to a report (‘what-do-you-know-but’): Sósite, konni sitúre ni monó o to tírigami ni tuítúnda monó o watasú zya arimaséh ka. Sen-en désita yó ‘And then what does he do but hand me something wrapped in tissue saying “Excuse me for such a discourteous gift”’. It was a thousand yen!’ (SA 2679.35d). For some sentences the rhetorical question expresses a “what-do-you-know(-but)” kind of surprised realization of the unexpected, sometimes translated ‘after all’ or ‘I see/guess’: Kúru to ittá no ni kóiná zya arimaséh ka ‘He said he’d come but I guess he’s not coming, after all’ (Alfonso 803); Sóra o míru to nání ka sírói monó ga ótíte kúru zya arimaséh ka ‘When I look at the sky what do I see but something white coming down’ (Alfonso 805); Náká o míru o nání ka hén na monó ga háitte iru zya nái ka ‘When you look inside there seems to be something peculiar in there’. Alfonso 807 says that S n[o] zya nái ka to omóu means ‘I’m of the opinion that S’. This sort of usage is frequent in lively narration: Soo sitará, ikinari múkóó(”) no kénpeí no zipú ma göe ni tukkónde kíte, zymá o surú zya ná desu ka ‘And then what should happen but one of their M.P. jeeps cut in ahead of us and got in our way’ (SA 2665.111d).

The nominalization need not be direct; n[o] can be used: Kékkon sitó mé cenzen aénái nánté hige kí ga okórum n zya gozaimasaéh kóto? ‘[For the couple who both work] there arise such tragedies as not being able to see each other at all even though they are married, you know’ (SA 2640.21a)—apparently a rhetorical question with exclamatory kóto, §15.13. The rhetorical question is also used to soften a hortative: Káeróó zya arimaséh ka ‘Shall we leave now?’; Íp-pai nomóó zya náí ka ‘How about a drink?’; Sáa, tabeyóó zya náí no? ‘Let’s eat, shall we?’; Yameyóó zya náí ka ‘Let’s not (do it)’; Káeróó zya (or: de wa) gozaimasaéh ka ‘Shall we leave?’

In some dialects zya will be replaced by ya: ... soko de benkyóó siyóó ya nái ka to omóóte ‘thinking I might study there’ (SA 2639.45a). Moreover ya nái ka can contract to ya n ke as in this Osaka example: Monogóótu kimóó ée yá n ná = Monosúúgúku kimóó [ga] ii zya nái ka ‘What a terribly good feeling!’ According to Zhs 2.21 the abbreviated forms S zya n ná = S zya nái ka are coming into Tókyóó from surrounding dialects of the southwest Kantó area: li zya n ka; Ikóó zya n ka.

Ordinary negativized nominal sentences usually carry an underlying juncture before the
negative auxiliary, and this will be heard when what is being denied is expressed with a
tonic phrase: Nagásaki zya | arimasēn ka ‘Isn’t it Nagasaki?’; Sīzuka zya | nāi kara ... ‘Be-
cause it isn’t quiet ...’. If the word expressing what is denied is atomic, the juncture is
usually suppressed: Yokohama zya [I] arimasēn ka ‘Isn’t it Yokohama?’ and Kantan
zya [I] nāi kara ... ‘Because it isn’t simple ...’ are normally said as single phonological
stretches, with the pitch staying up from the second syllable through the accented syllable.
But in the rhetorical uses described in this section you will find that the juncture
and accentuation are somewhat different. Just like S [I] darō, the tentative (§ 12.1),
this conversion permits two options. You can attach the final stretch with a juncture
after zya (or dé wa) in order to emphasize the rhetorical negative: Kane ga kakárū zya | arimasēn ka ‘SURELY it will cost money!’ With this option, the basic final accent of an
‘atomic’ inflected form will be suppressed, after which the juncture will itself disappear:
Kane o tukaū | zya arimasēn ka ‘SURELY we will spend money!’ But more commonly
you will attach the stretch with no juncture; the underlying final accent of an ‘atomic’
inflected form will be heard, and the accent on the negative auxiliary automatically
cancelled: Kane ga kakárū zya arimasēn ka ‘Surely it will cost money!’ Kane o tukaū
zya arimasēn ka ‘Surely we will spend money!’

§ 15.17. Dā no

There are a number of ways to conjoin noun phrases as coordinates: A to B {to}, A ya B, A tō ka B {tó ka}, A ka B {ka}, A dé mo B dé mo, A ni B {ni}, ... . These may all
ultimately derive from simple nominal sentences that contain either an essive (objective
ni or subjective tō) or the copula dā, which is liable to drop before yā or kā ‘question’;
the ellipsis is usual, though not obligatory, for we find A dā ka B dā ka or A dā tō ka B
dǎ to kā in examples such as these (from Ig 77): Kono ningen wa musuko dā ka musumē
da ka ga hitōri āru to iu hanasi datta ga ... ‘The story was that this individual had a son or
daughter, one or the other, and ...’; Wataru tanbī ni ni-sēn da ka is-sēn da ka no hasi-sēn
o torāreta ‘Every time we crossed we were charged a bridge toll of two sen or one sen’;
Siri dā ka harā dā ka, doōtai to omowarērū itibū ga wazukā ni suimen ni miēru dakē datta
‘All that appeared on the surface of the water was what would be thought some part of a
body—the buttocks or the belly’; Kā-re-ru ni hituyoo na monō wa sirākaba(−) no hayasī
da to ka pópura no namiki dā to ka mizu dā to ka gensi-teki na hūukei da to ka ikoku-
zyōōtyō da to ka de, korē-ru no monō nara taiete mihon ga sorōtte ita ‘The things they
require are birch forests or rows of poplars or water or primitive landscape or exotic sen-
ments, and of such things we generally had an array of samples’.

Under § 14.2.3. we observed paired sentences nominalized with nō, of which these two
(from Ig 77) are examples: Sūita no sukāreta no to iu kūkī ni ... ‘In an atmosphere of
good grace or bad (grace) ...’; Íya, sonna hasūru no wabirū no to itta nama-yasasī(−)
kimoti dē wa nāi ‘Nay, it is no such simple feeling as being ashamed or apologetic’. A
similar kind of coordinate conjoining can be effected by adding to each of the two
nominal adjuncts dā no: Hōn da no zassi dā no (= Hōn yara zassi yāra) ga gōta-gōta tunde
āru ‘Books and magazines are piled up helter-skelter’. This could be regarded a nominali-
zation but for the fact that dā does not change to nā, Henderson 70 is probably wrong in
his suggestion that dā no might be a contraction of to āru monō; the dā would seem to be
the copula, cf. the variant N dā no de/nī = N nā no de/nī (§ 14.2) and the sentence-introducer
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Dono ni = na no ni 'But'. Examples of dono no (from Ig 77): Kasi da no sibai no kippu da no o mainiti(−) no yo ni no mottete kante ... 'Bringing candy or theater tickets every day ...'; Sibai da no ongakkai da no no kippu ... '... tickets to the theater and to concerts'; uta(−) no kodomo no koro da no, waakai musume no koro da no no hanasi ... '... stories from when a child at home and when she was a young lady ...'; Haikyuu da no tooroku da no, sonna kototo wa nani mo siranai 'I know nothing of such things as rationing and registration or the like'. The last example puts a noun in synoptic apposition with the conjoined phrase; a similar example is Rondon da no Pari(i) da no (Berrurin da no) ironna tokoro e itte kita 'I've been to all sorts of places—London, Paris, (Berlin,) and so on'.

KKK 3.69 has examples in which nado replaces the second dono no: ... ebi da no awabi sazaei(−) nado o siirete kita 'she came back from Enoshima well supplied with shrimp and with abalone, wreath shells, and the like'—'abalone' and 'wreath shells' are in paratactic coordination, marked only by the juncture (ellipted ya can be assumed); ... goozer-zyuysi da no beekuraito nado no atarasee seihoo ya ooyooyo(−) o hatumei si ... '... he discovered new ways to make and use plastics and bakelite and so on'; ... budou da no kurii nado o motto o-sara o ... '... a plate heaped with grapes and chestnuts and things' (motta is from moru). In this example Dono da no is followed directly by non akia: Hukuu da no nanka wa betu desyo.—Zenzen betu desu 'Clothes and whatnot must be separate [from your regular allowance].—Quite separate' (SA 2663.46b). And sometimes (as with other conjoining-markers) the second dono no will be omitted with nothing to mark its absence: Miamiyu da no Biruma e mo, ikareta n zya nai n desu ka 'Didn't you get to Manchuria and Burma too [as well as other places]?' (Tk 3.233a); Gakusu da no geiyuuta-ka ga sumii utii(−) o tukuro kotote mo hituyoo desu 'It is necessary, too, to construct houses for scholars and artists to live in' (Tk 3.310b). Other examples of dono no: Soso yoo, henn nee, kyuui da no kyabute da no kau no wa heiki de, oimo wa hazukasii nante okasii wa 'Yes it's odd, isn't it, that I'll buy cucumbers and cabbages without a second thought, but I'm ashamed when it comes to sweet potatoes, it's funny' (KKK 3.69); Toot nyaa da no, nee-nyaa da no, Keniti(−) san da no, sagasii ni kite kureeta no sa 'Daddy and Sis and Ken-ichi, they kindly came to look (for it/me)' (KKK 3.69); Suna da no koi da no ga atumatte, suiryuu no atuyoku de iwa ni naru 'Sand and pebbles bunch together and turn into rock under the pressure of the current' (Tk 2.162a); Sono toki(−), hooobo no yadoya de, gaku da no kakemono da no ni, muzukasii mozi ga aru to, Sasaki-si to wakasuki to de soodan si-nagarayandona monoo da 'At that time, at inns all around when there were difficult characters on tablets or scrolls Mr Sasaki and I together would read them in consultation with each other' (Tk 2.101b).

A quotative to sometimes follows the conjoined expression, with or without a quoting verb: ... waisetu da no nan da no to iwareta ... 'was said to be obscene and all' (Fukuda in Ono 1967.222); Otyaa da no ikubana da no to isogasii 'I'm busy with the tea ceremony and flower arranging and the like'; Aa da no koo da no to, urusai kotote da 'What with this and that it is a nuisance'; Ooiki da no tiisai da no to kenka suru 'They quarreled over whether it was big or little'. The last example is best explained as a direct nominalization of the conjoined adjectival sentences. Alfonso 1149 gives examples with adjectival nouns: Sukii da no kirai da no to itte iaramasen 'You mustn't harp on your likes and dislikes'. Alfonso suggests that in speech the quoted uses of da no may be more common than the other uses. Examples of the quoted use (KKK 3.69): Higasu(−) da no nisi da no, kita(−) da no to iu kedo hontoo wa, tikyuu ni toozai-nanboku ga aru wake zya nai desyo, tada, ningen ga tukete ru dakete na no yoo 'You talk of east and west and north and all but really
it doesn't mean there are four directions right on the globe, it's just that man has put them there'; Dóko made ga Nihón de, dóko made ga Tyúugoku da no, Amerika dá no Sobiyotto da no tte katte ni wakú o hamete, kenka sitári, sensoo sitári, baka néé 'It's stupid to quarrel and make war with such an arbitrary framework as how far Japan extends, how far China and America and the Soviet and so on'; Sinpin o motte-kóí da no, sinpin de nákereba iyá da no, iú no nara, gakkoo o yamesasetimae [= yamesasete simae] 'If you are going to say new things are It and things have to be new for you to like them, let me quit school'—this example marks the quote by the quoting verb only.

In these examples with the quotative element—or similar elements such as the verbalized desiderative—it is possible to stylize dá: Kore désu no are désu no to ossyaimásu ga ...

'You ask if it's this or if it's that, but ...'; Kimono de gozaimásu no yooohuku de gozaimásu no iroigoru n de gozaimásu née 'They want all sorts of things—Japanese kimono, Western suits, ...'. (This is the origin of the misleading suggestion in Chamberlain 1924 that the conjunctural dá no can be stylized to de gozaimásu no). Thus we can say that N₁ dá no N₂ dá no has two uses:

1) with a meaning like N₁ tó ka N₂ tó ka, it can be followed by the case-marking particles gá, ó, ní, etc., or by the esseive ní (underlying the copula dá, nó, etc.). The conjoined expression is treated as a noun, and dá no is functioning as a conjuncturalization; dá can not be stylized.

2) with a meaning like N₁ dá tó ka N₂ dá tó ka, it can be followed by some quotative element (tó, tte, tótte/omótte). Here nó is functioning as a question particle (equivalent to ká) and dá is simply the copula, and so can undergo stylization. Unconjoined questions with nó are usually treated as nominalizations (Kore ná no? 'Is it this?') but the conjoined questions treat the nó as a sentence-extension or particle (Kore dá no are dá no ... '... whether it is this or is that') in the same way that ká is treated.

In newspapers and magazines you may run across such expressions as N₁ no N₂ no (+ quotative tó) which represent an ellipsis of the copula: N₁ {dá} no N₂ {dá} no tó ... . This is the explanation for the following example from Kusakabe 1968.45: Úmi no, yama no, oozóra no tó 'iki-tagarú 'Eager to go—the sea, the mountains, the sky!' (a travel ad?).

A case-marker can be attached to simple or conjoined questions marked by ká and to conjoined nominals marked by ká or tó ka: A tó ka B tó ka ka/ga/o is an abbreviation of something like A dá tó ka B dá tó ka ga/o. Cf. A dáttá tó ka B dáttá tó ka ga/o where the tense requires the presence of the copula. The second noun can be stripped down to its case marking: A dá{ttá} ka B ga/o, A dá{ttá} to ka B ga/o, A tó ka B ga/o. This is not possible with conjoined questions that use nó instead of ká.

Notice that nári (§ 15.19), a similar conjoiner, derives from the literary copula, and thus ultimately from the esseive ní also. Like nári and yára (§ 15.18)—and, in fact, all nominal conjoiners (including tó, yá, ní, ká, tó ka, de mo)—an indefinite number of phrases can be built up in a long chain ('A and B and C and D and ...') though more than two or three are seldom used in well-planned sentences that do not purport to be lists.

15.18. Yára

The particle yára apparently comes (by way of yára'u = yára[m]u) from a literary expression N ya arán/arámú, in Heian times N ni ya arámú (Terase 225a), equivalent to N dé[e] aróo ka 'would it be?' with ya being a permuted postadnominal interrogative. (Cf.
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Satō 2.109-10, Chamberlain 488, Henderson 349.) It can be used as a soft equivalent of kā, especially when the question is oblique or quoted: Nāni ga nāni yara sappāri wakarānai 'I just can't make out what is what' (= Nāni ga nān da ka ...); Dōttī ga āni yara ootoō yara wakarānai 'I don't know which is the older brother and which the younger'; Kūru yara kōnai yara hakkiri wakarānai 'I don't quite know whether he's coming or not' (= Kūru ka kōnai/dōō ka ...); Ītu-no-mā-nī-yara (SA 2673.50a) = Ītu-no-mā-nī-ka 'unawares' (see pp. 923-4).

When used as a complete sentence the meaning is usually 'I wonder' (= kā ne or kā šira): Dāre ga dāre yara 'I wonder who is who = I wonder who everybody is'; Ītu owaru kōto yara 'I wonder when it will end' = Ītu owaru kōto da [ka] ne; Dōko e ittā yara 'I wonder where he went' = Dōko e ittā ka šira; Dōko de dōō site iru no yara 'I wonder where he is and how he is getting along'. But after to it serves to quote adages and the like: "Sāru(−) monō wa hibi ni utōşi" to yara 'As they say, "Out of sight, out of mind"'.

In the same vein, tō yara can be used as a gentle equivalent of tō ka in its various uses (§ 21.6): Yamada tō yara iu hīto = Yamada tō ka iu hīto 'a person, called, I believe, Yamada'; ... tō yara iu hanashi 'The story is something to the effect that ...'; ... "Tyoozen-zin-gakuseikumiai-rēngō" to yara 'under the name of something like "United Korean Student Associations" ...' (SA 2685.138c). Cf. Nagano 1970.184.

After indeterminates the effect is the same as that of kā: Dāre ni yara (or Dāre yara ni) watasita = Dāre ka ni watasita 'I handed it over to someone'; Nāni yara miēru = Nāni ka miēru 'Something is visible'; Nāni yara kawatta monō 'something strange'. Dōō yara is equivalent to dōō ni ka 'somewhere or other; barely (managing)' but it is also used like dōō mo to reinforce a statement of appearance 'ever so (likely)': Asitā wa dōō yara (= dōō mo) āme no yōō desu ne 'It certainly looks like rain tomorrow'. Kenkyusha gives the examples Dōō yara hare-sōō da 'The weather is likely to clear up' and Dōō yara rūsu 'tyuu ni tazunete kita rasi 'He called in my absence, apparently'. These examples are from KKK 3.226: Hutāri ga hanasi-nāgara aruite iku utī(−) ni dōō yara mitō o matigaeta rāsiku, tunde-mo-nāi tokorō e dēte simaimāšī 'While the two were walking along talking they seem somehow to have lost their way, ending up at some totally unexpected place'; Akegata kara āme wa yande, dōō yara kyūō wa sukōsi wa hare-mā(−) no mie-sōō na āsā de ărū 'The rain letting up toward dawn, it is a morning that gives every appearance of offering a few sunny periods for the day'. Notice that in this usage kā can not take the place of yara (though mō can), since dōō ka has another meaning 'please'. Conversely, yara can not take the place of kā when it is used for mō after yōri: yō[ri] ka = yōri mo, § 2.6.

Paired (or multiple) sentences with yara are coordinated and used adverbially—or first nominalized and then gerundized with da changing to de: Wamēku yara donāru yara {de} oo-sawagi da 'What with screaming and yelling there is a great fuss'; Kinōo utī(−) e oozē ni hitō ga kūru yara kāeru yara de taihen nigiyaka desita 'It was very lively yesterday with so many people going and coming around the house'. The conjoined phrase can be quoted: Mizu o kumū yara tāoru o sibōru yara to ittu guai ni ... 'In a situation where you dip water and wring towels ...'.

33. Though the reasons are not compelling, elsewhere we treat dōō-yara, dōō-mo, and dōō-ka as lexical adverbs (hyphenated), following the dictionaries.

34. Kuno 1973.121 observes that in such expressions yāra "seems to be suitable only when the speaker is annoyed (or affected) by the actions or states enumerated by the construction".
Adjecitival sentences, and those with adjectival nouns, are more commonly nominalized with no before yara is attached: Iki-tái no yara iki-taku ná no yara hakkíri wakaránai ‘I don’t quite know whether I want to go or not’; Ookí no yara tíisái no yara ... ‘Whether it is big or little ...’ or ‘Whether it is a big or a little one ...’; But sometimes unnominalized (or directly nominalized) adjectives are conjoined with yára: Úressí yára kanaáíi yára wakaránai ‘I don’t know whether I’m happy or sad’.

Nominal sentences can reduce to N1 yára N2 yára (N3 yára ...) with the meaning ‘and (among others)’, equivalent to N1 ya N2; the conjoined phrase can be put in the same positions as any noun: Hana yára nódo yara ni tumáatta mizu o ... ‘... fluid clogged up in the nose or throat’; Koora ni koké(”) yára mizuka yára ga habikori-hóodai ni habikótta, yuu’utu-sóo na dorogame de áru ‘It’s a sad-looking mud turtle, thoroughly incrusted with moss and slime on its shell’ (SA 2681.92a); Akanboo no kóbusi(”) ga ... áka yara áo yara kúro yara ni tadaréte itá no de [1] ‘The baby’s fist ... was inflamed [into] red and blue and black’ (lg 78); ... busata no wabi yára náni yara o itta ‘said some apologies for not writing or something’ (Kb 38b); Hón yara zassi yára (tízu yara) ironna monó ga áru ‘There are all sorts of things—books and magazines (and maps) and so on’. The set phrase náni yara káni yara (de isogásií) ‘(I’m busy what with) one thing and another’ is modelled (or over-modelled) on náni(-) ya ká ya ‘one thing or another’ in which ká is an old deictic that is equivalent to are ‘that’ (cf. káre ‘he’). You will also find náni(-) ya ká ya and náni yara kán yara, but not *náni ya [ra] káre/are ya [ra].

15. 19. Nári; nári [to], nári [to (mo)]

The infinitive nári ‘becoming’ derives a noun nári ‘form, shape, stature, (personal) appearance, garb’ that, in turn, underlies the atonicizing suffix -nári (according to H, oxytonic -nári) which means ‘shape’, as in mikazuki-nári (no monó) ‘(a thing of) crescent shape’ and magari-nári ‘curved shape’; it also means ‘(appropriate) state’, as in Káre ga kodomo no ii-nári (oriinári-sídáí) ni náru ‘(He) gives in to his child’s every word (= wish)’ and Kimi no ii-nári ni dasóó ‘I’ll pay whatever you say’ (Tk 3.237a). From the latter meaning of the suffix -nári there has developed a use as a quasi-restrictive (§ 2.4) ‘appropriate to, to be expected of’, as in these examples: sore nári ni ‘in its own way’ or ‘just as it is’; sore nári no hituzen-sei ‘an inevitability of its own’ (SA 2677.159c); Zibun wa zibun “nári ni ikite iki-tái ‘I want to start living according to my own principles’; ... zibun ‘nári ni arasóte ikko to ... ‘wanting to struggle along in one’s own way ... ’ (SA 2672.136e); káre-ra ‘nári no péesu de ... ‘at their own pace’ (SA 2639.41e); Watasi ‘nári ni téégi sasete mórá nara, ... ‘If I may be permitted to define it in my own way, ... ’ (SA 2673.40c); watakusi ‘nári no kangaé de baken o kai, ... ‘I buy horserace tickets according to my own estimates’ (SA 2685.119a); tíisái kodomo ‘nári no handán-ryoku ‘the discernment of a little child’; ... wá-gá ikka wa wá-gá ikka ‘nári ni inú o ái-site itá ... ‘my family loved the dog in our own way’ (SA 2663.102). Although nári atonicizes the immediately preceding noun, that noun can be preceded by separately phrased modifiers as in the last two examples; hence the decision to treat it as a quasi-restrictive. In Sígeko wa Sígeko ‘nári ni ‘Shigeko, for her part, ... ‘the meaning is very close to that of N wa N de, p. 244.

The PARTICLE nári is of separate origin, coming from the literary copula nári < ní ári (as in Syó wa hitó nári ‘The penmanship tells the man’), which is familiar in the cliché used on payment requests such as Sanzén gohyaku-en nári ‘¥3500’. In this usage the
literary copula is sometimes treated as if directly nominalized, though in truth the form is the infinitive merely borrowed for some of the predicative functions, and so it is already nominal: ... keiyaku-kin(*) wa nenkan-nisan-en-nari de, ... 'with a contract that calls for twenty million yen a year ...' (SA); Kokumin-hoken da kara san-wari-hutano hyaku' hatizyu-ru-en-nari-ga, kusuri-dai(*) de atta 'The drug charge was a sum of 180 yen, (which is) the 30-percent amount to be defrayed [by the patient] because of (it's being) government health insurance' (SA 2664.27c); ... hyakuman-en-nari no mini-bessou mo '... even a mini-villa with a million-yen price tag' (SA 2687.49a); ... heya-dai(*) sen-en-nari o siharau toki ... 'when I paid the thousand yen for the room ...' (Shibata 1961.79); Gentei sen-bu, iti-bu itiman nisen-en-nari no gookabon 'Limited to one thousand copies, it is a deluxe volume with a price tag of twelve thousand yen a copy' (SA 2676.119a). The particle nari is used to conjoin two (or more) parallel adjuncts with a meaning very close to N₁ de mo N₂ de mo 'whether N₁ or N₂; either N₁ or N₂' and not unlike N₁ kā N₂ 'N₁ or N₂' allowing a choice of options. The particle may be added directly to a noun, with case marking added after, or the noun may be marked for case with nari added after, as can be seen in the following two examples (found in both Kenkyusha and Henderson): Iwa nari isi-nari e kuttu ku 'They fasten onto rocks or stones, and the like'; Syōmen(*) de nari kootoo de nari moosikomi-nasai 'Apply either in writing or (by word of mouth =) in person'. Other examples: Murā nari mati nari ... 'Whether village or town ...'; Kōre wa sono-hito no zyōku gakko o nari syaka no en nari ga, sekinin o móto 'bēki na n desu 'This is something that the school or society he belongs to must bear the responsibility for' (Tk 3.79a); Tooka nari hatuka nari de 'It will be the tenth or the twentieth of the month'; Yamā e nari ūmi e nari 'Let's go) either to the mountains or to the sea!'; Mōtō-mo, taigai-tōsii ga rieki o age, risi nari rizyun nari ga okuri-kaesarēru kotō ni nārēba, zōta wai kawatte kūru 'Of course if it is arranged so that the foreign investment raises its profits and both the capital and the interest can be repatriated, the situation changes' (SA 2664.45c); Būtyoo(*) ni nari katsuyō ni soo dan si-nasai 'Consult the division head or the section chief'; Kōtabō o kokusan nari kā nari ni kā-chorasēru 'We have them take dictation at the blackboard or (on paper =) at their desks'; Kōkka nari kooeki-dantai nari ga sonsumō o hutan suru 'Either the nation or some public corporation bears the loss'; Titī nari ħa hā nari ni ukagaimāsu 'I will ask my father or my mother'; Yamā nari ūmi nari suki na tokorō ni ike 'Go some place you like, say the mountains or the sea'; Zassī nari hō nari suki na monō o tōte kudasai 'Take whatever you like—a magazine, say, or a book'.

The idiomatic phrase dāi nari syōō nari 'whether large or small' is a variant of dāi nare syōō nare, with the literary concessive of the literary copula (KKK 3.134). Sometimes (perhaps with yā or kā as a model) nari is omitted after the second noun: ... Kōre wa sān-i nari, gō-i made hoosyō su beki da to omoimāsu 'Indeed, I think they [= four baseball hitters lasting into the final competition] should walk off with the third or the fifth place in awards' (KKK 3.134); ... nīzuyō-nen nari sānyū-nen no to zukun cotō ni nāru ... 'it gets to be a matter that drags on for twenty or thirty years' (SA 2677.119c); ... Êkkkyō ni roomā-zi nari kana-mozi ni aratamēru nādo to iu kotō wa kangaēte inai to omō 'I do not believe they are thinking, for instance, to switch to romanization or kana letters in a single stroke ...' (Shibata 1965.205); ... Nihon nari gaikoku no gakko-ni irete yari-tai ... 'I want to put them into a school in Japan or abroad' (Tk 2.321b).

This particle can appear also with paired predicates (imperfect or perfect), perhaps by
way of direct nominalization (§ 14.6): Ikú nari ikanáí nari hakkiri henzi o site kudasai ‘Answer clearly whether you are going or not going’; Iki-tái nari iki-taku nái nari hakkiri itte kudasai ‘Tell me definitely whether you do want to go or you don’t want to go’;

Damatte ité wa wakaranái kara itáí nari kayúí nari (suki nari kirai nári) nán to ka itte kure ‘If you don’t speak up we won’t know, so say something as to whether it hurts or itches (as to whether you like it or dislike it)’; Mita nari kii-tá nari hakkiri to ie ‘Be it what you saw or what you heard, tell it clearly’ (Henderson). If no specific verb is available to pick up the rest of the sentence, the auxiliary suru is used (cf. -tári): Háirú nari dürü nári si-násái ‘Come in or go out, one or the other’; Ikú nari káeru nari katte ni si ro ‘Either go or return, which ever you please’; Benkyo surú nári nerú nári hakkiri sitara dóó da ‘How about making up your mind whether you’re going to study or sleep?’; Watasi ga káéte kuru made tabéru nári, nómu nári site kudasai ‘While I’m gone (till I get back) have something to eat or drink’. It is not so common to use directly nominalized adjectives in this way, the non-nominalization being preferred (siróí no nari kurói no nári ‘white or black’), but verb-derived or verb-related adjectives will be found: Isogasii nari isogasíkú nári nári (sirasete kudasai) ‘(Let me know) whether you are busy or are not busy’; Iki-tái nári iki-taku nái nári hakkiri site moraí-taí ‘I’d like you to make it clear whether you want to go or not’; Hosii nári hósiki nári nári kikimasyóó ‘Let’s ask whether they want it or don’t want it’.

When nári, or náři, appears directly after a single verb phrase or a sentence it is always without accent since the accent of the base (or, if an atomic base, of the ending) will prevail. It is unclear whether we should treat this as the particle nári (and add it to the conjunctivalizations of § 17) or as a postadnominal (§ 13.2); what happens when the S is nominal, N/AN ná nári?

The meaning of V-ru nári (when unpaired) is usually ‘as soon as’, roughly the equivalent of V-ru to sugu or V-ru ya ina ya: Míru nári tati-agatta ‘I rose up on seeing him’; Ban-góhan o tabéru nári nete simatta ‘I went to bed right after dinner’; Mátí e tükú nári renraku site kudasai ‘Please get in touch with me as soon as you arrive in town’; ... misé o dérú nári, asi o hayáméta ‘once out of the shop he quickened his pace’ (KKK 25.82a).

The meaning of V-tá nári, however, resembles that of V-ta mamá ‘just (as it is)’: Néta nári ‘while still in bed’, suwátá nári ‘(while) seated, from one’s seat’; etc. In this example from KKK 3.134 nári refers to the entire situation from the third word on: Káre wa nedoko no ué ni hará-bai(−) ni nátte, makurámoto no tabákó-bon ni tabako o sutétá nári zit-tó sono é o mi-agété ita ‘Lying on the bed flat on his belly with his cigarette(s) tossed aside on the tray beside the bed, he stared up at the picture’. Henderson provides a nice contrast between V-ru nári and V-tá nári in these two examples: Ása okirú nári misu o kábúru ‘As soon as he gets up in the morning he pours water over himself’, Ása ókíta nári de máda kao o arawánu ‘He has just gotten up and has not yet washed his face’, the latter example having the gerund of the copula dé.

Two other uses of nári remain to be described. In the first use, nári is optionally followed by tó, but that closes the structure: Watakúsi ní nári ître to sobadan site moraétára ... ‘I wish they would consult, say, me ...’; Bóku(−) ni nári ître to tyót-itte kure saé sitára yökkata no ni née ‘You might have just said something about it to me, at least’; Zyotyuu ni nári ître to tükate itadakemasen ka ‘Won’t you hire me, say, as a maid?’; O-dénwa de nári ître o-kikase kudasaimasen ka ‘May I perhaps have the favor of a phone call from you?’.
As the translations indicate, the effect of nāri ตō is similar to that of one use of de น()} 'even if it be', and in that use nāri is optionally followed by ตō or by ตō mo: Syasinn dē nāri ตō ต{mo} ต{mi-}tāi monō da 'I want to see it at least in a photograph'; O-tui.de ni nāri ตō ต{mo} ต{yotte} kudasai 'Drop by whenever you are in the neighborhood'; Sēmete sono syukan daked nāri to ต{mo}, ziko o mitume, mizukara o hansei suru kikai(−) tarasime-tāi to mo watakushi wa negātte iru 'But I hope to take full advantage of the opportunity to look at myself and reflect on my person, at least for that moment alone' (KKK 3.133). This accounts for expressions such as tasyoo nāri to ต{mo} ต{to some extent (at least)}', sasāyaka nāri to mo; ต{lītle} (= humble) though it may be' (SA 2670.113e), and ippūkan nāri to ต{mo} 'even for a moment'. In all these expressions it is more common for the ตō not to drop, and with an indeterminate, where the meaning is '...ever, ...at all', the ตō is apparently obligatory: nān nāri to ต{mo} = nān de mo 'whatever (it may be); anything (at all)', dōko nāri to ต{mo} 'wherever, anywhere', itu nāri to ต{mo} 'whenever, any time at all', etc. Here are examples in sentences: Sā dōko e nāri to suki na tokorō e iku ga yōi 'Well, it would be a good idea to go wherever pleases you' (lg 67); Kāre wa zibun no higō-sya ต{ate} no tegami ni, zensen e dāsite morai-tai to iū no de, 'Izure é nāri to haizoku sasete itadaki-tai, yakū ni wa tatānaku to mo, kiken na tokorō nara dōko de mo kēkkō desu' to kāte, ...' With the desire to be sent to the front, he wrote to his protector 'Please let me be assigned anywhere at all; if it is a dangerous place, even if of no use, anywhere at all will be all right'... (KKK 3.133—the literary izure é nāri to, at the beginning, turns into the colloquial dōko de mo later).

With much the same meaning as nāri to ต{mo} the expression tāri to mo is found in... iti-niti tāri to mo yasūmu kotō o siranai 'knows not a day's rest' (Kgg 81.94). This is a literary touch, made by attaching ตō to the subjective copula (ต{ō} ต{ar-}) in its infinitive-used-for-predicative form; the other form, nāri to ต{mo}, is the same structure made with the objective copula. Other examples: iti-byoo (ip-pun, iti-zikan) tāri to mo 'for even a second (minute, hour)'; it-teki (ip-pai) tāri to mo 'even a drop (a drink)'.

In Literary Japanese the copula nāri (<nī ต{ār-i}) can be used at the end of a directly adnominalized sentence where the corresponding structure in the modern language would require the nominalizer nō (S nō da): surū nāri = surū no da. An adnominalized sentence in the literary language requires the ATTRIBUTIVE form (where this differs from the predicative); the summational epitheme equivalent to the modern nō is zero (or ellipsis of some unspecified N). There is another usage in Literary Japanese that must be carefully distinguished; the PREDICATIVE form can be followed by nāri 35 to mean 'is said to' or 'seems' equivalent to the modern hearsay (V-i-sōo da) or evidential (S + sōo da): su nāri = (1) suru sōo da 'is said to do'; (2) suru yōo da, si-sōo da 'appears to do'. When the distinction between attributive and predicative forms is neutralized (as with most consonant

35. It has been suggested that this nāri has a different origin, possibly n[ē] 'sound' + ตāri. See Mabuchi 1968.160.
bases) the literary form will be interpretable either way: yobu nari (1) = yobu no da; (2) = yobu soo da or yobi-soo da. Probably we should distinguish these two uses by juncture: yobu nari → /yobunari/ ‘is said to call, seems to call’; yobu nari → /yobunari/ ‘calls’.

But the traditions of reading literary forms such as these are not fixed.

15.20. LITERARY AND DIALECT SENTENCE-EXTENSIONS

Certain sentence extensions are limited to use in the literary language (or in clichés borrowed therefrom) and/or in dialects.

(1) ka-si is a literary particle of emphasis, now heard only in a few clichés such as yōkare kā-si to omotte ‘desiring for it to be good’, [N ga] āre kā-si ‘that there may be [N]’, N de āre kā-si ‘may it be N’, ... Examples: Yumē de āre kā-si to omōu ‘I wish it were all a dream’ (Kenkyusha); Yaziwa wa kotō [ga] āre kā-si to matsu mono de aru ‘The rabble are apt to wait in eager hope that something will happen’ (SA 2637.103a). In the literary language, this follows the imperative, much like yō; but it can occur after yō (at least when yō is attached to a vowel verb): mi yo kā-si ‘I want someone to look’. It also follows other sentence-final forms (usually predicative—but also attributive and hypothetical forms triggered by certain particles); the particle zō (S zō kā-si = S nō de aru yō ‘It is indeed a fact that S’); and a few nominals: Šā kā-si = Šō [da] yō ‘Yes, indeed!’; Šā kā-si = Šā ‘Now let’s do it!’. Examples from the literary language can be found in Terase 25.

(2) ga-si [ni/no} is a variant that appears in a very few clichés after imperative + yō: ... orē-tati ni kikoe yō ga-si ni, ‘...’ tte iu hito ga ita monō nā ‘There was a guy saying ‘...’ as if wanting us to hear his words’ (SA 2665.24c); Kikoe yō ga-si no hanasi ‘Talk meant to be overheard’; Kore mi yo ga-si ni miseta ‘He showed it ostentatiously (wanting people to look at it)’. Also: kotō [ga-si na me ‘eyes eager for something to happen’ (KKK 44.47).

(3) ga-na is a relic of a literary form which turns up in a few common clichés in the modern language: Ātō wa iwazū mō ga-na ‘The rest is better left unsaid’ = ‘The less said about the rest, the better’ (SA 2658.11d); ... naku mo ga-na no būbun de aru ‘they are parts that are dispensable/redundant’ (Maeda 1962.203); Kore wa ārazu mō ga-na da ‘This is unnecessary/unwanted’ (Kenkyusha). There is another usage, equivalent to dé mo ‘even; or something’ (MKZ 144c): Hima na suki gā-na rensyuuu o site iru ‘We drill every spare moment we have’; Itta monō de ga-na googaimaså ‘He must have gone or something’; Nāni ga-na ... ‘Something (or other); Anything ...’ (cf. Henderson 100). In hi ga-na iti-iti [ all day long’ the meaning is idiomatic. These set phrases appear to stem from one of the literary desiderative forms that comprise the following set:

\[
\begin{align*}
A-ku \{ & \text{mo/si ga [na] ‘wants it to be A/N = A-i yöō ni ari-tái (hosii), N de aru yöō ni ari-tái (hosii)} \\
V-te (-) si \{ & \text{ga [na] ga mo ‘wants to do’ = V-i-tai} \\
V-i-ni-si ga [na] ‘wants it to happen’ = V-ru yöō ni ari-tái (hosii)
\end{align*}
\]

For details on the literary uses, see Terase. You may occasionally hear a colloquial N mo ga-na! ‘Oh for an N!’ (cf. Henderson 166).

(4) V-ta gë na is used in dialects to mean ‘it seems that ...’ or ‘I’ve heard that ...’ (equivalent to the evidential or to hearsay reporting); Henderson (103) says the form is prevalent in western Japan, and Zhs 2.19 says it is not used in eastern Japan. Examples
are cited from Fukui (Zhs 3.234), Gifu (Zhs 3.281), Aichi (Zhs 3.476), and northeast Hyōgo: Hanasii kikimasuryaa yorokobi ga arimasita ge na ga ... omedeto-san de arimasu
‘From what I hear, it appears you have had a blessed event, and uh ... congratulations’ (Zhs 4.331). Even in eastern Japan V-i-ge is sometimes used for the evidential (V-i-soo), e.g. in Gumma and Saitama provinces, where V-ru ge da is reported with the same meaning (Zhs 2.22).

(5) S mo/[no/ is reduced to a sentence extension in certain dialects, according to Fujiwara 1965.24-6.

(6) S ... moosi is the source (Fujiwara 1965.92ff) of various dialect sentence extensions:
S na moosi: namo[n], nam[u], nao; nasi, na[s]su
S no moosi: nomo[si], no[osi], no[o]su; nesu, ne[e]si
S e moosi (? < ne, ? < yō): emusi, emo, and (y)ezi
Examples of S mo and S na mo (pronounced [nəʊ]) from Aichi will be found in Zhs 3.413 ff.

(7) nan (namu, namo) is a literary particle with a meaning and grammar much like zó ‘indeed’; reference is usually to the sentence as a whole but the particle is attached to one of the adjuncts, including directly nominalized (attributive) verbs, and the predicate is put in its attributive form. Often the predicate is omitted, however, leaving nan at the end of the sentence with a following áru, habérú, iu, omóu, or kiku understood from the context (Terase 153 has examples). This particle is to be distinguished from the nan (namu) that appears in two other structures:

(7a) V-{a}-nan (-namu, -namo) ‘I want it to happen that V’ is roughly the equivalent of colloquial V-te hosíi, and V-{a}-zara-nan (-namu, -namo) < V-{a}zu ar-a-namu
‘I want it to happen that not V’ is roughly the equivalent of V-anái de hosíi. In origin this may be the literary tentative -(a)mu attached to the negative -(a)na-, perhaps with oblique idea ‘will it not be that ...?’—cf. the use of ‘won’t you’ in English to make a request.

(7b) V-i-nan (-namu) ‘it will probably happen that V, it is likely true that V’ is believed to be the literary tentative -(a)mu attached to the infinitive-auxiliary -nú/-núru (§9.5) which is a perfect, so that the form ought to correspond to colloquial V-tá daroo ‘probably did V’, but the actual usage is more like V-rú daroo ‘probably will V’ (though the sentence may be embedded in a larger context that is past). The modern language has a relic in the set phrase sá mo ari-nan ‘it must be so’: ... sá mo ari-nan to omoi-nágaru kyootan sítá no de aru ‘... was filled with wonder, thinking it must be so’ (Ikeda Yasaburō). (The accent of ari-nán seems to be irregular.)
Requests in Japanese are made either by a direct command that uses an IMPERATIVE form or—more commonly—by various circumlocutions, typically by asking as a favor. Kazama 127 ff. says that dōo-zo 'please' (and synonymous dōo-ka etc.) can be used to anticipate a request (regardless of form) but not a command, nor a simple statement of desire or expectation. Requests are sometimes introduced by such phrases as Tanōmu kara ... 'I'm asking, so ...' and O-negai dá/désu kara ... 'It is my humble request, so ...'.

Japanese commands may mention the subject, which by meaning ought to be second-person (the addressee—"you") but which may in FORM be a third-person term because of pronominal avoidance: Tāro san ga iki-nasāi 'Tarō, you go' is quite acceptable but *Dāre ga iki-nasāi 'Who go?' is not. And some commands are addressed to oneself: Ei, mendō da; kittimae [= kitte simae] 'This tangle is a nuisance—I may as well cut it (= the thread)' (Mikami 1963a, 76). Very occasionally you may run across a genuinely third-person command: Onnā no monō wa onnā ga tukūre 'Let women's things be made by women!' (SA 2672.63a—heading). It has been observed that interrogative adjuncts are incompatible with commands and requests, though not necessarily with the hortatives. You can not say *Dōko de mätte kudasāi [ka] 'Wait where!? ' but you can say Dōko de matimasyōō ka 'Where shall I (Where do you want me to) wait?' or 'Where shall we wait?'

Hayashi 173 reminds us that certain imperative expressions are used as rhetorical exclamations, so that the underlying intention is a prohibition: Úso o tuku! '(Tell your lies! =) Stop lying!' (Úso o tuku na); Bāka ie! '(Say all the silly things you can! =) Don't be silly!' (Bāka na kotō o iū na).

16.1. THE IMPERATIVE

The imperative ends in -e, optionally followed by the particle yō for consonant verbs and obligatorily followed by yō or by >ró (yō) for vowel verbs,2 with an optional abbreviation of TONIC >ró yō (→ ... 'royo') to yō (→ ... 'yō'). Vowel verb bases of more than one syllable reduce both e-e and e-e to é and both i-e and i-e to i; but while monosyllabic vowel verb bases similarly reduce é-é and é-i to é and i, they reduce e-e and e-i to unaccented e and i, respectively. The derivations continue as follows:

... → tābe yō → tābe yo = /tābe yo/ 'eat!'
... → tābe >ró → tābé ro = /tābé ro/ 'eat!'
... → tābe >ró yō → tābe >ro yo → tābé ro yō = /tābé ro yō/ 'eat!'

1. As in this telling example: ... kimi ga ie, anāta ossyai to yuzuri-ātte ... ""You tell him""—""YOU tell him", they would pass the responsibility back and forth' (Ariyoshi 276).

2. Here the symbol > means that ró triggers a shift to the right by one syllable of the accent on the imperative. But the right-shift does not apply if the base is monosyllabic: mi f>hrō = mi ro [yō] 'look!' (= mi yō), i f>hrō = i ro [yō] 'stay' (= i yō), ne f>hrō = ne rō [yō] 'sleep' (= ne yō). Thus the accentuation in the following example: Sizuka ni si ro, damatte i ro 'Be quiet, shut up!' (SA 2659.49d—the accent is on ró in both sentences, but cancelled by the final juncture).
The following verbs are irregular:

(1) suru 

                   sé yo$^3$  

                   si ro, si ro yo

(2) kuru       — [LIT. kó yo]  

               kói, kói yo$^4$

(3) kér (        — 

               ké ro, ké ro yo$^5$

(4) kureru      — 

               kure, kure yo, o-kure yo$^6$

(5) kudasáru

               nasári

               irassáryár

               ossyáru


It is possible to add ttára (§21.1): Misé ro ttára ‘Show me, I tell you!’ I have one example of V·e yo ná: Sikkári yaré yo ná ‘Keep your chin up!’ (SA 2672.27e). Men sometimes add yái: Yose yái ‘Cut it out!’; Hakkíri ie yái ‘Say it clearly!’ (Okitsu 1.443). This seems to be the interjection yái (< yá yói) ‘hey!’ Is it added after ró [yo]? A variant of yó in the shape é is sometimes used by downtown Tókyó speakers, and also in other dialects: Kono mondai o tóite mi i (= mi yo) ‘Try answering this question’; Ake ró i (= Ake ró yo) ‘Open up!’; Omaé, utatte mi i ... odotte mi ... ‘Try singing, try dancing, ...’ (Tk 2.320a). MKZ 28b associates this é with the variant of ró found in kái = kái né and nán da i = nán da ne (§15.7), giving the example Katte ni si ró i ‘Please yourself’ but the grouping in that dictionary may be for convenience only. See §15.3 for more on the substitution of é (or é) for yó. In Hokkaidó ré is used for ró (H 1968.127); perhaps this is a reduction from ró i = ró yo. Hayashi 168 says that the forms in -é yo and ró yo are very frequent among male intimates. Apparently some speakers (even in Tókyó?) emphasize the imperative with yá: Háyaku kói ya ‘Come quick!’ Ore n[o] tókó ni asobi ni kói ya ‘Come visit my place!’ (SA 2647.117—the invitation is from a young man on the Noto Peninsula). Though often thought of as an “eastern” form, V·e ró also pops up in parts of western and southern

3. It would appear that si-é here reduces to sé, rather than the si we expect from the earlier rule; perhaps that accounts for the accentuation, or maybe that is the result of interdialect borrowing, since the sé yo form is not used in Tókyó colloquial speech. The imperative appears without yó in the form underlying the adverbs nán[i]-se = nán-si-ro ‘(do whatever =) anyhow, anyway’ and doo-se ‘(do however =) anyway; after all; of course; at all’.

4. Such forms as ki[i] and ki ya are reported from Shikoku (Miyara 154).

5. The verb kér- ‘kick’ is a consonant base in the standard language, but the expected imperative kéré is not used; instead the standard language uses the imperative from the vowel-base treatment of the literary language (and Kansai?) but with ró. The usual plain command in Tókyó is actually kéttyae ýó < kétte simaé ýó. If kéré occurs (cf. Lewin 109) it is in nonstandard speech.

6. Kure ró ýó is dialect.
§ 16.1. The imperative

Kyūshū (Zhs 6.23, 26). The forms in \ldots rō \( \text{yo} \) are often replaced by simple \ldots yo in quotations (§21): Mī ro \( \text{yo} \)!—Mī yo to ittā kara mita n desu ‘Look!—He said “Look!” so I looked’. But the form with just rō CAN be quoted, as in this example from the complaint of a six-year-old: Otōōsan wa, ūmi wa kitanai kara pūruu du gāman si ro tte iū kedo sā, bōk(u) wa doo-se ooyōenai kara, ūmi nānka kitanakutatte kamawanāi n da. Suna-āsobi dekireba \( sō \) na mono ‘Father says I should put up with a pool because the sea is dirty but, gee, since I can’t swim anyway it doesn’t matter if the old sea is dirty. If I can play in the sand, that’s enough’ (SA 2635.41b). Other examples: \ldots kōgyō-kōkō e singaku si ro to iū titioya no susume o kette \ldots ‘I rejected my father’s urging to continue my studies in a commercial high school and ...’ (SA 2662.22a); Tyuugaku no toki tenisu o yatte ‘te, kōkō-sei no toki wa ōyaz(\( i \))’ ga benkyōo si ro si ro tte, supōto wa yaraserarenakatta n desu ‘In junior high I played tennis but when I was a high school student my father said, “Study, study!” and I wasn’t allowed to engage in sports’ (SA 2662.44b).

Theoretically, an imperative form could be made from any verbal sentence, but in practice you find limitations. Some of the exalting forms do not occur for reasons of semantic incompatibility (*O-kaki ni nāre, *Itase). Without personification, actions not subject to human control will not occur in imperative or hortative forms; but occasionally weather verbs turn up, perhaps personified: Tēnki ni nāre yo, Hāre yo ‘Clear up!’ If the imperative is made on a passive, the passive is probably to be taken as subject-exalting: Kangaete mirāre yo = Kangaete go-ran nasai ‘Think about it’ or ‘Just think’ (K 1966.177). It is unusual to find imperatives from āru (or de āru) except in written style: Syoozāk/ Sinsēt/ Tēinea de āre ‘Be honest/kind/polite!’; Kami mo syooran āre ‘May God be my witness = So help me God!’; \ldots ni syukuhuku āre ‘May ... be blessed!’ (Cf. nākare, §16.3.)

A more colloquial style would use a fragment \ldots (de) āru yōo ni. And A-kāre < A-k[u] āre has a special use when followed by to omotte yaru ‘with the idea/desire that it be A’: ... kawaii imootō no tamē ni yōkare to omotte yaru to kōte ga ... ‘thinking of what would be best for his dear little sister’ (SA 2668.112b); ... seito no tamē ni yōkare to omotte yatte ita ... ‘were doing it with the thought of benefiting the students’ (SA 2663.28a). Is this expression limited to the adjective yōi (= ii)? Cf. yōkare (\( \text{-kāsi} \))—see §15.20, MKZ. (For the concessive use of A-kāre, see just below.) Examples of āre and de āre: Dēsu kara, tanzyun na hoosoku de āre to iū hōo ga, dodai mūri na tyūumon\( n\)\( n\) na no kā mo siremasē ‘That’s why maybe it is a fundamentally unreasonable request to ask that they be simple rules’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.276); Sonna toki no atasi no kao, go-sooozō āre ‘Just imagine my face at that time!’ (Tk 2.192a); ... hitōtū dōkusya(\( n\)) no hōo de go-kandai na syare-kibun o o-moti āre ‘May the reader have a generous feeling for the wit’ (Tk 2.228). The imperative can be formed on the polite stylization: -mase ֿyō/nē or -māsi ֿyō/nē. An unusual example, made on the subject-exalting passive of nāsu (whence by contraction the subject-exalting nasāru = suru): Sore ga damē nara mi no hū-un to o-akirame nasaremāse ‘If that is no good, resign yourself to [recognizing] your hapless fate’ (SA 2679.122bc).

Some special written-style uses of the imperative with the meaning ‘even’ seem to derive from the literary concessive -re [do], §9.3:

(1) de āre = de mo: Nān no heya de are, móo koko ni tomete morau hoka wa nai ‘We have no choice but to get put up for the night here, whatever the room may be’;

Syūukyō de are, gakkōo no syūusin de are, soo iū kōto wa zēnbu kīnsei de, ... ‘Both in
religion and school-taught ethics, all such things are taboo ...' (Tk 3.109b); ... sínru(“) de åre tízin(“) de åre ... 'whether it be a relative or an acquaintance' (SA 2665.36c).

(2) åre = åtte mo: Examples lacking.

(2a) näre = dê [ätte] mo: dai nare syóo nare 'whether large or small' (a variant version: dai nari syóo nari, KKK 3.134).

(2b) ni ... åre = dê [ätte] mo: In the literary language N ni mo åre abbreviates to N ni m(o) åre = N ni máre, just as N máre = N m(o) åre; you may run across this in modern texts: Nanigoto ni máre [= Nán de mo, Nání de åté mo], mottai-na-gáru kotó o siranu seikkaku to miéru 'In all things, she looked to be of a character ignorant of conspicuous waste' (Fn 299a).

(3) -ku åre > -káre (= -kúte mo): öokáre sukúnákare, ookáre-sukúnákáre; sukúnákáre öokáre 'more or less'; tákakare yásukáre, yásukáre tákakare 'whether costly or cheap'; túyokáre yówakáre, yówakáre túyokáre 'whether strong or weak'; osokáre-háyákáre 'sooner or later'; yókáre asikáre, yokáre-ásikáre 'right or wrong, good or bad'. (Note the idiomatic accentuations.) Cf. V-rú nákáre 'let there be no doing = don't', source of the colloquial negative imperative V-rú na.

(4) tôwa ie = tô itté mo (§ 21): Byookyô tôwa ie, káre wa ki ga sikkári site ita 'Though ill, he was in good spirits'. We also find written the literary ... kóso ... V-re, where the colloquial would call for ... kóso ... V-réba or (KKK 3.52) ... kóso ... V-rú ga.

Similar, but not using the literary concessive (suré), is the following:

(5) ni \( \{ \text{si ro} \} \) = ni síté mo = dé mo: Dótira ni si ro sore wa onaí da 'Either one/way, it's all the same'; Dóno-yóó na zízyoo ni sê yo ... dekinakatta 'It was impossible ... under any circumstances'. This can be regarded as an example of the direct nominalization with dropped esseive (i.e. = N ná no ni sê yo); see § 14.6. From the last type we get a number of clichés such as the adverbs doo-se and nání-si-ro/nání-s{1}e[yo] mentioned earlier, and a way of linking sentences with 'or' meaning: X ni sê yo Y ni sê yo, X ni si ro Y ni si ro = X ni síté mo Y ni síté mo = X dé mo Y dé mo '(whether) X or Y'.

The DOMAÎN of an imperative may include sentences conjoined by the gerund or the infinitive: Uti(“) e kätte góhan o tabe ro can be interpreted as 'Go home and eat' and also as 'Eat after you get home', with the command applied to an already conjoined sentence. But sentences conjoined by conjunctionals (such as kará, tô, gá, sî) can only take the second treatment, and that is apparently why KKK 23.236 rejects these sentences: (*)Kimi wa sabe mo nómu ga tabako mo nóme 'Both drink and smoke!'; (*)Kimi wa sabe mo nomáíi ga tabako mo nómu na 'Neither drink nor smoke!' (With a looser interpretation, the sentences are not totally unacceptable.) By way of contrast, notice that adnominalization is quite easy for such conjoined sentences: Sake mo nómu ga okási mo tabérü káre 'He who not only drinks liquor but also eats candy ...' (KKK 23.236).

Iterated imperatives are sometimes used for vividness or insistence: Íma de wa ..., nüiyáae, nüiyáae te iu kotó de 'Nowadays ... [in commercial photography] it's all "strip! strip!"' (SA 2680.48c)—nüiyáae = nüide simae; for the sentence-final gerund dé, see § 9.2.1a.

Although normally directed to the second person, the imperative is sometimes used with a third-person subject: ... tûma mo ko mo nárú yóó ni náré. (Ore ni hituyoo ná no wa, kono onna hitóri da) '. ... let my wife and child become what they will. (All I need is
16.2. CIRCUMLOCUTIONS

The most common way to make a request is to ask it as a favor:

(1) Site kudasai {né/yó}, Site kuré {né/yó/i}, Site o-kure {né/yó/i} or Sit’ o-kure ‘Please do me the favor of doing it’: Syooyu o tōte kudasai ‘Pass the soy sauce, please’; Nāni ka tabesāsete kudasai yō ‘Let me have something to eat’; ... itt’ o-kure yō ‘say it; get it said’ (Tk 3.3a); Zibun de o-tya ‘gūrai irete nōnd’ o-kure yō ‘Make your own tea!’ (Okitsu 1.254); Kαtyō ni itte kuré i ‘Tell the section head!’ (SA 2689.124d).

This can be made less direct by putting it as a question, usually with polite stylization (§22.1):

(2) Site kudasaimasu ka? Site kureru ka? ‘Will you do it for me?’; Kyōo tomemāsu ka? ‘Will you put me up for the night?’

But the question is usually made softer by phrasing it negatively:

(3) Site kudasaimasen ka? Site kurenaikurēn ka? ‘Won’t you do it for me?’ Sub-duing the gerund will further soften the expression: Sitē wa kudasaimasen/kurenai ka. And making the verb tentative will lower the posture from which the plea is made (says Hayashi 170): Sitē wa kudasaimasen desyo ka, Sitē wa kure[rú] –māi ka (= kurenai daroo ka).

A still less direct circumlocution is to ask if one will receive the favor:

(4) Site itadakimasu ka? Site moraū ka? ‘Will I get you to do it for me?’

More commonly, this is put as a potential (§4.4):

(5) Site itadakemasu ka? Site moraeru ka? ‘Can I get you to do it for me?’

And this can be made more polite and less direct with the tentative (and with double stylization):

(5a) Site itadakemasu desyo ka? Site moraerū daroo ka? ‘Might I get you to do it for me?’

To either of these, we can add the softening touch of the negative:

(6) Site itadakemasen ka? Site moraenai ka? ‘Can’t I get you to do it for me?’

(6a) Site itadakemasen desyo ka? Site moraenai daroo ka? ‘Mightn’t I get you to do it for me?’

Or, again, the favor-to-be-received may be put in the desiderative (§7):

(7) Site itadaki-tai/morai-tai, Site itadakī-tai (morai-tai) desu: Site hosii (desu) ‘I’d like to have you do it for me’. The object can be treated in either of two ways: Kono sigoto o/ga site hosii ‘I’d like this work done’. This can be made more polite by using an honorific infinitive (or equivalent verbal noun): Kono yūga na kahwetēriya o go-ran itadaki-tai ‘Just look at this elegant cafeteria’ (SA 2661.4). And negai-tai can be used in place of itadaki-tai: Koko de zyuunana-pēezī no hyoo o go-ran negai-tai ‘At this point please look at the chart on p. 17’ (SA 2662.21a).

These forms can be made more hesitant by adding monō/n(o) desu ga, suggesting a negative expectation, real or feigned:

7. In Kyōto also shortened to Sitē ‘n’ ka.
(7a) Site itadaki-tai/morai-tai mono/n[0] desu ga ... .
Another, rather casual, way to make a request is to use just the gerund (with kudasai dropped, as it were); this can be followed by nē or yō:

(8) Site {nē/yō}: Sono kádo de tyót-to mätte ‘te yó ‘Wait for me on that corner’; Mótto óku e tūme nē ‘Move over (and make room for me)’; Kangaesāsete ‘Let me think it over’; Kón’ya kaesānai de ‘(Don’t send me home tonight =) Let me spend the night with you’.

A less polite form is the infinitive (or, for those verbs that have one, the honorific infinitive) + (-)nasāi {yō/nē}:

(9) Si-nasāi {nē/yō} ‘Do it’; Yobi-nasāi, O-yobi nasāi ‘Call him’; Mi-nasāi, Go-ran nasāi ‘Look’; Syoosetu-ka ni o-nari nasāi ‘Become a novelist’ (SA 2685.43b). The older form of nasāi was nasāre, and this still occurs in some dialects (Y 492); the Kansai version is V-i-nahēre {yō}: Oyā ni kōooko ni-nahēre yā (= si-nasāi yō) ‘Show proper devotion to your [parent=] father’ (SA 2685.111b). And V-i-na[hiro] can reduce to V-i-na[hiro] (Maeda 1961.225); V-i-nae, V-i-nahāi (Y 498). In Chiba V-i-nasāi can be shortened to V-i-sāi (Zhs 2.223-5) and that is often pronounced V-i-sēe (Zhs 2.228): Ki-[na]sāi {yō}, Ki-sēe {yō} ‘Come here’. Other dialect versions include V-i-nasee, V-i-nasai (and V-i-nnee?), V-i-nai, and V-i-nee (Y 492); V-i-[(h)ya]sa is said to be contracted from nahari-yaere (Y 499).

The preceding structure can be shortened to infinitive + (-) nē {yō}:

(10) Yobi-na {yō} ‘Call him’; Mi-nā {yō} Go-ran nā {yō} ‘Look’; Sono yoko no nēko no sara o dokas it ‘ok-i-nā yo ‘Tak e away that cat saucer on the side’ (Okit su 1.378); Kotira é mo kootya o kure nā ‘Let me have some tea, too’ (cf. Kur eru ‘Don’t give me ... ’). Note that -ri (-)nasai sometimes is pronounced -nā, so that only the accent will distinguish it from -rū nā or -rū na when those are reduced to -nū nā and -n na, respectively:

Kae'n-nā = Kaeri-nā (= Kaeri-nasāi) ‘Go home’.
Kān nā = Kāeru nā (= Kāeru nē) ‘You are going home, aren’t you’.
Kān nā = Kāeru nā (= Kāeru nākāre) ‘Don’t go home’.

Atonic verbs will converge the first two forms:

Suwan-nā = Suwari-nā (= Suwari-nasāi) ‘Sit down’.
Suwan nā = Suwaru nā (= Suwaru nē) ‘You will sit down, won’t you’.
Suwān nā = Suwaru nā (= Suwaru nākāre) ‘Don’t sit down’.

Moreover ... re nā is also sometimes pronounced ...nā, and that is the immediate source of kun-nā (= kure-nasāi) in the following example: Zyāa, íu-pai kun-nā ‘Well, give me a drink!’ (Tk 4.226b). In dialects, o-kun-nasāi < o-kure nasāi will also be heard. In Kansai V-te kun-nare < kure-nahāre is an equivalent of V-te kudasāi. And nā yo is sometimes pronounced nā or nēe: Sūsī kui-nēe = Sūsī o kui-nā yo ‘Eat some sushi’; Māa, kotti e ki-nee ‘[Oh, it’s you,] well, come over here!’ (Okitsu 1.189); Māa, mati-nēe ‘Well, wait’ (Fn 440b). A phrase written ‘akanee’ might represent either akane = akanai ‘will not open it’ or ake nēe = ake nā yo = ake nasāi yo ‘open it!’; a phrase written ‘okinée’ might represent either okinai = okinai ‘will not get up’ or oki nēe = oki nā yo = oki nasāi yo ‘put/leave it’.

8. When attached to the infinitive, nasāi is a form from the paradigm of a compound verb V-i-’nasāu, hence the hyphen in Mi-nasāi. But the honorific infinitive behaves like a verbal noun, hence the space in O-yobi nasāi and Go-ran nasāi. Infinitives that end in -ri will often assimilate this syllable to the following nasai: O-hairi nasāi ‘Come in’ may be heard as O-hain nasāi.

9. But not *... nā nē!
§16.2. Circumlocutions

(there)!; and "sinee" might be either sinee = sinae 'will not do' or si-nə yo = si-nasai yo 'do it!'

The imperative auxiliary nasai or its abbreviation nã can drop altogether after an honorific infinitive\(^{10}\) or an equivalent verbal noun:

\[(10)\] O-yobi ōyō 'Call!'; Go-ran ōyō 'Look!'; Go-men 'Excuse me!'; O-yasumi 'Rest! = Good night!'; Hén, issyo ni o-mi yō 'Pff, you look too!' (Fn 348b); O-ide yō, o-ide yō! 'Come here, come here!'. This form will permit an honorific infinitive from suru, found nowhere else\(^{11}\) in the grammar: Sizuka ni o-si (= si-nasai = nasai) 'Be quiet!'; Ansin o-si, Oikawa-kun(−) 'Don't worry, [colleague] Oikawa!' (Fn 65b); Sore kara Hattsan, omae-san mo sugu ni kāte sitaku o o-si yō 'And then you, too, Hattsan, you go and make your preparations' (Okitsu 1.460). Cf. Hayashi 169; his example is I-ki-ken ni o-si 'Enough of that!'

Notice that gerund + go-ran nasai 'try doing it' or 'Call', and freely drops the nasai:

\[(11)\] Yonde go-ran [nasai] 'Try calling' or 'Call'; Mite go-ran [nasai] 'Try looking' or 'Look'. For more on -te go-ran and -te mí, see §9.2.4.(7).

Somewhat more polite is the honorific infinitive + kudasai {né/yō}:

\[(12)\] O-yobi kudasai {né/yō} 'Call'; Go-ran kudasai {né/yō} 'Look'; Kaityuu-mono o zyuubun ni go-tyuu i kudasai 'Watch your pockets [against pickpockets]!' There is no *(o-)kure kudasai/nasai; 12 instead, Kudasai itself is used for 'Give me'.

The expressions with nasai and kudasai can be made more polite with stylization (§22.1): O-yobi nasai-mase/kudasai-mase 'Call'; Dōo-zo, mina-san, go-sanka kudasaimase 'Please join us' (radio announcement). And ladies sometimes use asobase: O-yobi asobase 'Call'; Go-men asobase 'Excuse me'.

You can also use forms with V-(r)u yoo ni + request forms of suru: Yobu yoo ni site kudasai 'Please arrange it so that you call'. Cf. quoted requests, §21. More politely, V-(r)u yoo ni can be followed by tanomu/negau 'requests': Yobu yoo ni tanomu 'I ask you to call'; Yobu yoo ni negau 'I beg you to call'; Yobu yoo ni o-negai 'I humbly beg you to call'. O-negai simasu 'I make a humble request' is the most common all-purpose 'Please', often said both as a preamble and as a farewell reminder, with a more specific request uttered between. (O-negai simasu can be preceded by Dōo-zo for greater emphasis; Dōo-zo is also used with the meaning 'Please [go right ahead]' in giving permission or the like.) Notice also o-V-i negai masen ka 'could I ask you to V; do you suppose you might V'. Some other forms are:

\[(13)\] Si-tamae/-tamai ōyō: used by male superiors to subordinates and juniors—and more widely in dialects, where tamau is used to mean kureru/kudasaru.

10. Yoshida (241-2) allows also the plain infinitive (Māti 'Wait!'), citing examples from both older and recent fiction.

11. Except in the now rare negative o-si de nāi 'don't do it'; see §16.3.

12. But an example of kun-nā < kure-nā is given above. We also find kunnī < kure-nā yo: ... ore ni kunnī 'Gimme some' (Okitsu 1.74); Tya o ip-pee [= ip-pai] irete kunnī nā 'Make me a cuppa tea, wontcha?' (Okitsu 1.254). Notice also the Kyōto form o-ku' nāi = kudasai 'please [give me]' (Inokuchi 270); this is from o-ku[re] n[as]āi.

13. The optional o-marker is permitted only for those honorific infinitives which are also used as derived (verbal) nouns; cf. O-negai (= Negai) ga arimasu ga ... 'I have a request to make of you'. But (zī o) a-kakī [ita]simasū 'I write (the characters) for you' will not permit *o-kakī o [ita]simasū even with the direct object of the verb itself dropped.
(14) Site kure-tamâe/-tamâi: less direct than the preceding.
(15) Site tyoodâi ëyoâ: more relaxed than Site itadakimâsu, but more polite than Site moraimâsu. Tyoodâi suru is a synonym of itadaku; tyoodâi functions as the honorific infinitive (with object exaltation only) of morau. With a direct object, stated or implied, it is like kudasâi in translating as 'Give me'. As a verbal noun tyoodâi is atomic, but it is oxytonic (tyoodâi) when used as the equivalent of kudasâi, which has a final accent. Nominalizations can be used as oblique requests:

(16) Yobû n[o] da 'It's a matter of calling = You're to call'; Háyaku arûku n[o] desu 'Walk fast!' (cf. § 14.2).

(17) Tabako o nomânâi kotô ëdaâ ‘No smoking!’ (Cf. § 14.1, § 15.13)—the ellipsis is apparently obligatory in this meaning.

In addition to the forms given above, there are more elaborate ways to put together a request, e.g. V-te itadaku to iu wâke ni wa mairimase'n desyoo ka? ‘Wouldn't it be within the realm of [reason =] possibility to receive the favor of your V-ing?’, V-te kudasaimâsu yoo ni (watakusi wa) o-NEGAI [o] itasimâsu, V-te kudasâru kotô o o-NEGAI itasimâsu. By ellipsis there is also sentence-final ... yoo ni (cf. Háyashi 169): Kôre-kore, sukôsi sízuka ni suru yoo ni ‘Come come, let's have a bit of quiet’; Kessite tagon ni sinaí yoo ni ‘Do not divulge it to others’ (SA 2679.63d); Zî wa teáine ni kaku yoo ni ‘I wish you would write more carefully’. Tôjô (1954.196-7) calls our attention to the use of simple statements for commands, as when the primary school teacher says Mînnâ tatimâsu ‘Everyone will (please) stand up!’ meaning 0-tâi nasai ‘Please stand up!’ and the peddler says Kaimâsu ‘(You will) buy some!’ meaning Katte kudasâi ‘Please buy some’. Yoshida (240) mentions the use of the perfect as a rough command (Mâttâ! ‘Wait!’, Noita noita ‘Out of the way—move on!’); he says it was common to use V-i-târi this way during the Edo period.

In Shikoku, for V-te kudasâi you may hear V-te tuka[a]sai or V-te tukahare (Zhs 5.15, 19); these are also used in the Chûgoku area of Honshû, where a shorter form V-te tukai is reported, as well (Zhs 5.21). In southern Kyûshû, V-te tamo[nse] is used (Zhs 6.25).

16.3. NEGATIVE COMMANDS AND REQUESTS

Since negatives are adjectivals, an imperative can not be made from them in colloquial Japanese. Instead, we extend our nuclear sentence (the imperfect form of the verb) with the particle ná ‘don’t’, which has a literary paraphrase nákâre ‘let there not be’, which you will sometimes see in print (§ 15.12). The resulting forms (V-ru na) should be carefully distinguished from V-i-nâ = V-i-nasai:

Yobû na ‘Don’t call’.
Káeru na ‘Don’t go home’.
Tabla na ‘Don’t eat it’.
Mîru na ‘Don’t look’.

Yobi-ná ‘Call’.
Kaeri-ná ‘Go home’.
Tabe-ná ‘Eat it’.
Mi-ná ‘Look’.

This negative command can be followed by the particle yó (just as can the infinitive + -ná):

14. But in the Kôchi dialect of Shikoku the form V-i na is a milder equivalent of V-ru na, a negative command rather than an affirmative. See Doi 219-20. Cf. the Osaka forms given at the end of this section.
Māa, soo okoru na yo 'Well don't get so angry' (Okitsu 1.240). A dialect variant of yó is ître: Iyá na kotó o iú na i 'Don't say such unpleasant things' (Okitsu 1.323); Tibi-tibi agén na i [= ageru na yo] 'Don't give it in driblets!' (Okitsu 1.301). And ná ì may be pronounced née: Bāka ni sün nee = Bāka ni surú na yo 'Don't kid me!' (Okitsu 1.302). Do not confuse this ná i or née with nái (or née) 'exists not', nor with V-(a)nái.

It is more polite to request a favor phrased as a negative:

(1) Sinái de kudasái {né/yó}. Sinái de kure.
(2) Sinái de kudasaimasú ka? Sinái de kurerú ka?
(3) Sinái de kudasaimasén ka? Sinái de kurenái/kuren ka?
(4) Sinái de itadakimasú ka? Sinái de moraú ka?
(5) Sinái de itadakemasú ka? Sinái de moraerú ka?
(6) Sinái de itadakemasén ka? Sinái de moraenái ka?
(7) Sinái de itadaki-tai/morai-tai (n desu). Sinái de hosíi (n desu).

Cf. Site morai-taku/hósiku nái 'I don't want to have it done'.
(8) Sinái de {né/yó}.

Or, you can use the form V-(a)nái yóo ni + a request form of suru or a form of tanómú or negau:

(9) Sinái yóo ni site kudasái. 'Please arrange it so that you don't'.
(10) Sinái yóo ni site tanómú (o-rajime). Sinái de suru nisuggeste kudasái, etc.). For sinái de you can substitute seu ni (§9.6), with a bit more bookish flavor, but not sinákute; cf. §9.2. See also the discussion of PROHIBITIONS (V-té waikenai etc.) in §9.2.2.

Hayashi 171-2 gives examples of the following sort: Bāka na mane o si-nasáru na, si-nasán na (= Bāka na mane o nasáru na) 'Don't make silly gestures'; Gakkári si-nasaránu yóo (= Gakkári sinai/nasaranai yóo) 'Don't be discouraged'. These are apparently non-standard. But it is perfectly standard to say VN si-nasái as well as VN nasái: Yóoku benkyóo si-tenasái né 'Study hard, now'. According to Maeda (1961.134-5) Ōsaka speakers have three degrees of negative commands, ranging from "hardest" to "softest" in force:

(1) V-ru na {i} [na] as in Yuu na, Yuu na i, Yuu na i na 'Don't say it!'; Suru na → Su{en}na 'Don't do it!'
(2) V-i na[i] {na}, V-i na ya as in li na, li na i, li na i na, li na ya 'Don't say it!'
(3) V-te (kure) na as in Yuute na, Yuute kure na 'Don't say it!'

In Old Japanese an adverb na 'don't' was preposed to the verb infinitive (irregular: na ko 'don't come', na se 'don't do'), and this structure was sometimes expanded into na V-i so (na ko so, na se so) by suffixing the root of suru 'does' (here used as a command, as was the Old Japanese ko 'come!'). The expanded structure (na V-i so) persisted in Literary Japanese; in the 11th century and later the adverb often dropped, leaving just V-i so 'don't V' to express the prohibition.
17 CONJUNCTI ONALIZATIONS

Sentences can be marked as conjunctionalized in order to join another sentence with such meanings as 'and' or 'and so' or 'because' or 'but', etc., in the various ways described in the following sections. Before these conversions are applied, the sentence can be negativized (Kore zya nai kara ... 'It isn't this and so ...') or stylized (Kore desu kara ... or Kore de gozaimasu kara ... 'It is this and so ...'), or both (Kore zya arimasen kara ... or Kore zya gozaimasen kara ... 'It isn't this and so ...'); but stylization is infrequent except when the sentence is long or is uttered as a fragment, a deliberately incomplete utterance. Stylization is most common with gā—in fact it is almost obligatory if the final sentence is stilлизed; it is next most common with ke[re]do, and so on down the list (cf. §22). Of the several markers, three also occur as sentence-introducing adverbs or conjunctions as a result of optional ellipsis: [ [sore] da] ga/kē[re]do 'but' and [ [sōo] suru] to 'well, then'—not to be confused with the detached quotation marker Tó(,). '(And) that ...' or '(Un)quote, ...', §21.

17.1. SENTENCE + karâ/mo[n(o)]; V-rú karâ ni wa, V-tâ karâ [ni] wa

The particle karâ—or its colloquial synonym monô/môn, more commonly heard from women (cf. § 17.4)—means '... and so' or 'because ...' after imperfect, perfect, or tentative:

Verbal: Yobu. → Yobu kara 'Because he calls/will call ...'

Yonda. → Yondâ kara 'Because he called ...'

Yobû daroo. → Yobû daroo kara 'Because he will probably call ...'

Neg.: Yobanai. → Yobanâi kara 'Because he does/will not call ...'

Adjectival: Ookii. → Ookii kara 'Because it is big ...'

Ôokikatta. → Ôokikatta kara 'Because it was big ...'

Ookii daroo. → Ookii daroo kara 'Because it probably is/will be big ...'

Neg.: Ookiku nai. → Ookiku nai kara 'Because it isn't big ...'

Nomin al: Sensei da. → Sensei da kara 'Because it is the teacher ...

Sensei datta. → Sensei datta kara 'Because it was the teacher ...

Sensei daroo. → Sensei daroo kara 'Because it probably is the teacher ...

Neg.: Sensei zya nai. → Sensei zya nai kara 'Because it isn't the teacher ...

The synonym monô/môn is also to be treated as a particle rather than as a post-nominal (as in other uses of the word) because an imperfect nominal sentence ends in da, rather than nâ: Kore wa bôku(“) no inû da mon[ô], närete iru hazu sâ 'This is my dog so he ought to be used to me'. But Kazama 232 says that the choice of dá or ná before món desu kara (and other forms of ... monô/môn 'because'? is in flux, as before sóo da (§18) and nô de/ni (§14.2): we will treat as non-Tôkyô the forms N na monô/môn desu kara, N na sóo da, and N dá no de/ni.

The conjunctionalized sentence with karâ or mon[ô] can not be subduced with wâ or highlighted with mô or sâe; for karâ wa as ellipsis of karâ [ni] wa see below. The karâ-marked sentence is sometimes emphasized with kōso (Dâ kara koso 'Just for that reason') in a semi-literary use similar to the more colloquial sâ (dákara sâ). The conjunctionalized sentence can stand as a nominal, i.e. be directly nominalized and predicated: Yobu kara da 'It is because I (will) call'; Yobu kara de ... 'Since/As it's because I (will) call ...'; To iú no
mo ... kara da 'And THAT is because ...' (SA 2665.126a). Occurrences followed by senten
tence extensions yó/né/sá are to be derived from such sentences, with dá dropped. In this
respect kara differs from all other conjunctionalizations, leading us to say that it belongs
by cleavage to two classes: conjunctionalizing particle and (quasi) postadnominal (§ 13.2.).
Although normally attached without a preceding juncture, the minor juncture that is
appropriate to a postadnominal will sometimes separate a tonic sentence from kara when
a juncture does not immediately follow the phrase (e.g. ... kara ni wa, ... kara de
gozaimásita etc.). Notice that the adjunct marker kara 'from' (§2.2) and V-te kara (§4.2.3)
behave in similar ways; moreover, in addition to the (predicative) nominalization they also
permit case marking (ga/ó), which S kara 'because' will not.† S kara behaves like a PREDI-
CABLE ADVERB.

A colloquial synonym for kara is the postadnominal tame (§ 13.2), which has also the
meaning 'for' the sake of'. Proof that tame is not a conjunctionalizing particle will be
found in the fact that, unlike kara, it requires the dá of a nominal sentence to change to
nó: Byooki dá kara = Byooki no tame [ni]. In the perfect, of course, there is no way to
tell: Byooki dátta kara/tamé.

The expressions V-ru/-tá kara ni wa (often contracted to ... kara nya) 'now that, since,
as long as (...) anyway!' are probably best treated as containing the copula infinitive ní in
one of its special uses: Ano otokó ga yakusoku surú kara ni wa sin’yoo mo matigá arú
'mai 'As long as he will give his promise you/we will make no mistake in trusting him';
Kénpoo de kitei sarete irú kara ni wa, sono kitei ni hazureru yóo na koto wa yurusarenai
'Insofar as stipulations are made in the constitution, we can not permit departures from
those stipulations'; Yamá e ikú kara ni wa tyan-tó sitaku o sinákereba náránai 'Now that
we are going to the mountains we’ve got to make proper preparations'; Yárú kara ni wa,
honki yó 'As long as I am to do it, I do my best' (SA 2679.154); Doo-se, Amerika mā dé
dekakerú kara ni wa, yúkkúri dekírú 'dake ironn to tokoró o mite kimásu yó 'Oh [= yó]
as long as I am going all the way off to America anyway, I will take my time and go see
as many different places as I can'; Hazimétá kara ni wa, dóko made mo yaranákereba
náránai 'Now that I have started, I’ll have to go through with it all the way'; Soo ittá
kara [ni] wa soo sinákereba náránai 'Now that we have said it we must do it'; Waíasí
tta kara [ni] wa moo ni-dó to simásén 'Now that I understand I won’t do it ever again'. As
the last two sentences illustrate, the ni is optional provided the verb is perfect.

Some other instances of ... kara ni may turn up. Míru kara ni oisi-soo na gotissó 'A
feast delicious from the very sight of it' and Míru kara ni iyá na yáto de 'He’s an obvious
scoundrel' employ an idiomatic usage that perhaps derives from a direct nominalization
of míru, with kara fulfilling an ablative role 'starting from (the doing)' and ní functioning
as the esse or copula infinitive; the expression is given, with optional ní, as a separate
entry in MKZ. Perhaps S kara ni 'just because'—a literary or dialectal equivalent of
the standard adnominalized S + dake de—comes directly from this by ellipsis: Nán-
dó itté mo wakarán kara ni tóotoo té o dásite simáttá n da 'Seeing as how [= seeing that]
he didn’t catch on however many times I told him, I finally took a hand to the matter
myself'. (Or is this like míru kara ni?) Mikami 1963a.27 observes that stylization is not

†. Both -tê kara and -rú/-tá kara can be followed not only by dá/de (or the negative zya nái/nákute)
but also by a number of the focus and restrictive particles: see pp. 509, 972.
possible for V-rú kará ni (there is no \*V-i-másu kará ni) despite V-i-másu kará; presumably the same restriction holds for V-rú kará ni was.

In S kará ni hoka-naránai 'It is precisely because S' the ni is an infinitivization of S kará da 'It is because S': ... sore wa ... nitizyoo-teki na, zyunusí na gëki ni tatti-këtte irú kará ni hoka-naránai 'that is simply because he has returned to down-to-earth, genuine drama' (KKK 3.38); ... Man'yó-so-yuu ni Azumá-uta ga óoku saisyuu sareta no mo ... Yamato-tëhòo no hitôbito no kyöómí o sosóttá kará ni hoka-naránai 'The very inclusion of many Eastern songs in the Man'yó-shú ... is precisely because they had excited the interest of people in the Yamato area' (Ôno 1966.219).

Another way to say 'just because' when followed by NEGATIVE is S kará tte = S kará to itte '(saying/thinking) it is because ...' as in these examples: Mëzzukasí kará to itte yameté wa ikenai 'You shouldn't give it up just because it is difficult'; ... teikóo-ken ga áru kará to itte síeihu ga kantá ni konran ni òirù kotó wa náí '... the government never simply falls into confusion precisely because the right of opposition exists' (KKK 3.39); Nëdàn ga takáí kará to itte hinsítu ga òi to wa kagiránai 'A high price does not necessarily mean high quality'; O-nîisàn to kekkon sitá kará tte, oototo no anàta o ai-surú kimoti wa arimasén ‘I don't feel like loving YOU just because I married your brother'; Atama-kázú ga tarínai kará tte yakyuu wa yameru wàké ni ikimasén 'There's no sense in giving up a baseball game just because you don't have enough players' (KKK 3.124). The causal sentence is sometimes quoted with tó or t[ô]te with little more than emphasis intended by the ellipsis of tó omótte 'thinking that ...' or the like: Sáigo no yóru mâmá ni tyó-to ôhanasi ga áru kará to, watasi no heyá ni mâmá o yobi, ‘...’ tó ano-káta ga imásita 'The last night, having something to talk to mama about, he called her to my room and said ‘...’' (KKK 3.39); Sukó só da kará to mendö-gâtê nokórí-bí o somatu ni surú kotó wa mótó-mo hu-keizai desu ‘It is the most uneconomical to neglect the embers fusing about there being so little left of the fire' (KKK 3.39); Sono yokuizú, koko ni itára abunáí kará, tó minnâ mata ni-zëkurí o hazimemásita 'The next night, since it would be dangerous to stay here, everyone began packing up' (KKK 3.39); Nâni-siro yói kotó ga káite áru daroo kará to, issyőo-kënnmei ni yômòo to surú monô o sae hippatte ikú tikarâ[1] no ná hákusyo de áru 'It is a puny white-paper that drags people into intensely trying to read it with the idea it must have SOMETHING good written in it' (KKK 3.39). Cf. §21.

There would seem to be a double application of the conversion in the example osoku narımásita—týot-to yoozi ga áttà mon desu kará 'I'm late—it's because there was some business I had to attend to' unless mon[Ô] is taken as a different element.2 Can you say ... 2. But that is unlikely. Here is an example from a radio soap opera: Ée kékamítsa kedo dé mòl hanasi-tyuu dáttà mon desu kará 'Yes, I phoned him but the line was busy, however'. More examples: Aitê ga itte kurenéi môn da kará, zibun de ‘háí’ o itte simáu no ga, anáúnsa no ‘háí’ ka mo síremásén née, ‘háí’ 'The announcer's “yes” may be a matter of ending up saying yes oneself because the other fellow fails to say it, don't you think, “yes”' (SA 2647.50d); Issya ni nárú tumultá dáttà mon desu kará nê ‘That was because I intended to become a doctor, you see’ (Tk 3.164a); Kôn'ya wa hánabi da mon da kará minnî sóto e dète ite ‘Tonight there's fireworks so everybody's outside’ (Kb 45a); Osoku narımásita. Yodogoo-ziken de göta-gota simásita monô desu kará ‘Excuse me for being late [for this interview]. It's because we were involved with the [news of the] hijacking of the airliner Yodo’ (SA 2676.46a).

There are four examples in KKK 3.38, including this sentence: Bókû[1] no inù mo, onazì iró datta monô da kará, kimi ga, bókû[1] no inù o tótte ikoo to sitá no da to omóttá n da yö ‘I thought it was
§17.1. Sentence + kará/mon [ó]

átta kara désu mono?; ... átta kara désu kara?; ... átta mon[ó] desu mon[ó]? The expression ...-ru to ikenái kara 'since it won’t do if ...'—a kará-conjunctionalization on a sentence that contains a tó-conjunctionalization—best translates as ‘for fear that; lest’. See Kenkyusha for examples.

There seems to be nothing to prevent us from embedding one cause within another, applying a cause-conversion to a sentence already containing one; here is an example of a tamé-marked cause within a cause that is extruded as the Identifier in a cleft sentence: Kono ‘sangyoo’ wa heroin no eizoo-hanbáigyou [da]. Rieki-ritu ga takái no wa, ihoo no TAMÉ ríoku ga ookii KARA da ‘This “business” is the manufacture and sale of heroin. That the profit rate is high is because risks are great owing to its being illegal’ (SA 2687.113c).

Mio 261 lists four ways Japanese use the construction S+kará:

(1) to link a cause with its consequence as in the usual examples, such as Úmi ga titkái kara sakana ga atarasii ‘The fish are fresh because the sea is nearby’ or ‘The sea is nearby so the fish are fresh’ (SA 2669.48a) and ... suki na n da mono atarimae [dá] ‘... it’s all right (to do) because we love each other’ (SA 2670.112a).

(2) to end a sentence of explanation, usually in the polite or honorific style as in these examples: Tugi ni orimásu kara ‘I’m getting off at the next stop [that’s why I decline your offer of a seat]’; Huyú wa mákisi ni kagíru wa. Attakái mon ‘For winter the maxi [coat] is the only thing. ‘Cause it’s warm’ (SA 2666.100).

(3) + dá, désu, ná n[ó] desu, de gozaimasu etc. to set forth a reason ‘It is because ...; the reason is that ...’. Examples will be found in KKK 3.37-9. There is an example of V-tá kara de in Y 399.

(4) + t[ó]te, to itte, etc.—as above.

In the last two uses the S before kará is usually in the plain style when the following S is polite (... dá kara desu), and polite only if the later S is honorific (... désu kara de gozaimáusu; ... désu kara to itte ... de gozaimáusu). But in the first use (as indicated in the chart, §22) and especially the second, the stylization of the cause is relatively independent and thus often polite when the following sentence is polite.

When monó or món is used in place of kara in the second use—ending a sentence of explanation—there is sometimes a feeling of protest or complaint: D’átte, sore wa utá désu mono! ‘But that’s a song!’ (SA 2651.46d); Teisyu-kánpaku nánte kotóba wa móó(‘) kikaremasén mono né ‘Words like “masterful husband” just aren’t heard any more, are they’ (SA 2665.114e); Eigo no kyóossi wa Kanagawa-ken kara ni-zíkan mo kakatte tuukin site ‘rú n daro. Kinodókú da mon ná ‘It takes the English teacher a good two hours to commute from Kanagawa prefecture, you know. That’s miserable!’ (SA 2665.22c). These sentences can perhaps all be regarded as elliptical, with dropped copula: ... monó [da] (nó/ná/...). In the following example the copula appears in its gerund form: Sonohi-gúrasi no hóó da mon de—‘It’s a matter of getting by from day to day, I’m afraid, so—’ (SA 2661.101b—adult male speaker). Henderson 168 speaks of sentence-final monó as meaning ‘definitely, positively, of course’ and gives the examples Sóó desu mono ‘Of course it’s

because my dog was the very same color that you started to take my dog’. Terase 220a simply lists mon[ó] da/désu kara as a kind of compound particle. As sentence-introducers you will hear Soo iu wáke da mon désu kara, ...; Dá mon de, ...; and Dárémon desu kara, ... ‘And that’s why ...’ (K in Óno 1967.29).
that way', Máda kodomo dā mono 'He’s still a child—no question about it'. Can this be regarded as an extension of the "protest" meaning? Or should the "protest" monó—and these too?—be assigned to monó-[o] 'but' in §17.4? In an interview in SA 2665.42-6, Fuji City mayor Watanabe Hikotarō ends a remarkable number of his sentences with ... (dēsu) mōn ne: Go-roku-nen māe kara desu mōn ne 'It's been for five or six years now' (42c); ... to iu kotō desu mōn né 'It's a matter of ...' (43b); ... tugí no teiréi-kai de seiritu sitā desu mōn né 'it was set up at the next regular meeting' (43c); Soo iu kōe ga tūyokatta n desu mōn né 'Strong voices were behind that' (43c); ... kozin-kēiei to ka doozoku-kēiei desu mōn né '... it's individual or family businesses' (42c); ... zimīn-too wa nīzyuu yo-nín desu mōn né '... it's 24 Liberal Democrats' (44a); ... to itā desu mōn né '... said' (45a); ... hannoo ga sukunāi desu mōn né 'there were few repercussions' (45a); Simīn ga sisei o dōo miru ka, desu mōn né 'It's a question of how the people look at the city government' (46a); Simīn-kānyūu ga watasi o sīyōo ni sitā desu mōn né, '... Popular sentiment is what made me mayor ...' (46b). The mayor's interview also contains some examples of mōn dē: ... tōozi nīzyuu kyūū-sai desita mōn dē, mukau ki ga tuyōi da yō né, '... at that time I was 29 years old so I was full of steam, you see, ...' (43b); Tādā, watasi mo wakāi mon de, rooren-sa ga arimasën mon de, māda yootō-en desu mōn de né, sono ten wa tyōt-to sinpai desu 'But I am young, I have no experience; I'm still just a kindergartner, you know—and that worries me a bit' (45b).

On the difference in usage between S kārā and S nō de, see §14.2.1. Nagano (1970.205) has examples of S nō dé/desu kārā and is puzzled at the unacceptability of "S nā no na no de (or *S nā no desu no de); see our discussion on the ungrammaticality of "N nā no nā no, p. 868.

Here are kārā-marked sentences followed by various particles:

\[ S \text{kārā } \text{nādo} \text{: Taka-sugīrū kara nādo to iu riyyuu de, katte moraenākatta 'I wasn't able to get it bought for me on the grounds that it was too expensive and all'}. \]

\[ S \text{kārā } \text{nāhte} \text{: Ryuu wa byooki datta kara nāhte ittē 'ta kedo, honto kā sira 'He was saying the reason was because he was sick and all, but I wonder if that's true'}. \]

\[ S \text{kārā yori} \text{: Sāmukatta kara yori, ki-tāku nākatta kara no hōo ga hontō no riyyuu ni tikāi to omoimāsu 'Rather than because it was cold, what I think is nearer the real reason is that he didn’t want to come'}. \]

\[ S \text{kārā } \text{dōkoro} \text{: Kono hatuon ga dekinai no wa Nihon-zin da kara dōkoro zya nai 'The inability to achieve this pronunciation is hardly a matter of being because one is a Japanese'}. \]

\[ S \text{kārā bākari} \text{: Sāmukatta kara bākari de wa arimasēn 'It's not just because it was cold'}. \]

\[ S \text{kārā } \text{dakē} \text{: Sāmukatta kara dākē zya arimasēn 'It's not just because it was cold'}. \]

\[ S \text{kārā nōmi} \text{: Sāmukatta kara nōmi tō wa omoēnai 'I can’t think it is just because it was cold'}. \]

\[ S \text{kārā } \text{gūrai} \text{: Sāmukatta kara gūrai no riyyuu de yakusoku o yabūru to wa kesikaru 'It’s shameful to break a promise on the grounds of no more than because it was cold'. \]

Most of these examples have a quasi-quotational character, as if there were an ellipsis of the type Sāmukatta [kara dā to iu] gūrai ... I have been unable to elicit examples of S kara + nānka, dē mo = d’atté, dē mo ‘or something’, hodō, māde, sika, sā, or sūra. The surface string dē mo appears in Ryuu no hitōtwa benkyōo sinakatta kara de mo áru ‘One of the reasons is also because I didn’t study’, but that is the result of highlighting the copula dā = dē ... áru.
A number of dialects (especially in western Japan) use |sákai (or a variant |såke[e]) in place of karā: Nán de mo ée sákai, iko, háya yó iko (= Nán de mó îi karā, ikoó, háyaku mo ikoó) 'I'm game for anything so let's go, let's go right now!' (SA 2669.110b). Since sákai is normally preceded by a minor juncture, it would appear to be (like tamé) a post-adnominal serving as a transitional or relational epitheme. Yet examples such as those below, with N yá = N dá where we would expect N ná/nó, indicate that—unlike tamé—both sákai and its synonym |ni| yótte (also dialect) are to be treated as conjunctivalizations like the standard karā, in spite of the juncture: Só yá sákai (= Sóó da karā) 'Because it is so ...' (Makimura 271a); ... tanomi ya sákai 'as it is a request = please' (Inokuchi 98); Ane ga bízin yellatta (= datarā] imootó mo kírei yá sákai, sügu ni tonde itte ryóosin ni hanasi o tukēru n yá ya 'If the older sister is a beauty, the younger will be pretty too, so I rush to open talks with her parents' (SA 2831.36c); Anna misé yá sákai, ikotó náí n yá náí ka. Sibarakú no sinbōo yá sákai ... 'Since it is that sort of establishment, surely it isn’t very pleasant; WE have been patient for some time, so ...' (SA 2793.125e); Náa oba-han, wasi- ra wa genbakubuyoo-kánzya da ni yótte isya no susume mo áte huna o tutte óru 'You see, lady, we are sufferers from atom-bomb radiation effects and so it is at the doctor’s urging that we are fishing for carp' (Y 530). Sákai is said (by Ōtsuki, cf. Makimura 271a) to be from the noun sákai, which means 'boundary' (< saka[p];i) and serves as a synonym of aida ‘interval’, a word used in formal letter-writing to mean ‘owing/due to’: sooróo aida/ sákai = désu karā. In Ōsaka (and elsewhere) |ni| is optional after sákai, and that is true also of its synonym yótte (though I lack an example of NI yótte ni): Ookí ni, tugí de orimásu sákai ni, kékkuos douso ‘Thank you very much but I’m getting off at the next stop’ (Inokuchi 99); ... tugí orimásu yótte ni ‘I’m getting off at the next stop’ (ibid.); Ookí ni, sakkaku dusou kedo, kono tugí orimásu yótte, móo kékkuos douso ‘SAME’ (ibid.); o-waká yótte ni náa = o-wakái kará née ‘because you are young, you see’ (Zhs 4.202); o-tíru yótte = o-tíru kará ‘because it will fall’ (Zhs 4.202); Oosaka-ben de yarú yótte ni omosiróî tokoró mo áru non tigaû ka (= Oosaka-ben de yarú no de omosiróî tokoró mo áru no zya ná ka ná) ‘As it is done in Ōsaka dialect there really are many amusing spots in it, you know’ (SA 2654.135a). Among the variants of sákai are these: hákai (Kyōto: dósita hákai ni = désita kará, Zhs 4.240), sukai (Kyōto, ibid.); sake (Yamagata, Zhs 1.234 n. 3); sa, sage, sike, suke ni (northeast, Zhs 1.73); saka [ni[i]], haka [ni] (Wakayama, Zhs 4.405, 406, 416, 417); sække [ni], suke, sukai (Niigata, Zhs 2.329, 336). An early example of S sákai ni appears in Diego Collado’s 1632 book Zangē-ruoku (Kokugogaku jiten 1074a). Dialects in central Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū (Zhs 5.15 n. 7, 19, 25) have forms such as S + keni, keni,3 kee, kini, kin, kii (Kyūshū); cf. Toyama Zya ken[i] = Dā kará (Zhs 3.30-1).4 All these forms are probably the result of contraction from kará ni. In a number of places the usual way to mark a cause is with S dé (e.g. in northern Nagano, Zhs 2.22; Fukui; ...), N zyá/yá dé is used in some areas much as N ná no dé (= N dá kará) is used in standard Japanese.

In western Japan (especially Ōsaka) -su + sákai often is pronounced -ssákai and -su + yótte ni is pronounced -ssyótte [ni]; cf. p. 1034. In Shiga the structure S + ga tamé ni is reported (nákatta ga tamé ni, Zhs 4.133), as well as -ta sákai ni (Zhs 4.134).

3. Not to be confused with S kendon (Miyazaki, Ōita—Zhs 6.211) = S keredo mo ‘but’.
4. S + zya keni is used in a number of areas to mean something like S nó da kará or S nó de: ... móo zénbu soróu zya keni nöo ‘now everything is lined up, you see’ (SA 2673.26a, quoting a 68-year-old Yamaguchi woman).
Unusual forms from the Morioka dialect are reported in Nagano 1970. S dasu is used like standard S kará, but adjectival nouns are adnominalized (AN na dasu) and adjectives are given the form A-mi dasu; apparently this dasu is not connected with the Osaka dasu = de arimásu. In place of the standard S nó de ‘because’, the Morioka dialect has S ahan te/to; the forms are sometimes obscured by contraction, as found in V→[u] ahan te (as in /ikahanete/ for ik[u] ahan te = ikú no de), /... dahante/ for N d[a] ahan te (=N ná no de), and -mya[ha]nte for A-mi ahan te (as in /samumyante/ for samu-mi ahan te = samuí no de). These forms—and variants ahade, ahede, ente—are said to be contractions from hodo ni yotte (Kôza-kokugo-shi 1.172).

17.2 SENTENCE + TÔ

The particle to occurs after the imperfect with the meaning ‘when(ever)’ or ‘if’; after the verbal imperfect it can also mean ‘as soon as’ (= infinitive + -sidai, §9.1.2). In these several meanings it parallels the subdued gerund -tô wa (§9.2.2) and the provisional -(r)éba (§9.3):

- Yobu. → Yobu to ‘When/If-as soon-as you call ...’
- Ookii. → Ookii to ‘When/If it is big ...’
- Senséi da. → Senséi da to ‘When/If it is the teacher ...’

The sentence can first be negativized:

- Yobanai. → Yobanai to ‘When/If/as soon-as you don’t call’; ‘Unless you call ...’
- Óokikunai. → Óokiku nái to ‘When/If it isn’t big’; ‘Unless it is big ...’
- Senséi zya nái. → Senséi zya nái to ‘When/If it isn’t the teacher’; ‘Unless it is the teacher ...’

Occasionally, it is first stylized (§22):

- Yobu. → Yobimásu to ...
- Ookii. → Ookii desu to ...
- Senséi da. → Senséi desu to ...

- Senséi de gozaimásu to ...
- Senséi de irassyaímásu to ...

For example: Sukósí oogesa ni moosimásu to ... ‘If I may exaggerate a bit ...’ (R); Kantan ni hukusyuu simásu to, tugi no yöó ni narimásu ‘Now let us review briefly what we have learned’ (R). Compare the use of the particle to (= tê) after imperfect, perfect, and tentative to mark a quotation (§21).

Alfonso (650 ff) describes to as forming a connection between an antecedent and a “very close consequent” “habitual, inevitable, or immediate”; it is preceded only by the imperfect and in colloquial speech it can be followed only by the imperfect or the tentative, though in written style the perfect may also follow. (If a perfect follows, the colloquial will use a gerund S1-te S2, Alfonso 655). But the final verb can not be “a command, a request, or some form showing determination” since to “connects only statements of fact”.

Some common expressions follow the to-conjuncturalization with an adjective and translate as ‘it is (or would be) A to ...’: ...-ru to omosirōi ‘it is (or would be) fun to ...’; ...-ru to yöï ‘it is good to ...’ or ‘it would be nice to ...’ (= ‘I hope/wish that ...’, see §9.3, p. 561). There are also a number of set idioms such as (kono hutai) yoru to sawaru to ‘whenever they (these two) get together’—apparently a coordinate parataxis ‘when they approach and when they touch’.
§17.3. Sentence + し

Mio (290-1) suggests that と is somewhat stiff in speech and is usually replaced by -たら, -て, or -て wa, depending on the meaning:

1. (1) = -たら: with affirmative verbs, an "established condition"; with nominals and adjectives or with negative verbs (formally adjectives) a "hypothetical condition"—thus, presumably, と う (すぐ) = と う っ た ら ー ー "If it's hot, then (immediately)" and と う な り が っ た ら ー ー "If it isn't hot, then" but と う な り が っ た ら ー ー ー ー "When it gets to be hot, then".

2. (2) = -て: temporal sequence 'and then': て お い ょ く と う る ー = て き ち め て ー 'upon hearing/seeing that'.

3. (3) = -て wa: habitual consequence 'every time that ... then': て お い よ く と う る ー ー "Every time he drinks he quarrels" (= と う く か ー の で で い く ん ま ら ー).

Since there are at least three meanings for -り to, some sentences are ambiguous. Thus て ら ー ー の う か れ ば い と う る ー ー ー ー ー, in -ni nori-o-oku reru to, some sentences are ambiguous. Thus て ら ー ー の う か れ ば い と う る ー ー ー ー ー, ni nori-o-kure to bāsu de ikanakereba naranai can mean 'If you miss your train you'll have to take the bus' or 'Whenever you miss the train you must to take the bus'.

Notice that と is inappropriate to translate many cases of English 'When': for 'When you go to America do you go by ship?' (EJ 93) you can not say *Ameri ka e i ku to; the proper form is Ameri ka e i ku toki wa (hūne de ikimashū ka).

See also §9.3 for other ways of expressing conditions. Notice in particular the observational condition (p. 557) 'when ... (what was noticed was that) ...'.

Sometimes と う な り 的 'if/when it is と う な り' is treated as having a postnominal particle "だ-tō". Notice that the western Japan form of this is と う な り の う か れ ば い と う る ー ー ー ー ー ー ー, 'as for us' (Inokuchi 254).

Use of the particle と in the meaning 'when(ever); if' seems to be relatively modern; Meikai kogo jiten 723b cites an example from the sixteenth century.

17.3. SENTENCE + し

The particle し can be added to the imperfect, perfect, or tentative, to mean 'and (also/moreover)'. Such a conjunctionalized sentence differs from the gerund in that there is no necessary logical or temporal connection between the two sentences linked with し; cf. BJ 2.57-8, where it is observed that the second sentence often begins with も の u e 'moreover' after S し, with て o r も の u e 'and then' after S-て. Here are some patterns:

| Yobu.       | → Yobu し ... 'He calls/will call, and ...' |
| Yonda.      | → Yondā し ... 'He called, and ...' |
| Yobu darō.  | → Yobu darō し ... 'He's likely to call, and ...' |
| Ookii.      | → Ookii し ... 'It's big and ...' |
| Ōkikatta.   | → Ōkikatta し ... 'It was big and ...' |
| Ookii darō. | → Ookii darō し ... 'It must be big and ...' |
The sentence can first be negativized (Yobanai si, Ōokiku nai si, Sensē zya nai si) or stylized (Yobimāsu si, Ookii desu si, Sensē desu si)—or, of course, both: Yobimāsen si, Ōokiku arimasen [desita] si, Sensē zya arimasen [desyoo] si, etc.

In some cases, where the ‘also’ sentence is omitted, the sentence with si implies reason or cause: Bōku(”) dakē zya nai daroo si (hoka no hitoō mo ōtīta n da kara) daizyōōbu desu yo ‘It’s OK—I’m not the only one (who failed)’; Minnā sóo daroo si (anāta soo sitē mo) daizyōōbu desu ‘It’s OK—everybody will be like that (so you can do that too)’; Íma siyō sarete iku kikai wa, minnā ogata dā si nedan ga takū ‘The machines in use at present are all large models and [hence] high-priced’ (SA 2647.137c). (Terase 81a seems to say the unpaired si-marked sentence must be negative for this causal interpretation. But there are a number of affirmative examples in KKK 3.58, e.g. Kekkon sitāra mōtotu kurū daroo si, kekkkyōku(oneesan mitai nā no ga itiban rikō nē ‘Getting married would be even more trying, so after all the wisest is to be like [one’s] older sister.’) With the second sentence unsuppressed, of course, reason or cause can still be implied: ... yuki dā si, do-yōōbi dā si, demae wa dekinai to iu ‘what with the snow and it’s being Saturday (and all), they say they can’t deliver [the food] (Ariyoshi 33); Kyūuzitu dā si, tēnki dā si, Yamada ga kūru daroo ‘It’s a holiday, the weather’s nice—Yamada will come, I think’; Yō mo aketā si, háreta si, syuppatsu suru to siyōo kā ‘Dawn has come, the sky is clear; shall we start to make our departure?’; Dē mo, o-kane mo tarināi si, monō mo nāi si, hontō ni itiban turai tokī de ‘But there wasn’t enough money, and there was a lack of things, [so] it was really the worst time’ (R). Sometimes a single si-marked sentence is followed by surū kara to mean ‘because’ or ‘since’: Hūben da si surū kara, ‘Since it is inconvenient, ...’; Yōku sigoto o sinai si surū kara, ‘Since I don’t work much (or well) ...’; ... yuuryoku nāru tu gi no seikyoku-tantōo sia mo ināi n da si surū kara, ‘since there are no powerful people to take the political helm next ...’ (Tk 4.212a).

When both sentences appear, the double reason is sometimes summed up by surū no de as in Alfonso 564: Tēnki wa i Sl yasumi da Sl surū no de ... ‘Since the weather’s nice and it’s a day off ...’. The suru is a verbal dummy, similar to that used with -tāri (§9.4). The following example (from Matsuda) would seem to be a direct nominalization of the conjoined sentence (S si + S si → S si S si da) that has been gerundized (... da → ... de): Nihon-ō itinen-kūrausu wa, kootō-koyooyūhoo(”)] ni yoru dōrīru ga tyuuusin no tame, kyōo ni kōe ga motanai kūraii tukarēru Sl, zyugyoō ga tantyoō ni narānai yō ni ki o tukaai Sl DE, gozip-pun ga naga-siguri kūraii ni kan-zuru kotō ga arimasū ‘For the first-year Japanese class you sometimes feel that fifty minutes is too long, as the teacher’s voice will get too tired to go on because of the emphasis on oral drill and an effort must be made to keep the class from getting monotonous’.

KKK 3.57-8 has a number of examples of S1 si S2 karā da S1 surū no de, including these: Hāa—dē mo, mō kore karā kāeru kotō ni itaisyūsa—sōro-soro dēnasya(”) mo nāku narimāsu Sl, sore ni mōsī tomodaté de mó kōnakattara, hitō-ban “zyuu yowattyaimāsu KARA— ‘Yes, but, I’ll start thinking about going home soon; since before long there’ll be no more trains and then unless, say, a friend turned up, I’d be in a fix for the whole night, so—’; Mutukāshi Sl sore ni itinīri no uti(”) iti-nizikan sika pēn o tōru kotō o yurusārete ināi NO DE, susumi ga osōi no desu ‘Since it’s difficult, and as I am only permitted to
take pen in hand for an hour or two in the course of the day, progress is slow'.

According to Mio 127, writers sometimes replace A-i si by A-si, the literary predicative form. But since this seems to be limited to yōsī 'is good' and wārusi 'is bad' and a few other clichés (Mio cites Sámusaa wa sámusû 'the cold is cold' cf. p. 910) I would suggest that rather than the contamination implied by Mio what we see here is direct nominalization of the literary predicative with ellipsis of the copula, so that his first example is perhaps to be interpreted in this way: Ano onnâ to issyoo ni donnâ soko e o-ti-kondê mo yōsî [de], mata issyoo ni tenzyoo e mai-agâtte mo yōsî [da], soo iu gimu to sikaku tô o dōozî-(i) ni sonâête iru otokokô wa tōyô-to hoko ni ârû-âmî 'Surely there would exist no other man possessed of both the duty and the capacity willingly to fall to any depth with that woman or to rise to the sky with her'. Another possibility, strongly suggested by the resumptive expression soo iu 'that sort of', is ellipsis of the subjective essive, i.e. of the quotative tō: ... mo yōsî [to]; ... mo yōsî [to], soo iu ... '... possessed of both the duty and the capacity such as to say/think that it is all right even if ... or even if ...'. Mio 74 suggests that sometimes phrase-final ɕi may represent an ellipsis of surū ɕi rather than exemplify the conjoining use of the infinitive of suru, but his example does not make that interpretation compelling.

A single ɕi-marked sentence can be followed by sā or nē (or nā) with or without the implication of cause or reason: Uti(i) ni kætt'atte tumâannâ (= tumarâannâ) ni nē 'I'm bored if I go home, so [that's why I come here to the sauna]' (SA 2662.97a); Niti-yōobî wa naru-bëku(̂) acutâru yōô ni nîte 'mâsu kedo, minnâ o-sïgôto ga arimâsu kara...- Anâta mo ârû ni nē 'Sundays we try to get together as much as possible, but each person has his work, so ...—And you have yours, too, don't you' (SA 2663.43c); ... Sore ni arûite iru to ii kotô ga oôi desyo.—Karada ga zyoobu ni nàru?—Tigau. O-kane o hirô ko tó de arû si sâ 'And then lots of good things come from walking (regularly).—You keep your health up?—No , (not that). It's that I sometimes pick up (= find) MONEY, even' (SA 2666.21e). Here is an example of two ɕi-marked sentences that need not be interpreted as implying cause or reason: Atō ni sëttû(̂) o kikëba naru-hodo to omôu si, kottî no hîo no iu kotô o kikëba naru-hodo to omôu si 'When I heard that man's theory I think how true, and when I hear what this man has to say I think how true' (Tanigawa 105).

The uses of S ɕi described in this section first appeared in the 17th century. In the speech of young Osaka women, sentence-final ɕi is an emphatic marker corresponding to the use of wâ (see §15.4), according to Maeda 1961.164-5. It is said to be a "polite" particle in the northeast.

17.4. SENTENCE + ke reliance do mono-no/monô -o

The particle ke reliance do can be added to the imperfect, perfect, or tentative of any sentence, and it is often reinforced with the particle mô: kedo mô (SA 2686.27e), keredo mô. With or without mô, it can be followed by nê or sā. The sentence can first be negativized, stylized, etc. There are two meanings.

The first meaning 'however, but' is somewhat similar to that of no ni (§14.2.2 'despite'): Karada ga tisâi kedo tîkara(̂) wa tuyôî 'He is small in body but mighty in strength'. Cf. toitte mô (§21), ttô (§15.11). Old-fashioned synonyms are [educated colloquial] mono-no and [written style] monô-ô. Though common up to the Meiji period, monô-ô is now rare; in its place we find just monô, with the particle dropped. Mio says monô is used to
show complaint or dissatisfaction, hence much used by grumbling women and children; when combined with the polite style (... désu mono) it sounds especially womanly—Siranakatta n desu mono ‘But I didn’t know!’; cf. mon [o] = karâ, § 17.1, p. 968. Old men sometimes use S keredo mo ga ‘S (however,) but’; ... tâsika ni ookii dageki desita keredo mo ga ... ‘it certainly was a great blow, but ...’ (Tk 4.249b).

The other meaning of kê[re]do [mo] is ‘and also’: Undoo mo surû kedo benkyoo mo suru ‘He engages in sports but/and also studies’. This is similar to the use of si and also of the provisional -réba (Undoo mo suréba, benkyoo mo suru § 9.3). But joined sentences linked by si are generally reversible (Âme mo hûru si kaze mo hûku ‘It rains and the wind blows’ = Kaze mo hûku si âme mo hûru ‘The wind blows and it rains’) with little change in flavor, where those with kedo often imply surprise at the second sentence in view of the first. Cf. Kê[re]do [mo] as a sentence-introducer (§ 24), perhaps best regarded as an abbreviation of Dâ kedo ...

Examples of mono-no: Sosit u wa aru mono-no kiyoo ga wazawai site iru ‘While he has the temperament he suffers from a lack of skill’; Soko e itta mono-no dôô kâeru ka wakarânakku nâtta ‘Once I got there I had no idea how I would get back’; Kuti de sôô wa iu mono-no kokôrô no utî(“) wa matakû hantâi de ... ‘He may say so but in his heart he is completely opposed’; Yooyukkoko mâde kîta mono-no, tukare-hatete kore saki wa i po mo susumenakatta ‘I finally made it to this place, but I was so worn out I couldn’t go on a step from here’; Kana “gûrai wa yomêru mono-no, kanzi to kitarâ zenzen wakarânâ ‘I can read kanâ, all right, but when it comes to Chinese characters I’m completely in the dark”; U[[-] no mââ made ittê wa mita mono-no, mââ e hâiru yûûki wa nàkkatt ‘I did try going as far as the front of the house, but I lacked the courage to go in’; Syuusai-zôroi to wa iu mono-no, tensai nàdo to ieru yôô na gakusei wa hitôrô mo inai ‘It is said to be an array of bright students, but there isn’t a single one that you could say was a genius or anything’. Other examples will be found in KKK 3.220-2; 222 has examples of mono[-o], and here is another: Sottyoku ni hanâseba yôî monô-o, benkai bâkari site iru ‘I wish he would speak frankly but he keeps equivocating’. From the accentuation given in K, we can conclude that mono-no is preceded by a basic minor juncture, which disappears after taking away the basic final accent of an “atonic” form: naku (ga) ‘cries’ + l mono-no = naku mono-no. The juncture may also be suppressed after tonic forms, but that is not entirely clear from the dictionary: yôômu [?] mono-no. From what is said in Terase 220-1, it would appear that the colloquial language treats monô-o as a conjunctivalization (presumably N dá monô-o = N dá kara) but treats mono-no as a postadnominal (presumably N na/?no mono-no), while the literary language treats both forms as postadnominals (N nâru monô-o, N nâru mono-no). An example is cited from the novelist Futabatei of ... yôô na mono-no = ... yôô da kara. Actually, both expressions are quite old-fashioned. The sentence-opener Tô wa iu mono-no ... ‘Nevertheless ...’ (SA 2684.137a) is equivalent in meaning to Tô wa iê[-do mo] ...

In Hokkaidô and northeastern Honshû S +dô mo (perhaps the expected reflex of tô mo?) is heard where we would expect S kérédo mo, as in these examples from Hokkaidô: Zimân de née do mo (= Zimân zya nái keredo mo) ‘I’m not proud of it, but ...’ (Zhs 1.326); Kanâyn desita do mo (= Kanâwânai n desita keredo mo) ‘I was no match but ...’ (Zhs 1.327). These examples are from the speech of a sumô wrestler from Niigata (Tk 3.16-20): ... itiâ[~] ni wa ienâi do mo ... ‘I can’t say in general but’ (16a); ... si no hôô ni wa âru do mo ‘there are some below but’ (18a); Wasi mo biiru yori waïkki no
§ 17.5. SENTENCE + GA

The particle ga can be added to the imperfect, perfect, or tentative of any sentence to impart the meaning 'but, and (yet)', showing a weak contrast: ... go-syooti de syoo ga, ... 'as you (must surely) know' (SA 2678.27a); Sa-te, anata no baai desu ga, kigen o kimenakatta to sureba, ossyaru toori sanyuu-ten desu ga, ... 'Well, in your case, if no term was set, then as you say it is thirty years, and ...' (SA 2677.119a). Ga can be followed by ne as in ... wakarimasu ga ne and ... to omou n desu ga ne, but instead of ... ga sa the usual form is ... kedo sa. The sentence can be (and often is) stylized; it can also be negativized, etc. In addition to the 'but' meaning (Samui ga gaman si yoo 'It's cold but we'll have to put up with it') we also find the meaning 'and also': Haná mo kirei da ga né mo yoi 'The flowers are pretty and also fragrant'. Often sentences are left dangling with ga ... as a deferential fragment (§23); this is especially common with desideratives, round-about requests, and the like. In identifying oneself on the telephone, for example, it is usual to say something like Tanaka desu ga ... 'This is Tanaka speaking'.

A number of sentence-openers make use of ga: Sitürei desu ga, o-ikutu desu ka 'Excuse me for asking, but how old are you?'; Ato de kiita han asi da ga ... 'Later I found out that ...'. Statements of desire, request, hope, and the like often trail off with a softening ga ... . For a Shikoku usage of sentence-final ga as an emphatic, see Doi 287-8.

Sentence + ga might be regarded as an abbreviation of adnominalized sentence + tokoró ga 'whereupon, but' (sometimes 'when, if'—see §13.2.2): Masüi-zai da kara yóku kiku to omotta tokoró ga, nakana kikanai 'It is an anesthetic so I thought it would be quite effective, but it just wouldn't take effect' (Tk 4.155b); Ûmaku ikú daroo to omotta tokoró ga sippai sita 'While I thought it would go well, it failed'; Osoru-osoru senséi ni soodan site mita tokoró ga, senséi wa dai-sânsei de atta 'I consulted the teacher with some trepidation but he was in complete agreement'. But the sentence in front of tokoró ga must be PERFECT; cf. KKK 3.119, Terase 117a. This is the source of the conjunction Tokoró-ga 'But ...' (or Tokoró-ga desu né, ... SA 2662.19d); and Gá (= Dá ga or Désu ga) 'But ...' is also used as a sentence introducer, as is Sore ga 'But ...'.

5. The form kendo is reported from around Kyōto, as is kenna = keredo mo ná/né (Inokuchi 281).

6. Perhaps this is because sa calls for plain-style forms. In the everyday speech of today a preference has been noticed for ga with polite stylization (simasu ga) and kedo with unstylized sentences (surū kedo); I am tempted to suspect that prosodic factors may be partly responsible, the extra syllable of kedo making up for the shortness of the plain forms.

7. As seen in these examples: SORE GA kondo wa pitári to syabérânaï bákari ka, haizme wa hita- ["kakusei"] ni kakusite 'yan da (= i-yagaru no da) 'BUT, this time not only does he not talk to the point, at first he conceals every damn thing' (KKK 3.202); ‘Béika ga agaru to bukka ga agaru nante, sakunen wa seiensya-béika o sue-oiita. SORE GA dóo da, masumasu bukka wa agatte 'rú zya nai ka' to,
Instead of \( \text{-t} \) \( \text{-torô} \) \( \text{ga} \), the form \( \text{-t} \) \( \text{-no} \) \( \text{ga} \) is sometimes used, as in these examples: Hazime hûuhu hutari \( \text{datta} \) \( \text{NO GA} \), kôdomo \( \text{ga} \) dékite \( \text{issitû} \) hûsu ku nâtteri, ... ‘At first they were just two, husband and wife, but they had a baby and wanted an extra room ...’ (SA 2640.39d); Saikin no sibai-zûkuri \( \text{ga} \), nání ka kabe ni butûkatê \( \text{‘ta} \) \( \text{NO GA} \), ano yari-kata de kabe \( \text{ga} \) yabûreta kanzi \( \text{de} \), \( \text{i} \) \( \text{kotô} \) \( \text{da} \) to omôu n desu \( \text{yô} \) ‘The latest staging had somehow come up against a wall (= barrier), but I have the feeling that the barrier has been broken through by that procedure (= by doing things that way), and that’s good, I think’ (SA 2664.35a)—ano yari-kata de is instrumental.

Ôide (115) speaks of three uses of \( \text{S} \) \( \text{ga} \):

1. opposition, as in Watasi wa \( \text{iki-tai} \) \( \text{ga} \) yoozi de ikenai ‘I want to go but I can’t because of things to do’;

2. cause or reason, as in Kâre wa \( \text{öoi} \) \( \text{ni} \) dôryoku(\( \text{‘} \)) \( \text{sitâ} \) \( \text{ga} \), syubi yôku seinoo sita ‘He put in a lot of effort and succeeded in everything’;

3. a light connection or addition, as in Watasi mo sitte \( \text{iru} \) \( \text{ga} \), kâre wa \( \text{skinsetu} \) \( \text{da} \) ‘I know him, too, and he’s very kind’. This use can be found, with an anaphoric reprise that suggests a kind of thematization of the \( \text{ga} \)-marked structure, in the expression \( \text{S} \) \( \text{ga} \) \( \text{ll} \) \( \text{sono tamé} \) \( \text{ka} \) ... ‘S and perhaps that’s why ...’.

According to Ishigaki Kenji, the use of \( \text{gá} \) as a conjunction was a gradual outgrowth of its uses as a subject marker;\(^8\) the clearly conjunctional uses date from the works Konjaku-mono-gatari (11th or 12th century) and Uji-shûi-mono-gatari (13th century), gradually increasing in frequency, as shown by Ishigaki’s chart (p. 53).

As an equivalent of \( \text{gá ‘but’} \), Okinawan uses -siga and in Yaeyama we find both -siga and -songa.

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\(^8\) And, interestingly, he assumes that the use as subject marker stems from the use as attributive (our “genitive” uses), though he finds it difficult to say just when the subject use began (p. 16).
17.6. LITERARY TENTATIVE + ｶﾞ

The literary tentative (§ 12.3) is characterized by attaching the hortative ending to all verbs (kakoo instead of kaku daroo, aroo instead of aru daroo), and using the abbreviation -karoo (＜-ku aroo) for adjectives: samukaroo instead of samuu daroo, nakaroo instead of nai daroo. The verb negative is V-rú -mái (optionally—but preferably—shortened to V-[ru] -mái after vowel bases) rather than V-(a)nái daroo; the adjective negative is A-ku nakaroo rather than A-ku nai daroo; the copula negative is de wa nakaroo rather than zya nai daroo.

Contrasting sentences in the literary tentative appear with the particle ｶﾞ following each to mean 'whether ... or ...': A daroo ga B daroo ga kamawānai 'It matters not whether it is A or B'. The meaning is much the same as that of -tē me: A de mo B de mo kamawānai. Examples: Onazi daroo ga tigao ga 'Whether the same or different?'; Komaroo ga komaru -mái ga 'Whether embarrassed or not?'; Kamaoo ga kamaa -mái ga 'Whether it makes a difference or not?'; Samukaroo ga atukaroo ga 'Whether cold or hot?'; Tabeyōo ga tabē [ru] -mái ga 'Whether we eat or not? (= colloquial Tabēroo daroo ga, tabēnai daroo ga ...).

Romantikku de l aroo ga îarû 'mái ga î sore wa î musî dekïhai î hassoo desû yo 'Whether romantic or not, this is a conception that cannot be ignored'; Ikōo ga i kû 'mái ga î ore no katte 'It's up to me whether I want to go or not' (KKK 3.27); Ai tã ga ikōo ga ikû -mái ga, ore no sitta Kotô zya nai 'It's none of my business whether he goes or not'.


§17. CONJUNCTIVALIZATIONS

17.7. LITERARY TENTATIVE + NÍ

There are two uses of -yō ni:

(1) ... aró ni 'of all ... (there might be)', ... darō ni 'of all ... (it might be)': Basyo mo aró ni watasi o anna tokoró e turete itta 'He took me to such a place of all places'; Hito mo aró ni kimi ga sonna kotó o ioo tó wa! 'To think that you, of all persons, should say so'; Yamada wa kotó mo aró ni Ísa no sóba ni tikayótte kita 'Yamada, of all things, approached Isa' (Ig 40).

(2) V-[y]ō ni mo 'despite an effort/desire to (do)': Nínpu o tanomó ni mo no kito kurérú hótó ga nái 'Try as we would, we couldn't get a coolie' (Ig 40); Sakebi-göe a aseyō ni mo ... kito ga denakatta 'Try to yell as he would, he could not find his voice' (Ig 40); Sore o taizi Site yaró ni mo dóo sítārā i i ka kentōo ga tukanai 'However much I want to eliminate them I can't figure out how to do it' (Ig 40); Ikóo ni mo ikenai 'Go though I would, I can't'; Ryóo o yaró ni mo gyozyóo wa uma-taterére simu 'The fishing grounds gets so filled in you can't even fish' (SA 2688.22d); Bankoku-haku a kenbutu siyóo ni mo tomaru tokoró gá nái 'I want to go to [the Ōsaka] Expo but there's no place to stay' (SA 2669.118Ab). See also pp. 908-9.

These are perhaps best regarded as abbreviations from *-[y]ō no ni with the predicatd postadnominal (nominalizer) nó used in the infinitive (nó da → nó ni) with the meaning 'despite' (§14.2.2), so that the colloquial analogs would be Basyo mo áru [hazu ná] no ni, Nínpu o tanomu [hazu ná] no ni, etc. Perhaps the translation of Type 2 should be 'despite the need to'; cf. colloquial V-rú no da 'it (is a matter that) calls for'. But the colloquial translation suggested as better is to omótte/sité mo: Soo siyóo ni no mo kane ga nái = Soo siyoo to omótte/sité mo o-kane ga nái 'I'd like to do it but I lack the money'.

17.8. SENTENCE-FINAL TENTATIVE + NÍ

Very similar to the expressions described in §17.7, sentences that end in daróo/desyóo ni are to be explained in the same way: Konna kantan na kotó o kikkake to site Nihon-go ni hitamashiru toktoró mo dékita daroo ni 'Such a simple thing [as exporting the word shibu-sa along with the word shiburi] might have been the key to familiarizing them with Japanese' (Kazama 109); Tabakó-nomi no kimitō wa ll o-tagai yóku lwakátte iru daroo ni 'Both passenger and driver [in an air-conditioned taxi] must have a mutual understanding of the desire to smoke a cigarette [yet the driver goes ahead and smokes while the passenger faces a no-smoking sign]' (SA); Zenbu tate-kirenai uti(-') ni karado no hógo ga máitaa n desyoo ná; sázo kokoro-nókori datta 'roo ni 'Before he [= the recently deceased miser] could get it all eaten, his body succumbed, I guess. He must have begrudged that!' (SA 2665.117a); Go-senmon desyóo ni 'Yet it's your specialty' (Shibata 1965,99).

Sometimes the expression is used to link two sentences into one: Matti-bako no i e ni, toraróu yóo na kóoka no monó no nái daroo ni, nán no tamé ni inú o kaú no? 'Why do they keep a dog when there couldn't be anything valuable enough to get stolen in their matchbox of a house?' (SA). An interjectional née or náa may follow: Dé mo, go-tyuunin no anata ga, mótó yóku o-sirabe ni nátta, konna kotó wa okoránakkata desyóo ni—née Kunio-san 'But if you as the go-between had checked more closely such a thing wouldn't have happened—would it, Kunio' (KKK 3.243-4).

In place of V-(a)nái daróo ni you may find V-(a)nakaróo ni; in place of (N de/zya) nái
§ 17.9. Sentence + nára[-ba]

We might consider sentence + nára[-ba] ‘if (it’s a case of)’ as still another kind of conjunctivalization, but I think it is better treated as just an optional dropping of nó in the nominalization of §14.2: Yóbú nára[-ba] ← Yóbú nó nára[-ba] ‘If you are calling’ (← Yóbú no da). Sometimes the nó is actually present: Nyóóbo[nó] kodomo mo sankootai-sei to iú n nára, hanasi wa betu dá ga nē ‘If we speak of wife and children on the three-shift system, too, it’s a different story’ (SA 2640.20a); Sinú n nára anna tokoró ga ìí náa ‘A place like that would be nice to choose for one’s death’ (Y 399); ... tori-hazusu n nára ... ‘if it is to be dismantled’ (SA 2689.121d); Kodómó-táti ga nemutté n nára [n nemutté irú no nára] ... ‘If the children are asleep,...’. This ‘if’ often differs from other ‘ifs’ [-réba, -tára] in anticipating a specific instance by a general case: Mádo o akéru nára, kore o akete kudasai ‘If you’re going to open a window, open this one’; Mótto seikaku ni iú nára-ba ‘To put it more accurately ...’ (SA 2651.97a). The sentence can be imperfect, perfect, or (?) tentative. The meaning of -tá nára seems to be about the same as that of -tára (§9.3.3); we might consider treating the latter—synchronously at least—as an abbreviation of the former:10 Tookyóo e ittá nára, Teikoku-Hóteru o go-zónzi desyoo ‘If you’ve been to Tókyó, surely you know the Imperial Hotel’.

Of the structure S1 nára S2, Kuno 1973.183 tells us that: (1) S1 is presented as an assertion by someone OTHER than the speaker (‘if, as you/they say, ...’) about something which might or might not happen; (2) S2 represents the speaker’s “evaluation, supposition, will, resolution, request, or order”; and (3) unless S2 is a request, command, desire (or the like) S3 cannot be “a state or action whose realization depends upon the future realization or completion of the action represented by S1”.

According to Mio (294) the nára-marked sentence can be stylized (V-i-másu nára) but this is rare for nominal sentences (N désu nára → N nára) and rejected for nominal tentatives (*N desyōo nára → N nára). The expression kore nára to iú hito ‘a suitable person’ seems to be the result of ellipsis: Kore nára [ii] ... ‘if it be this one [it is suitable]’.

Statistics in KKK 25.159-69 show that in modern written Japanese N/S + nára is about four times as common as N/S+ nára-ba. Not to be confused with this expression is the use of the literary copula náréba to mean ‘since (it is a matter of); seeing that’ after a directly nominalized verb: iu náréba ‘so to speak’ (= iwábá(-)), tatakau náréba ‘since I am to fight’. Yoshida would derive náré from a shortening of nár[é]ba rather than of the literary nár[ba] (Y 436). Dialects of eastern Japan often have dára for nára; examples from modern fiction will be found in Y 436.

10. But diachronically, -tá nára appears to be a later option in place of -tára; cf. Y 238.
18 HEARSAY-REPORTING

A sentence, perfect or imperfect (but not tentative), can be reported as hearsay ‘I hear (= They say) that ...’. The sentence is directly followed by sóo da, set off by an underlying minor juncture that is optionally suppressed after a tonic sentence (automatically cancelling the accent on sóo) and is automatically suppressed after cancelling the underlying final accent of an “atomic” inflected form (which is pronounced as if a single word with sóo da):

Yobu sóo da ‘They say he calls/will call’.
Yonda sóo da ‘They say he called’.
Ookii sóo da ‘They say it is big’.
Sensei da sóo da ‘They say it/he is a teacher’.
Sensei detta sóo da ‘They say it/he was a teacher’.
Sensei no’ da sóo da ‘They say it is the teacher’s’.

The sentence cannot, of course, be extended into a question or the like before being reported (though the report itself can be questioned); nor can a command or a proposal be reported as hearsay. The sentence may be stylized before it undergoes hearsay-reporting as well as after; Mio 336 has an example of ... irassyaimasu sóo de gozaimasu née. When the subject of the hearsay sentence is being exalted, you can use sóo de irassyaimasu in place of sóo de gozaimasu: Go-sotugyoo da/nasāru sóo de irassyaimasu né ‘I hear you are graduating’; Cf. Kiite mimāsu to, kodomo no koro wa taihen bīzin datta sóo de gozaimasu ‘People tell us she [our mother] was quite a beauty when a child’ (R). But *S sóo de orimāsu is not used.

Instead of sóo da you can use various quotational devices (§21) such as tō[i] hanasi da, tō no kotō da, tō[i] kotō da, tō ka (§21.6), tē, or tō. The new sentences can all be extended with particles like sā/yō/wā/nē’ ... (§15). Another common way to report hearsay is S n[ō] da tō sa/yō; cf. S n[ō] da tō mo ‘Of course S’. There seems to be some doubt about kā: Sōo da sóo desu ka ‘Do they say it is like that?’ is accepted in the polite form, but it is of doubtful acceptability in the plain form (*)Sōo da sóo ka. On the other hand, Sōo da tō[i] no kotō [desu] kā is accepted either way. There is no *(dēsu) te kā or *(dēsu) tō ka, but tē né-e appears. Many of the other sentence conversions appear to be permissible with the new ... sóo da sentences: ... sóo de mo/wa (§9.2.2, §5); sóo na no de/ni (§14.2); sóo de kara/to/si/kedo/ga, sóo nara-[ba] (§17); sóo ni tīgai nā (§14.6.1), but not *... sóo ni suginai (§14.6.2) (? nor other cases involving direct nominalization, §14.6). Adnominalization is impossible (*... sóo na hitō/hazu da); when nā appears after sóo it represents {dā} nā as in Sōo da sóo nā ‘They say, don’t they’ and ... kyokutān na ningen-hūsī ni oti-i ru sóo nā ‘they are said to fall into extreme distrust of their fellow men, you see’ (SA 2660.54e).

Although perfect and gerund are possible (Hāha mo gēnki da sóo datta ‘They said mother was well too’, Hāha mo gēnki da sóo de ansin sita ‘I was relieved hearing that mother is well too’), tentative (*... sóo daroo) and infinitive (*... sóo ni) are not acceptable. The negative is unusual: (?*)Sōo da sóo zya nā ‘It’s untrue that they say it is so’; cf. Sōo zya nā sóo da

1. Hogō-tyoo da (sōo de moti[r]ōn ikite iru ‘It [=a rare bird on sale] is said to be a protected bird [species] so of course it is alive’ ISA 2662.101b).
2. But Yoshida recognizes ... sóo ni (Y 342) and has apparently found at least two examples (Y 344), though he does not cite them. We have recognized ... sóo ni tīgai nā.

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§ 18. Hearsay-reporting

‘I hear it isn’t so’, ... kurúsiku nái n da sóó desu yó ‘they say it isn’t so painful’ (SA 2650.44cd).³ The hearsay is sometimes introduced by a phrase such as N no hanasi de wa (N no hanasi ni yoru to, N ni yoru to) ‘According to what N says’ or Watasi no kiita tokoró de wa ‘According to what I hear’; sentences beginning with such phrases usually end with ... sóó da.

In written Japanese you sometimes see the semi-literary equivalent of hearsay-reporting: [adnominalized sentence +] yósí da. Yósí ‘report, reason’ is here used as a postadnominal (§ 13.2); ... to iu muné da is used in a similar meaning ‘it is to the effect that’. The device used to report hearsay in the older literary language was to add the literary copula nári at the end of a sentence, the sentence being left in its predicative form—without adnominalization; see § 15.19. Cf. N₁ nárú N₂ sometimes written where the spoken language would have N₁ to(N₂) iu N₂ (§ 13). See also -ge nari and -ge-na, § 20. In northern Kyūshū, hearsay is reported with S ti ko (= S to iu kotó da), Zhs 6.19. The use of the morpheme sóó to report hearsay developed later than its use as an evidential (§ 20), the distinction being clearly drawn by the late Edo period; today it is still less common than the evidential (cf. Y 343-4).

3. An example in a rhetorical question: Kyúúryoo ga agatta sóó zya nái ka ‘Didn’t I hear you had a raise in pay?’
A perfect or imperfect sentence of any origin can have \( \{\} \)rasii added to impart the meaning ‘it seems that’ or ‘it is likely that’; the imperfect copula da will drop in a nominal sentence:

Yobu \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems that he calls (or will call)’.

Takai \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems that it is expensive’.

Ame \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems to be rain’.

Sizuka \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems to be quiet’.

Watasi no \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems to be mine’.

Asita kara \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems to be (starting) from tomorrow’.

The word rasii is optionally preceded by an underlying juncture. When the juncture option is chosen, a preceding tonic phrase will retain its accent (unless it is a final accent, for that will automatically be cancelled) and rasii will be given a secondary accent; the cancellation mark will be inoperative because of the juncture. A preceding atonic phrase (including one automatically reduced from an underlying oxytonic phrase) will proceed to suppress the juncture and be said as a single word with rasii. When the juncture option is not chosen, the output will be exactly the same for a preceding atonic phrase; a tonic phrase, on the other hand, will lose its accent as a result of the operation of the cancellation marked by the minus, now not blocked by juncture, and it will be said as a single word with rasii. But when directly following a tonic noun, the juncture frequently disappears after rendering the cancellation mark inoperative, so that only the accent of the noun will be heard: Ame \( \{\} \)rasii will be heard as /amerasii/ (juncture option spurned), as /âme rasii/ (juncture option taken and secondary accent on rasii), and as /âmerasii/ (juncture option taken and then the juncture itself ignored). From the pronunciation /hanarasii/ you will not know whether what was intended is Hana \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems to be a nose’ or (= /hanârasiii/) Hanâ \( \{\} \)rasii ‘It seems to be a flower’. The notations of this book show the cancellation and accent options available for the surface pronunciation; but if the cancellation option is taken, you are not free to ignore the accent on rasii: âme (\( \cdot \))rasii will not permit the pronunciation /amerasii/ with no accent.

The input sentence can be perfect: Yonda rasii ‘It seems that he called’, Takakatta (\( \cdot \))rasii ‘It seems to have been expensive’, Sizuka datta (\( \cdot \))rasii ‘It seems to have been quiet’, Watasi no datta (\( \cdot \))rasii ‘It seems to have been mine’. Or, the semblative can be perfectivized: Yobu rasikatta ‘It seemed that he called (would call)’, Takai (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘It seemed to be expensive’; Sizuka (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘It seemed to be quiet’, Watasi no rasikatta ‘It seemed to be mine’, Ame (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘It seemed to be rain’. Or, again, both sentences can be made perfect: Yonda rasikatta ‘It seemed that he had called’, Takakatta (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘It seemed that it had been expensive’, Sizuka datta (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘It seemed that it had been quiet’, Watasi no datta (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘It seemed that it had been mine’, Ame datta (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘It seemed that it had been rain’; Syôobu ga tuita (\( \cdot \))rasikatta ‘The game apparently had reached a decision’ (Ariyoshi 171).

Negatives can be rung on either or both of the sentences: Yobanai rasii ‘It seems that
§19. The semblative \( \text{-rasii} \)

he does/will not call', Yobu räšiku nai 'It does not seem that he will call', Yobanai räšiku nai 'It does not seem that he does/will not call', etc. And all combinations of perfect and negative appear to be possible: Yobanäkatta (\( \text{-rasii} \)) 'He seems to have not called', Yonda räšiku näkatta 'It did not seem that he had called'. But doubt is cast on (?)[Yobanäkatta (\( \text{-rasiku nákatta} \)) 'It did not seem that he had not called (= There was no evidence that he had not called)].

Like other adjectival sentences, the semblative sentences are open to various conversions, including the tentative Yobu räšii darōō 'I think it seems that he will call',\(^2\) the concessive Yobu räšikute mo = Yobu räšikutatte 'Even if/though it seems that he will call', the provisional Yobu räšikereba 'If it seems ...',\(^3\) the conditional Yobu räšikattara 'If it seem(ed) ...', and Yobu räšii nara [-ba] 'If it seems ...', as well as the gerund: Soo sitāra sinbun-hanbāiten ga utī (\( \text{-} \)) ni renraku sita räšikute, mukae ni kīte ture-modosāreta 'Then, the newspaper dealer apparently having got in touch with my family, they came to meet me and I was taken back home' (SA 2678.47a); Mītuko wa tākusi de kake-tuketa räšikute, ma-mō-naku arawāreta 'Mitsuko soon appeared, apparently having rushed over by taxi' (Ariyōshi 31).

When a construction calls for a repeat of S + (\( \text{-rasii} \)), including N (\( \text{-rasii} \)), the second S is usually optional: \( \ldots \text{Oosaka-ben räšikereba [ \( \text{-rasii} \) rāsido} \ldots \) 'the more it seems to be Osaka dialect, the more ...' (Maeda 1961.149); \( \text{... tīsā na kodomo räšikereba [ \( \text{-} \) rāsido} \ldots \) 'the more he seems a little child, the more ...'.

We accept semblative + hearsay, as in Åme ga hūru (\( \text{-rasii} \) sōo da = Åme ga hūru (\( \text{-rasii} \) tē 'I hear it seems it will rain', and probably also hearsay + semblative: (？)Åme ga hūru sōo (\( \text{-rasii} \)) rētā 'It seems they say it will rain'. Although both (\( \text{-rasii} \) sōo da and (\( \text{-rasii} \) yō da are accepted,\(^4\) rasi-ō do da (evidential) is rejected, as are *rasi hazu/tumori da. An example of N \( \text{f} \)dā (\( \text{-rasii} \) omowarārū 'seems like it is N': Aitē wa syakoo-kīsaa kā nānī ka no zyozei rāšiku omowaremāsita 'The other person seemed like a cabaret hostess or some such woman' (Tsujimura 64).

S \( \text{(} \text{-rasii} \) can be followed by sentence-extenders kā, kā nē, and sometimes even kā sira ('I wonder whether it seems') and kā mo sirenai ('maybe it seems'); S \( \text{(} \text{-rasii} \) ni sugīnai 'It only seems that S' is acceptable but *S \( \text{(} \text{-rasii} \) ni tigai nai 'It undoubtedly appears that S' is not. The semblative sentence can be stylized: S (\( \text{-} \) rāsido desu, S (\( \text{-} \) rāsyo yō gozaimasu—but not *S (\( \text{-} \) rāšikute irasshiyaimāsū since the semblative does not itself carry a personal reference. Nuclear focus is permitted: Yobu rāšiku wa/mo āru (or näi), Yobu rāšiku sē āreba, ... An intransitive mutative may occur, S \( \text{-} \) rāšiku nātta 'It got so it appeared that S'; but not a transitive mutative, \( \text{S} \) \( \text{(} \text{-} \) rāšiku sita 'They made it so it appeared that S'.

From the semblative of nominals you can freely derive lexical adjectives with the meaning 'is suitable to be, is worthy of, is very much the, is very like': gakusei-rasii tāido 'an attitude worthy of (suitable to) a student, a student-like attitude', onna-rasii 'is womanly, feminine', kodomo-rasii 'is child-like', otoko-rasii 'is masculine, manly', baka-rasii 'is'

2. Also the negative and literary tentatives, including such expressions as S (\( \text{-irasikarōo ga} \) \( \text{f} \)sl \( \text{-irasiku nakarōo ga} \) \( \text{f} \)sl \( \text{-irasii} \) darōo ga \( \text{f} \)sl (\( \text{-irasiku nāi darōo ga} \) \( \text{f} \)sl 'whether it seems that S or it doesn't seem that S' and S (\( \text{-irasikarōo ga} \) \( \text{f} \)sl \( \text{-irasii} \) darōo ga \( \text{f} \)sl 'whether it seems that S or it seems that S does/is not'.

3. But \( \text{-} \) rāšikereba is often replaced by \( \text{-} \) rāsii nara according to Y 316.

4. Also S (\( \text{-} \) alnai \( \text{-} \) rāsii yōo-da, S (\( \text{-} \) alnai \( \text{-} \) rāšiku nāi yōo-da, S (\( \text{-} \) rāśiku nāi yōo-da, S (\( \text{-} \) rāsii yōo yza nāi (or yōo ni miēnai), S (\( \text{-} \) rāšiku nāi yōo yza nāi (or yōo ni miēnai), S (\( \text{-} \) alnai \( \text{-} \) rāsii yōo yza nāi (or yōo ni miēnai). But rejected—for clumsiness—is \( \text{S (} \text{f} \)sl \( \text{-} \) rāšiku nāi yōo yza nāi (or yōo ni miēnai).
§ 19. The Semblative: \(\ddagger\) -rasii

foolish, stupid'; Hitō wa kēssin site otoko-rasikü, gunzin-rasikü, syatyoo-rasikü nāru no de aru 'A person becomes manly or military or executive-type by deciding to do so' (SA 2642.104d). The nominal is not always a pure noun; in wazato-rasii 'studied, unnatural' the adjective is made from the predicable adverb wāza-to 'on purpose'. There are negatives in -rasikarānu: gityoo-rasikarānu gityoo datta 'was an unchairemanly sort of chairman' (SA 2685.62b), tyyugakusei-rasikarānu hankōo 'a crime unlikely for a junior high school student' (SA 2652.121e). But the more colloquial negative is -rasiku nāi: Soko ni tikarā(−) no komōta roozin-rasiku nāi kōe ga hirōma no kūuki o nami-dataseta 'At that point a vigorous voice hardly to be expected from an old man stirred the air of the living room' (Y 321). The lexical adjectives, unlike the sentential conversion, are open to the evidential (§ 20): -rasi-sōō da, -rasi-gē da 'seems suitable to be'. And they form derived nouns with -sa: otoko-räsi-sa 'manliness'. The sentence-convertong semblative rasii has either a normal tonic accent (dropping, as expected, when attached to a tonic word) or a dominant accent that overrides a preceding accent, but the adjective-deriving -rasii is always dominant, so that a distinction is heard (optionally) for tonic nouns: /sensēerasii/ can mean only 'It seems to be the teacher' (= Sensei (− )rasii), but /senseerasii/ can mean either that or 'He is suitable to be a teacher (etc.)' (= Sensei-rasii). For /gakuseerasii/ there is no disambiguating pronunciation for the semblative, since gakusei 'student' is atomic.

There are also three adjectives that attach -rasii directly to the base: Kitana-rasii 'It is dirty-looking'—cf. Kitanai (-)rasii 'It seems to be dirty'; Kawai-rasii 'It is charming-looking'; Niku-rasii 'It is hateful-looking'—cf. Nikū (-)rasii 'It seems to be hateful, and contrast the homonymous Nikū (-)rasii 'It seems to be meat', Niku-rasii 'It is worthy (= real meat)'. Suita(-)rasii 'is sweet, loveable' is an idiomathic phrase, or perhaps a derived adjective (as Kenkyusha treats it), from the semblative applied to the perfect of sūku 'likes, loves'.

The meaning of the semblative is very close to that of adnominal + yōo da (or yōo ni mieru) and its colloquial synonym mitai da, § 13.2. Sometimes the semblative is used in a meaning very close to that of hearsay (sōo da); other times it seems closer to the evidential (-sōo da) but the meaning centers on surmise, deduction, or inference and can be translated as 'likely' (cf. hazu dā). The subject of the evidential sentence is usually third-person, but it can be first-person when "oneself" is looked at as if from the outside; cf. Y 319.

We can perhaps tag the difference in meaning of the several forms as follows: ... yōo da INDIRECT JUDGMENT, ...-sōō da APPEARANCE or TENDENCY or IMMINENCE, ... (-)rasii PRESUMPTION or INFERENCE, ... hazu dā LIKELIHOOD or EXPECTATION. Yoshida (337) studied the relative frequency of "appearance" expressions in works of two modern writers; out of a combined total of 1236 occurrences, the approximate percentages are as follows: .7095 yōoo da, .1456 -sōoo da; .1116 rasii; .0146 huu da; .0098 mitai da; .0072 -gé nī; .0016 tōri da.

Sometimes Rasii will be heard as a complete sentence, probably to be regarded as an abbreviation of Sōo (-)rasii 'It seems to be like that' = 'I guess so', e.g. Sore nāra-ba rasii desu 'That will be fine, I guess'. Rasiku nāi desyoo? 'Unlikely, what?' An example from an interview: Ren'ai tyuū [= to iu] monō, sirān no?—Rasii desu nē 'Of love you know nothing? —Seems that way, doesn't it' (SA 2649.50b; replying is Imai Michiko, born in Tōkyō 1942). It has been observed that sentences with (-)rasii are sometimes produced as

5. And in the literary language PREDICATIVE + nāi serves for hearsay as well as semblative; see §15.19.
 § 19. The semblative: 

modest replies to questions, even though the speaker is quite sure of his facts. Semblative sentences are often anticipated by expressions such as dóo-mo, dóo-yara, and nán-de-mo ‘somehow’ (cf. Y 318). Examples of adnominalized semblatives: Minnâ yorokónda n desu kedo, rîyoo sareta râsii tokorô mo âtte ... ‘We were all delighted but there were (situations =) times when we seem to have been used ...’ (SA 2649.46b); Hontoo ni kokorobosoi (‘râsii toki ga arimasu ‘There are times when he seems truly depressed’ (Y 319); Omee ga Tûkida to naka no i (‘râsii kotô wa ... ‘That you appear to be friendly with Tûkida ...’ (KKK 3.279); Kô-itizâkan tâtu to, tabiguejin-tatî ga ide-tâtû (‘râsii monoîtó ga kikoete kîta ‘After a short while you could begin hearing the sounds of the traveling entertainers apparently leaving’ (Y 318); Misë de katta râsïi ake-zyôotin mo âru ‘There are red lanterns, too, that look store-bought’ (Y 319); Tookyoo to, Kyôoto kara kîta (‘râsii zyosei-kîôosei [ ] ‘It’s high-school girls who seem to have come from Tôkyô and Kyôto’ (SA 2837.31d); Gyosen râsii sirâ-ho(‘) ‘A white sail that appears to be a fishing boat ...’ (KKK 3.279); ... hozuyûtû-tyoo ga ... koosyá-tyoo ni, hanasi-kakete iru (‘râsii kôe ga kikoete kîta ‘The sound of a voice came [down] that seemed to be the gunnery lieutenant addressing the chief anti-aircraft gunner’ (KKK 3.279). The following examples have the literary attributive form (‘râsikî: Muron tégakari (‘râsiki monô wa âru ‘Of course there IS an apparent clue’ (Sa 2668.30c); Sore râsiki monô o kan-zyîmasu nê, yoyaku wa simasen ga ‘You feel something like that, not making reservations’ (Tk 2.278b); ... kango-hu ya, sore râsiki monô ni kansatsu o tayori-sugirû no wa ... ‘the excessive reliance on nurses and such-like persons for observation [of patients] ...’ (SA 2666.115e). Cf. Kenkyusha’s example Êkura mâtte ite mo sore râsii hitô wa kônakatta ‘I waited and waited but no one looking anything like him came’. Sore-râsii N may sometimes translate as ‘a likely N’: sore-râsii kônkyô ‘a likely (reliable/plausible) basis’ (SA 2673.131c) = kônkyô-râsii kônkyô (see below).

A nominal sentence will suppress the imperfect copula when the semblative is applied, N ëdaî râsii; but the copula will appear in the perfect, N dâtta râsii, as in this example: Iwamoto senséi te no wa, nakanaka ganko-mono dâtta (‘râsii desu nà ‘This Professor Iwamoto seems to have been quite a stubborn man’ (Tk 3.165b). And you may come across the informal copula in its more formal, uncontracted version, N de áru (‘râsîi: ... sono mitî no bigu-syóto (oomono) de âru (‘râsikatâ ‘he was apparently a big shot (a VIP) in his field’ (SA 2671.95c). Suppression of the imperfect copula will account for the structure HONORIFIC INFINITIVE (o-V-i or an equivalent verbal noun prefixed by go- or o-)+ (‘)râsii: Nippon-kazuyu-kyôokai wa tokusei no zîsyo o o-moti [ ] râsi ‘The Japan Fruit Juice Association seem to have their own special dictionary’ (SA 2649.110a); the subject exaltation (o-moti ëå = o-moti ni nâru or môtë irassáyûru) is here used sarcastically, the question at issue being what constitutes fruit ‘juice’. And we will probably do well to assume the ellipsis of a propredicative copula in the following examples: Enpitu no órêta sû de [ ] (‘)râsiku kâte âtta ‘It was written apparently with the lead from a broken pencil’ (Y 321); Kâre [ ] (‘)râsiku, ... itta ‘Characteristically, he said ...’ (Y 322); Akîko wa ikâ-ni mo Kyôoko [ ] (‘)râsi to omôtta ga ... ‘Akiko thought ‘How very like Kyôko [to say a thing like that]’ ‘ (Arîyoshi 265). When the semblative is applied to S nó da ‘It is that S’ (§ 4.2), the imperfect copula drops, leaving S nó [ ] (‘)râsi as in Mítiko ga soko ni irû no (‘)râsii ‘It appears to be that Michiko is there’ (Y 318).
The expression $N_1$-rasii $N_1$ means 'an $N$ worthy of the name' or 'a particular $N$ worth mentioning': ..., ziken-rasii ziken ni butukaranakatta ..., 'did not run into any particular incident worth mentioning' (SA 2664.92d); ..., hannoto-rasii hannoo ga nakkatta 'there was no reaction to speak of' (or 'there was no real reaction') (SA 2681.27a); ..., hukyoo-rasii hukyoo o keiken site inai 'has not experienced a real depression' (SA 2673.44a). This is not the semlative as such, but a semlative-derived adjective, as described earlier; the accent of -rasii always dominates the attached noun, and that must be a single pure noun (*A to B -rasii A to B 'a pair A and B worth mentioning' is ungrammatical), which can not itself be modified, though the repeat of the noun (preceded by an underlying juncture) can include an adnominal phrase, and the expression as a whole—or perhaps the repeated noun, independently—can be modified by an adnominal phrase: Honkaku-teki na haiue-rasii haiuee ga nozomasii(―) 'What is needed is a real highway worthy of the name'; Kuruma ga yon-dai nare hasiré hodo no haiuee-rasii honkaku-teki na haiuee ga nozomasii(―) 'What is needed is a real highway worthy of the name that four cars can run on side by side'. Cf. Alfonso 1063-4.

Elsewhere (Martin 1967.271 n. 36) I have suggested that (―)rasii is an abbreviation of ár- + -a-si-, the latter being a complex suffix consisting of the deverbative -a that underlies negative and tentative forms + the adjective-forming -si-, itself perhaps an abbreviation of -sa ári. On this see also Martin 1967.267 n. 30. Notice also (-)tarasi, §3.13. (A list of adjectives derived with the complex suffix -a-si- will be found in KKK 7.263-4.) Examples of the semlative conversion can be found in the Man’yō-shū but the modern use began in the Muromachi period, according to Yoshida, who observes that it was written almost exclusively after nouns until the late Edo period (Y 323). Sato (1.309) implies that the sentential conversions (such as V-ru/A-i rasii) did not appear until after Muromachi times, for which only N rasii is attested.

6. In this early (Nara-period) usage, rasi(-) followed the predicative forms of verbs, including the true predicative of ár- which coincides with the attributive áru rather than the infinitive-used-for-predicative ári.
20 THE EVIDENTIAL: -SOO/-GE DÁ

It is possible to put sentences into EVIDENTIAL conversions which impart the meaning 'looks to be/do' by attaching -soo dá1 (or, more old-fashioned and less widely heard, -ge dá) to the infinitive of verbals, to the base of most (all?) adjectives, and to most but not all adjectival nouns:

- Yobi-soo dá 'He seems to be about to call'.
- Waru-sóo dá 'It looks bad'.
- Zyoobu-soo dá 'He looks sturdy'.

A pure noun can be used only when predicated with the formal uncontracted copula: koo-seiseki de ari-sóo dá 'looks to be good results'. Tonic bases produce tonic evidentials, with the accent on -sóo/-ge; atonic bases produce atonic evidentials. (The accent optionally drops from -ge.) Evidentials can be made on most subject-exalting forms, including o- + adjective or adjectival noun:

- Honto ni o-zyoobu-soo désu née 'You truly seem to be of sturdy health, I'd say' (SA 2672.62b). The evidentialized sentence can be stylized (-soo désu, -soo de gozaímásu) and it can be made subject-exalting: Íi monó o o-morai ni nari-sóo de irassyaimásu/gozaímásu née 'It looks as though you are going to get something nice, doesn't it'.

- The resulting sentence can be made perfect (Yobi-soo dátta); but tentative forms are rejected (Y 403): *Yobi-soo daróó, *Yobi-soo dátta daroo. The evidential sentence can be adnominalized as an adjectival noun (Yobi-soo na hitó 'a person about to call'), yet it can retain the original marking of its adjuncts: Áme ga huri-sóo na hi 'A day when it looks like rain'; Mondai ni nari-sóo na monó 'Things likely to become a problem'; Itiban wadai ni nari-sóo na no wa 'The one that seems to be creating the biggest stir ...'; Oosaká-zín no ii-sóo na kóttèsu [= kotó désu] née 'It's what you'd expect an Osaka person to say, all right' (Tk 4.229b); Káño-zyo ga suwari-sóo na isu 'The kind of chair she is likely to sit in'; Háha ga o-kási o yari-sóo na kodomo 'A child that the mother is likely to give sweets to'; Kimi ga yomi-sóo na hón zya nái no? 'Isn't it a book (of the sort) you're likely to read?'. (The epitthe is not limited to extruded subjects, as might be thought from the examples in Alfonso 1066.)

- The evidential sentence can be turned into a gerund -soo dé [wa/mo], infinitive -soo ni [nárú/suru, V] and -soo dé [sae áreba], provisional -soo nár[a]-ba, conditional -soo dátarra, representative -soo dáttari. It can be extended with ká, né, ká sira, ká mo sirenai, etc. It can be made semelative -soo rasi (somewhat redundant); -soo ni sugai occurs but *-soo ni tigai nái is doubtful, though some accept Zyoobu-soo ni tigai nái 'You can't say he doesn't look sturdy'. (Also accepted: Atira wa áme ga huri-sóo ni tigai nái, as an abbreviation of ...-soo ni miérú ni tigai nái.)

- Evidentials can be made negative, usually in these forms: -soo (wa/)[mo nái, -soo dé/ní wa/mo nái, or -soo dé/ní wa/mo miénai (cf. remarks in §8). The form -soo ni nái looks odd when we consider that there is no corresponding *-soo ni áru, but it can perhaps be explained in terms of the formation of the literary copula: the expected -soo ni [i] ár[-i] is

1. As usual, dá may drop before certain sentence-extenders (§15): Omosiro-sóo [ ] née ... 'Looks interesting, huh ...' (KKK 3.251); Kyōō-áme ga huri-sóo [ ] yó 'Today it looks like rain' (KKK 3.251). In place of -soo dá you may run across sentence-final -soo nái in the speech of old people or those using dialects (cf. Y 403); this is not to be taken as -soo [da] nái but as a sentence-final occurrence of the adnominalized copula after an adjectival noun. 991
replaced by -soo n[イ]-t[e] ár[イ] → -soo dá, but -soo ní (wa/-mo) árazu has simply replaced árazu by nái. According to Hayashi 139, the evidential of an adjective or an adjectival noun is made negative in the form -soo de [wa]-nái (uma-soo de nái 'is not appetizing', zyoobu-soo dé wa nái 'is not robust-looking') and the evidential of a verb is made negative in the form V-i-soo mo nái or V-i-soo ní (mo) nái: Máda owari-soo mo nái 'There is still no sign of its ending'; Kono to to wa mirare-soo mo nái dekigotó ga atta 'On November 10th a little incident happened that is unlikely to be seen in any other school' (SA 2665.24a); Ryoookoku no tairitu wa, yooi ni osamari-soo ni nái 'The confrontation between the two countries would not appear to be easily resolved' or 'There is little evidence that ... will easily be resolved' (SA 2635.3). Alfonso 1066-7 gives the patterns V-i-soo mo nái, A-soo de mo nái or A-ku nasá-soo dá. Jorden (BJ 2.123) says the following sentences are interchangeable: Dekinasá-soo desú 'It looks impossible', Deki-soo zya arimasén 'It doesn't look possible', and Deki-soo ní wa miemasén 'It doesn't look as if it will be possible'. ISJ (6.15.286) has the example Sonna kotó wa tootei deki-soo ni wa omoénai 'Such a thing doesn't appear to be likely after all'. In Y 405 there is actually an example of V-i-soo ga nái: Iká ni ízyutó ga susuné mo, kore wa deki-soo ga nái 'However much the medical arts may progress, there is no likelihood that this can be'; cf. ... sore o zikkoo zuru kotó ga deki-soo de nákatta 'it did not seem likely you would be able to accomplish it' (Y 448).

It is also possible to ring the evidential on a negative sentence: Ibiki de wa nasa-soo datta 'Apparently it wasn't (that he was) snoring' (Ariyoshi 307); Riuwu wa hitótó de wa nasa-soo dá ga, ... 'There seems to be more than one reason, but ...'; Dóo-mó sóo de wa nasa-soo dá 'That seems very unlikely, somehow' (Tanigawa 172); Sono tegami no tóyooi da to, áte mo omosiróku nasa-soo dá da wa 'From the tone of the letter it appears a meeting would not be much fun' (Y 404). As these examples show, it is usual for nái to attach -sa before adding -soo: Nasa-soo dá 'It looks (to be) missing'. The same irregularity is true of Yói (= Í) 'It is good'; Yosa-soo dá 'It looks good'. By way of contrast, notice that the excessive forms (§9.1.9) are Nasa-sugiru but Yo-sugiru. Mio (141) says it is usual not to insert -sa- with negativized VERBALS turned into evidentials or excessive (iwa-na-sugiru 'too seldom says', ... kite i-na-soo na yoosu o míru to 'when I saw that it appeared he had not arrived'), but many speakers optionally insert -sa- in these two situations, too: iwa-nasa-sugiru, kite i-nasa-soo na yoosu. Yoshida (407) says that na-soo dá is a Meiji usage and that the newer nasa-soo dá is more popular in the Shôwa era. (But *yo-soo never occurred for yosa-soo.) The examples in Y 407 include these: Sóo-site túma kara tokidoki monotariina-soó na mé de nagameraréru no desu 'Then [he] gets given a look of dissatisfaction from his wife every now and then'; Watakusi ní wa ... wakarana-soó da nái 'I just can't seem to understand ...'; Tái-sita kotó wa nasa-soo dá 'It doesn't seem to be of any great importance'. Other adjectives ending in -na-i, whether clearly derived from negatives (nasake-nái 'is heartless') or not (kitanái 'dirty') are sometimes heard with the inserted -sa- before -soo da, but we will go along with Mio (141) in rejecting these as ungrammatical. Kazama 99 accepts -sa-soo and -sa-sugiru for those adjectives clearly derived from N gá-nái —such as tayori-nái, akke-nái, darasi-nái, etc.—but rejects the -sa- for all other cases, such as osanái, hakanái, sukunái, kitanái, and even the etymologically negative kudaranai and tumarâni. He observes that speakers are uncertain about the etymology of the slang word egetunái 'is vulgar, coarse' and therefore accord it either treatment. The pseudo-literary
forms Nakari-sôô da (contracted from Nâku ari-sôô da) and Yokari-sôô da (from Yôku ari-sôô da) sometimes appear in print; but they strike most speakers as odd. Cf. Mio 134, 140.

The negative infinitives -soô [nî/dé] mo naku and -ge [nî/dé] mo naku are not uncommon: Bukka wa sagari-sôô mo naku, simin-sëikatu wa iyôiyo kurûsiku nari-sôô da ‘With no sign of prices about to go down the livelihood of the citizenry appears to be more and more distressing’. Since it is possible to negativize either the underlying sentence or the evidential, we can wonder whether examples will turn up of double negatives such as these: ?V-(a)na[sa]-soô mo nái, ?V-(a)na[sa]-soô ni miënai; ?A-ku nasa-sôô mo nái, ?A-ku nasa-sôô ni miënai.

Evidentials made on semblatives are rejected (*Âme ga hûru rasi-sôô da), but semblatives are made on evidentials from underlying verbal sentences: Âme ga huri-sôô (−) râisi ‘It seems to be looking like rain’. Even though the evidential already means ‘looks as though’, the sentence can be converted into the putatives of §9.1.11: Âme ga huri-sôô ni miën/omowaréru/... ‘It seems/appears to look like rain’ or Âme ga huri-sôô ni [watasi wa] omôu ‘I think it looks like rain’. What about (?)Âme ga huri-sôô (−)râisi ku omowaréru?

Among the adjectival sentences that can be made evidential are the facilitative conversions (§9.1.8): Si-niku-sôô da ‘It looks difficult to do’. Martin 1968.51 suggests that desideratives are excluded (*Iki-ta-sôô da) unless verbalized (§7.2): Iki-ta-gari-sôô da ‘He looks as though he wants to go’. But this is true only for straightforward declarations; under various conversions the desiderative will turn up: Iki-ta-sôô na kâo o site ita ‘He looked as if he wanted to go’, etc. On i-ta-ge ‘apparently wanting to say’, see below.

Notice that for vowel verbs (Ve-, Vi-) and for one class of consonant verbs (Vs-) the form V-ta-sôô da ‘looks desirous (to do)’ and the form V-ta-sôô da ‘did as I hear tell’ will look the same in kana spelling. For tonic verbs, the forms will differ in accent:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
tabe-ta-sôô da & ori-ta-sôô da & hanasi-ta-sôô da \\
tabeta (o) da & örita (o) da & hanasita (o) da \\
\end{array}
\]

For those speakers who make atonic desideratives on atonic verbs (the standard we are following), there will be a difference of accent in all instances:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
yame-ta-sôô dá & abi-ta-sôô dá & kasi-ta-sôô dá \\
yameta sôô da & abita sôô da & kasita sôô da \\
\end{array}
\]

But for those who make all desideratives tonic, the forms from atonic verbs will converge in accent:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
yame-ta-sôô da & abi-ta-sôô da & kasi-ta-sôô da \\
yameta sôô da & abita sôô da & kasita sôô da \\
\end{array}
\]

Speakers who do not commonly use the old-fashioned -ge and prefer Natukasi-sôô da for Natukasi-gé(−) da ‘It is nostalgic-looking’, may have traces of the form in clichés like monou-gé(−) ni ‘listlessly, languidly’, ake-hiro-/ppiros-ge (na) ‘open, frank’ (there is no *ake-hiro/ppiros-i), kôtô-mo-nâgé ni\(^2\) (kotâeru) ‘(answers) nonchalantly’, and hito-mo-nâge (na) ‘(?is) unembarrassed’. Ig 57 gives examples of imi-ari-ge (na) ‘(is) meaningful-seeming, pregnant (with meaning)’ and kimari-waru-ge (na) ‘(is) awkward-looking’. The expression to ii-ta-ge ‘apparently wanting to say’ is common: Sohûtô-boo no ribon ni tuma-yôôzi o hasânda daihyyo ga, “Konna daikânkei o ûkete ãi monô daroo ka” to ii-ta-ge ni, mõzi-mozi si-nagara bara no hanâtêba o uke-totta ‘The delegate, with a toothpick stuck in the ribbon of his felt hat, hesitantly took the bouquet of roses, looking as if he wanted to say

\[2. (Accentuation options according to NHK.) Also nani-goto mo na-ge ni?\]
“How can I accept such a big welcome‘” (SA 2660.36c); Tūmari sore-dakē, konpyūttaa no riyou ga susunde iro to ii-ta-ge no yōo de aru ‘It is as if he appeared to want to say that the utilization of the computer is, after all, advanced to that extent’ (SA 2661.26d—for nā → nō before yōo, see p. 766). Siranu-ge ‘apparently ignoring’ can be treated as idiomatic: Konna musuu(”) no higeki mo siranu-ge ni ... ‘Apparently ignoring countless tragedies of this sort ...’ (SA 2674.63a). But Y 206 cites an example with a dialect form of the perfect: ... siranda-ge ni ‘as if [one] had not known’. More examples of -ge: Kāre-ra wa, hazime wa urayamasi-gē(”) na manāzasi de mi-tomeru ‘At first they stare with an envious look’ (SA 2647.118a); Kore ni wa Nissan wa human-ge de ‘With this, Nissan seems to be displeased’ (SA 2668.124d); ... tokui-gē(”) ni hanāsu ‘speaks with pride’ (SA 2652.119a); Kono se ga hikūku, hūtōtta, hitō-kuse ari-gē(”) na tura-gāmae no zinbutu wa ... ‘This short, fat, sinister-looking character ...‘ (SA 2647.104c). The negative of -ge da is -ge nai: Sono tosi no hāru wa, fū mo no nsyū ni ni-ge nai atatakai sosuyūn de atta ‘The spring of that year was an early one warmer than seemed appropriate for Shinano’ (Y 350). This is the source of nanige-nai ‘is nonchalant (as if it were not hanging)’ and sarige-nai ‘is unconcerned (as if it were not so)’. From the basic meaning of the evidential ‘looks (appears)’—as in Kono yukī wa tumorisoo da ‘It looks as though this snow will stay’ (Ariyoshi 143)—there come uses that translate as ‘seems about to, is on the point of, will’ (often prefaced by ima ni mo ‘at any moment’) and as ‘is likely to, ought to, could be expected to’ (= ... hazu da). The implication is that the happening is IMMINENT or IMPENDING:3 ... de-sōo de denai ..., ‘is about to emerge and then doesn’t’ (SA 2650.97a); Zyookyaku ni tōtte wa “oo huku-bintaa” no tosi ni nari-sōo da ‘For the passenger [on public transportation] it’s going to be a year of getting it from all sides’ (SA 2660.42b); Hūne ga sizumi-sōo ni nāru to, nezumi wa itihāyaku nigeru ‘When a ship is about to sink the rats are quick to desert it’ (SA 2671.29b); ... ki ga toooku nattayai-sōo da (= nätte simai-sōo da) ‘is about to lose consciousness’. The domain of the evidential seems to be limited to a single predicate. In the following sentence, for example, the evidential at the end is not intended to carry back through the infinitive-used-for-gerund) to include the first of the two passives: Kāiro no tikāku no syossoo de wa, Isuraēru no supāi ni sare, korosare-sōo ni narimāsita ‘In a small village near Cairo he was taken for an Israeli spy and was nearly killed’ (SA 2664.100c); the transitive mutative supāi ni suru is here loosely used as a putative. In the following sentence the evidential should not be assumed to apply to more than the final adjectival noun: Hossōri sita karadā-tukī(”) de sinkeisitu-sōo de aru ‘He has a slender build and looks nervous’ (SA 2666.59d). The expression ari-sōo sometimes calls for special translations: ari-sōo na kotō ‘a probability’, ari-sōo no nāi kotō ‘an improbability’, ari-sōo na hanasi de ‘... according to a likely story ...’; ari-sōo mo nāi ziken ‘an improbable incident’; Obōete imasēn ga, ari-sōo na kōttasu né ‘I don’t recall it, but it seems likely to have happened’ (Tk 2.135b); Ari-sōo na shiri da nē ‘Likely psychology, isn’t it’ (Tk 3.144b). But it can also be used as the expected evidential conversion of a sentence expressing existence or possession: Idirisu no Tyāruru ōozī ga ōoi o tugi māde ni wa, māda sootoo no nensūu ga ari-sōo da ‘There would seem to

3. In this meaning, the evidential can not be made negative (Y 405); ...soo ni/mo nāi can deny only the ‘likelihood’ meaning, as shown by examples in Y 406: Tote-mo, uti(”) no o kāsama yuru site kudasari-sōo mo nāi n desu mono ‘But my mother is hardly likely to give me permission’.
be a considerable number of years before Prince Charles of England will succeed to the throne' (SA 2664.100c).

The -ge forms are reported used for -soo by speakers in Gumma and Saitama, who also say V-ru gê da for the same meaning: Åme ga hûru gê da ‘It looks like rain’ (Zhs 2.22).

Two forms reported from Gumma are nasa-gê = nasa-sóo ‘appearing to be lacking’ (Zhs 2.130.7) and yosa-gê = yosa-sóo ‘appearing to be good’ (Zhs 2.155.8). Standard speakers find the -ge forms old-fashioned; cf. the literary forms in § 15.20. Sentences with -ge nari were used as early as Heian times (Y 349); the modern usage stretches from Muromachi to the beginning of the Edo period, is largely limited to western Japan and is considered very colloquial (cf. Kgg 89.36-7). Sentence-final -ge-na is used to report hearsay or conjecture in dialect examples from modern fiction found in Y 349, including one of ...

kâmi-sama zya [=da] gê-na de, ... ‘is said to be a god ... and’.

The most widely accepted etymology says that -soo < -sau is the Chinese loanword meaning ‘aspect, phase; physiognomy’, but some would derive the evidential from the adverb sôo < s[i-k]â[k]u ‘thus’ (Y 404), the presumed source of the hearsay conversion. 4

And -ge is the nigoried form of the noun ke (= kékâi(-)) ‘indication, symptoms’.

The -ge forms made from atonic verbs, adjectives, and adjectival nouns are also atonic: karu-gê, human-gê. According to the patterns used in this book, those made from tonic verbs, adjectives, and adjectival nouns are optionally atonic or oxytonic: natukasi-gê(“), tokui-gê(“). For the tonic forms MKZ generally prefers a penultimate accent: natukasi-gê, tokui-gê. But MKZ has a number of exceptions: ita-gê, nibu-gê, niku-gê, osi-gê, samu-gê, samu-gê, sema-gê, yowa-gê (despite hosî-gê, hukâ-gê, tuyô-gê); and, unless misprints, kanasi-gê fron atonic kanasi- and nemutâ-gê from atonic nemuta-.

4. But it has also been proposed that both the evidential and the hearsay might have arisen from a reduction of sama ‘appearance’, by way of sam[a] > saû (with nasality) > sau (Gekkan-Bumpô 1/8.50-1).
21 QUOTATIONS

A sentence can be quoted by adding the particle ト '(says/thinks) that'. (The accent and juncture of phrases marked by ト are discussed on p. 1003.) The sentence quoted can be negative, desiderative, etc.; it can be perfect, tentative, etc.; and the quotational verb that follows can undergo all conversions independently of the quoted sentence.

The quoted sentence is typically followed by an INFORMATION-PROCESSING verb having to do with saying, writing, thinking, judging, or the like: いu (pronounced /yuu/) 'says'—and numerous connotationally marked synonyms such as くるず 'reveals', おどむ 'stammers (that)', つぶやく 'mutters', ほざく 'grumbles', ささやく 'whispers', さわぐ 'clamors', よぶ 'calls', っかつ す 'roars, thunders (that)', うけっ す 'screams, cries out (that)', ほめ 'praises', ひんず 'criticizes, complains', くうす 'disparages, belittles (saying that)', うなずける 'flatters oneself (that)', あいす 'greet (with the words)', しちす 'counsels', un す 'comments', ところ = へんづ す 'answers', ...; かく 'writes', ...; おも 'thinks, feels', かんがえ 'thinks, opines', さん 'finds out, learns, knows', かか 'finds out, understands', う す 'is aware/conscious (that)'; きてす 'expects (that)', おぞむ 'hopes', てざる 'believes (that)', しんす 'worries (that)', ゆゆうす 'claims (that)', はんだす 'judges (that)', だんす 'concludes (that)', だんねす 'affirms (that)', うずえす 'gives the analysis (that)', せつえす 'explains', きらき 'announces, reveals', きる 'decides (that)', ...; ざんねん 'regrets', せんずす 'believes', うたはす 'doubts', なげす 'deplores', つかつ 'confesses', ...).

Obviously the number of such verbs is quite large; it is not always necessary to postulate a particular tie between the quotation and a given verb, since we can often assume an ellipsis of ト  behave as 'saying that' or ト  behave as 'thinking/feeling that' as in these examples:

1. And, perhaps as a propredicated verbal noun, しんす 'am concerned whether there might not be a bad effect on the unborn child' (SA 2689.122ab).

2. Kun 1973:213 points out that ト does not presuppose the factuality (truth) of S and thus is appropriate with 'said, felt, thought, asserted' etc. Some verbs will allow only ト (wasureru 'forgets', おもいだす 'remembers'), some will allow only ト (いu 'says', こ す 'misunderstands', ...) and some will allow either (くく 'hears', せざる 'believes', うたば 'doubts', ながく 'deplores', じかす 'confesses', ...)
ever, we will probably wish to assume a direct tie with the quotation: ... moraenai ka to irai suru (= tanomu) ‘asks whether one might not receive ...’; Iti, ni, san to kazoeru ‘Count one, two, three!’ (SA 2670.95b); ... tasukete kure to sugaru(‘) to ... ‘when implored to help’; ‘Katte kuré [yo]’ to segamur/ebiru ‘He badgers me to buy it for him’; ... iranai te kotowatta na da ‘I declined, saying I didn’t want it’ (Tk 4.297a).

The quotation stands in an adverbial relationship to the information verb, which will sometimes take a direct object: ... hitobito wa, kore koso Bukkyō-no to no tōku mappoo no tokī ga kita to, yō(‘) no syuumatu o sin-zita(‘) ‘people believed it to be the end of the world ‘precisely now the millenium preached by the Buddhists had come’ ..’. This sort of sentence could, of course, be regarded as the ellipsis mentioned above, with the information-processing verb treated as independent of the quotation. But certain examples will be seen to parallel the putative (§ 9.1.11): ... ni-sen san-zen to iu bēkkō no mózī o kioku suru kotō o ōoki na hutan to kangaeru ‘They think memorizing, say, two or three thousand separate letters to be a big burden’ (Ōno 1966.236); Hoka no hitō wa sore o teinei-sugiru to tōru ka mo sirenai ... ‘Other people might take that as too polite ...’ (Tsujimura 79); Sore o onnā wa hakuyōoo da to iu ‘That is called, by women, faithlessness’ (SA 2649.109b)—a more esoteric interpretation is possible ‘That is called FAITHLESSNESS in women’ (cf. p. 269); Kimi wa bōku(‘) o mada bottyan da to kangaete ru rāsi ga ... ‘You still think of me as ‘Sonny-boy’, it seems, but ...’ (Natsume Sōseki). Notice that the transitive putative Hanā o utukusīku omō ‘I feel the flowers to be beautiful’ can be paraphrased as Hanā o utukusīi to omō as well as Hanā ga utukusīi to omō ‘I feel that the flowers are beautiful’. This suggests that we must speak of at least two quotation conversions: the TRANSITIVE quotation and the INTRANSITIVE quotation, paralleling the putatives. Here are examples of the TRANSITIVE quotation: ... kotohā o honoo ni doogū da to omōttara ... ‘if you think language to be really a tool’ (Fukuda in Ōno 218); Koko o byoin da to omōtte wa ikenai ‘You mustn’t think of this place as a hospital’ (SA 2672.23c).

The quotation can be separated from the quoting verb by juncture and by any adjuncts that are appropriate to the quoting verb, the subject of which may appear after (instead of before) the quotation: ... tô hazime wa [watsa wa] o omottara ‘At first I thought that ...’. This can well be regarded as a kind of thematization (see §3.9), since the more usual version—the unmarked form—would place the quotation directly before the quoting verb, especially when short. Thematized quotations tend to be long. Thus you will often hear in newscasts such item-closers as ... tô, [soori-daijin ga/wa] kono yōo ni nobemāsita ‘... unquote, this is what he [the prime minister] stated’. Sometimes a delay in the underlying subject of the quoting verb may reflect an afterthought: Sosite, yunyuu(-)noosānbutu ga yasūi no wa danpingu ri gen’in suru to, watsa ni wa kangaerārū ‘And the cheapness of imported farm goods is due to the [practice of] dumping—it seems to me’ (SA 2670.108c).

Sentences can be quoted directly, but it is usual to make the quotation indirect, with appropriate switches in deictic reference, such as pronouns, honorifics, locations, etc. Questions as well as statements can be quoted both directly and indirectly: Yobu ka to iu, Ookii ka to iu, Dāre datta ka to iu. The verb of saying is likely to be kiku ‘asks (= inquires)’, especially if the question is quoted indirectly.

3. Unlike S kā ‘whether S’; S tō can never be marked by gā or ὸ. Anaphoric reference to a quotation can be made with the adverb sóo: ... de wa nai ka to sóo omoimāsu ‘surely it is ..., so I think’ (R).
Quotations

Commands and prohibitions can be quoted directly (though the English translation is often indirect): Ari-take tukae to iū no de wa nai ‘It’s not a case of telling you to use all there are’; Dā kara, dōo si ro tō wa iwanai ‘So I don’t tell people what to do’ (SA 2635.104); ... Amerika-sēhū ni dōru o kīn ni kae ro to yookyyuu dekīru no wa kakkoku-sēhū “dakē de aru tamē”, ‘since the only ones who can demand of the American government that dollars be exchanged for gold are the other governments ...’ (SA 2676.45b); Kāason zyōsī wa, kīn-zē yo to iū ‘Miss [Rachel] Carson tells us to ban them [= pesticides]’ (SA 2684.45b); Kētī-ken suru yō to yā tē n desu kedo nē ‘He told me “Don’t be stingy”’, you see, but ...’ (SA 2672.62). (But ... yo is usually replaced by ... yo, as noted in § 16.1.) There is a special way to quote a command indirectly: V-ru yō ni 〈tō〉 ... some quoting verb such as iū ‘says’, tanomu ‘requests’, or even denwa o suru ‘phones [requesting]’. Chamberlain (1888.277) points out that the COMMAND forms of such a quotation, e.g. V-ru yō ni 〈tō〉 itte kudasāi, are not too common; instead, for ‘Tell him to do it’ you use the causative to produce a somewhat vaguer sentence Sasete kudāsai ‘Get him to do it’. Similarly, Saseyōo ‘Let’s get him to do it’ would be a translation of ‘Let’s tell him to do it’ that is more usual than the literal Suru yō ni 〈tō〉 ioo. The quoted command can be affirmative or negative: Kūru/Kōnai yō ni 〈tō〉 itta ‘He told us to come/not come’; Suru/sina ni yō ni 〈tō〉 motōmeta ‘We requested them to do it (not to do it)’. Strictly speaking, this indirect command quotation is perhaps to be taken as a conversion of the imperative (-e etc., §16.1). But the “imperative” meaning is not always obvious: ... ningen ni sawai o motarāsīte kureru yō ni nozōmu(−) ‘hopes that they (= the gods) will favor the human being by providing blessings’ (Ōno 1966.54); ... wakā hitōbito ga kono hō o yōnde kudasāru yō ni to kiboo sitē iru ‘I am in hopes that young people ... will kindly read this book’ (Ōno 1966.240); see also the examples of ... yō ni that are cited on p. 1003. Actually the meaning of yō ni is basically ‘so that (it will)’ or ‘so as to (do)’—a mutative ni, §9.1.11—and a great variety of verbs can follow: Byooki ni nara’ni yō ni yarū n desu ‘You do it in order not to get sick’; Wasuremono nai yō ni go-tyūū kudasāi ‘Be careful not to forget anything’; Dēnsya(−) ni okurenai [or ma ni ā] yō ni isōda ‘I rushed so as not to be late [so as to be on time] for the train’; Tūmari kūgatō no sin-gakkī ni Gaburīru ga sutabā kyooodan ni tātō kōto ga nai yō ni, zōken o kaza-keyyōo to no ito de aru ‘In brief, it is a scheme to dispose of the incident so that Gabrielle will not take up her teacher’s platform again in the new term in September’ (SA 2649.24e). V-ru yō ni suru is often equivalent to V-ru kōto ni suru ‘decides/arranges to V’, and V-ru yō ni nātē iru means much the same as V-ru kōto ni nātē iru ‘it is arranged that/for V’. Cf. Konō-goro(−) wa syare o ukkāri iwanai yō ni site ‘māsu ‘Lately I am trying not to say any inadvertent puns’ (Tk 2.236b). We might also regard the indirect command quotation as a normal optional conversion from the circumlocutions involving favors, though it is not at all unusual for the favor wording to be retained in a quotation: V-te kureru/yaru

4. To sum it up: you quote commands and prohibitions in either of these ways:

- **(quasi-)directly**
  - V-e [yo] to
  - V-e ro [yo] to
  - V-nā na [yo] to

- **indirectly**
  - V-ru yō ni [to]
  - V-[la]ni ni yō ni [to]

The final to or ni (or ni tō) can be followed by the focus markers wa, mō, sika, etc.—for example, when a negativized quotation verb is to be emphasized. The ni of yō ni will sometimes drop, leaving a direct adverbialization (§9.1.13). But if ni drops, the structure is closed; tō will not follow.
§21. Quotations

Notice that the "in-giving" and "out-giving" often has to be reversed in keeping with the deictic switches appropriate to indirect quotation. It is especially common to quote desideratives (Iki-tai to omou 'I think I'd like to go'), auto-suggestions (I koo to omou 'I think I'll go'), and tentatives (Iku daroo to omou 'I think he'll go'); cf. §21.5. For an elliptical construction that looks as if a quotation of the conditional, -tára [ii] to omou, see §9.4; a similar case is -té wa [ikenai] to omou 'think it won't do'.

The quotation can be subdued: ... tó wa (iwanakkata). It can be highlighted: ... tó mo (iu); ... tó se (ieba); ... tó sura. It can be restricted by bákari, "gráuí, máde, and dáké (but apparently not by hodó or kóso), and also by dé mo 'or something'. It can be marked by sika. Examples: Kono-aída no Kita-Betonomú-gun no sensi-sya wa, yônhyaku to MO, gohyakú to MO tutaeráte hiru 'Recent casualties of the North Vietnamese forces are reported to be four hundred or five hundred dead' (SA 2673.22d); ... tó BÁKARI omótte 'wondering just whether ...'; Damásera to BÁKARI Ní ikarí (--) o buti-make, ... 'Harping on his having been deceived he vented his anger, ...' (SA 2670.23e); Muzukashi (--) to BÁKARI itte imámu 'All he ever has to say is that it is difficult'; Ima (Kono tokí) ka to BÁKARI [omótte] ... 'Thinking now (this) is the best time to ...'; Sóo da to DAKE itta 'He only said yes'; ... tó DE MO iúko ka 'Shall we say, perhaps, that ...'; ... yahári "iti-dó mite simatta ningen" no isiki to DE MO itta monó o kan-zíru kotó ga dekiru '... you can also feel something like a sense of "a person seen once and done with"' (SA 2681.101b);

Itibú no báká na hitóbító no hukóo o sukúu tamé ni, matomo no o ozéi no hitóbító o hukóo ni otosi-iréto mo yöí, tó DE MO kangaéte irú no daroo ka 'Can he be thinking that in order to save a group of stupid people from unhappiness it is all right to plunge the mass of upright people into unhappiness, or something?' (SA 2664.33d); Nán desu tte. Watasi ga waruí tó DE MO iú n desu ka 'What? Are you by any chance saying I'm to blame?' (Ariyoshi 215); Génki da to GÚRAI káitará dóó desu ka 'How about writing at least that we are in good health?'; ... tó MADE danté su ru no de aru 'He concludes even that ...' (SA 2656.26d); ... áru gaikóo-kan wa "Dâre mo ga káre no seisínbyôo-i ni nari-tagátte irú" tó MADE kokuyóo sita monó da 'a certain diplomat used to criticize him [= Sihanouk] harshly even to the point of saying "Everybody wants to become his psychiatrist"' (SA 2680.18e); Kátute wa, zensoku de sinu monó nási, tó iú no ga isya no zyoosiki de attá ga, kono kusuri no ran'yoo de sibóó-ritu ga takamáta to MADE iwarerú no de aru 'At one time it was common knowledge among doctors that nobody dies of asthma, but [now] it can be said that actually the death rate has risen as a result of the indiscriminate use of this medicine' (SA 2649.40e); Hi o otte sinkoku ni nári, "Sínde simau" tó MADE iu 'Things growing more serious as the days go by, he reaches the point of saying "I'll die"' (SA 2673.110a); ... hana de asiráatta to MADE WA ikanáí ni sité mo ... 'even if it isn't going so far as being snooty ...' (Maeda 1962.43); Midasi o yame ro tó MADE WA iwanákatta kedo

5. Sometimes the meaning of a quoted hortative is 'with the intention/desire to do' or 'for the purpose of doing': Yuugure ni náte, básu de zen'in ga KAÉRÓO TO syuugoo sita miru to, dóó mo hutan-taraini 'At dusk when everybody gathered at the bus TO GO HOME, we somehow seemed to be two people short' (SA 2653.59b). The hortative + tó must not be confused with the literary tentative + tó (§21.5), even though the forms may be the same.

6. S tó sae iéba 'if you say just S' differs little in meaning from S tó sae suréba 'if you just say S'.

7. Alfonso 724-5 says S tó bákari omótte ita means 'all I could think was S' or 'I felt sure that S'; sometimes the best translation is 'I always thought that ...'. Alfonso 729 says S tó bákari ni means 'as much as to say, as much as to make you think; as if to say'. In addition to his examples, you will find examples of S tó bákari [ni] in KKK 3.203. For tó iwan bákari, see p. 614.
mo ‘They didn’t go so far as to tell us to cut out headlines but ...’ (Tk 3.226a); Ageru to MADE WA iwanakatta ‘I didn’t say I’d give it to you’; Bóku(=) wa góo da to MADE WA omowánai kedo né, ... ‘I don’t go so far as to (=I don’t actually) think it is karma, you know, but ...’ (Tk 4.282b); ... kon-tikisyóo (= kon-tikusyóo) to MADE wa omowánakatta ga ..., ‘I didn’t quite go so far as to think “Damn bastard!” but ...’ (SA 2678.47b); Kogite no séido ga nai daké ni, Nihón no hóó ga kanzen na kyassyuresu-táisei ni tkáí to SAE ieru ‘Just from lacking the check system, Japan can even be said to be closer [than America] to a complete cashless system’ (SA 2662.38c); Kono Zitóo zyotei no kenkó na yuukén na kanzyú-sei wa, Nára ‘zidai no zyosei no seikatu-kámyóo o daihyóo surú to SAE itte yóo ni omowáréru ‘It seems that we might well say even that this vigorous, brave sensitivity of Empress Jitóo is representative of the feelings of life of the women of the Nara Period’ (Ôno 1966.93); Kono otóó wa Dénbee no kodomo to SÍKA kangaeráneni ‘We can only think that this man is Dêmbe’s son’ (SA 2671.107c); Sóó to sika omoemasen né ‘That’s all one can think, isn’t it’ (Tk 3.259a); Náni ka “seizyóo na hándán” o kuruwásáru gen’in ga áttá to SÍKA kangaeráneni ‘It can only be thought that there was some factor to derange his “normal judgment”’ (SA 2637.27c); ‘Noo-kóménto, syókúmú “zyoo no himitu” to SÍKA kotéénakatta ‘The only reply was “No comment, it’s a confidential office matter’ (SA 2649.106d); Konna daikásyu wa, kono-yó(=) ni inai to SURA bóku(=) wa omótté irú no de aru ‘I can hardly believe there is such a great singer as this in this world of ours’ (SA 2653.61a).

Since to marks the quotation as adverbial, there is no “... to ga/o. And since the predication ... to da is usually nominalized as ... to no kotó, there is no “... to no [nó] ga/o, either. This perhaps also accounts for the fact that there is no “... to nádó, only ... nádó to: ... báka da nádó wa yúméré-sara omótté inai zíko o ... ‘oneself, of whom one would never dream of thinking “I’m a fool” or the like’ (Maeda 1962.25); Kóndo no Syoogatú, mósí atarasi gomú-in o osita gazyóo ga todoítara, insatú-dai(=) o ketítta ná, nádó to omowánai yóo ni negaí-táí ‘If this January you should get a greeting card with a new rubber stamping, please don’t think such thoughts as “so he’s too stingy to have it printed, eh”’ (SA 2658.39d).

The quotation can be propredicat ed ... to da; it then (usually) nominalizes with kotó and becomes ... to no kotó da, a synonym of the hearsay report ... sóó da ‘They say that ...’, §18. By turning the propredication into a question ... to ëda(=) ka, you can suggest vagueness or doubt: Íki-táí to ka itte imáusu ‘They are saying they want to go or something’; for other uses of to ka see §21.6.

A colloquial synonym of to is [t]té; a less colloquial form is tôte, attached to nouns and tonic inflected forms as a particle (kore tôte, Nagásaki tote; yómu tote, hanásita tote) but attached with an optional juncture after the basically oxytonic forms of the “atonic”

8. The hearsay report is usually unattributed as to source, whereas a quotation implies knowledge of the identity of the source whether mentioned or not; but it is possible to attribute the source of hearsay by mentioning it in a separately included sentence, as in the direct nominalization used to introduce the hearsay in Kára ga iú ni wa, ... sóó de ... ‘He says that ... and ...’ (SA 2793.132a).

9. As found twice in this sentence: Yokuzúitu, bóku(=) ga kaeru toki(=) ni, sore o hitóó kurerú TTE iú ni de né, iranai TTE kotówátta na da ‘The next day when I left they said they’d give me one of them, but I declined saying I didn’t want it’ (Tk 4.297a). This and other examples call into question Yoshida’s suspicion that té for tô is somehow “feminine” (Y 442). Konoshima (1970.25) says that [t]té for tô is common in eastern Japan; it appears frequently in the Kyóóto speech reported in Inokuchi.
forms: ittá [1] tóte = ittá tote or ittá tóte (‘saying’) that one went’. See §§15.11, §21.3; notice that [t]tète also serves as an abbreviation of to [1]tu and tó [1]tte. Many speakers agree with BJ 2.120 (fn.2) in using tète for tó only before verbs of SAYING, not verbs of THINKING; yet examples of tète ‘omō’u can be found: Húra-hura arúite ‘te kane ga torérya (= toréreba) itiban ni syóobai da tte omótte kíta na da né ‘I started thinking the best business was if you could get money by just strolling around’ (KKK 3.73); ... sono tsiki o kyuuusu sú beki da tte oomímasu né ‘I think, you see, that we should absorb that knowledge ...’ (SA 2673.47).

An abbreviation of tó [1]yyu (= to [1]iu) → tyyu or tyyuu is common in many parts of Japan (e.g. Kyushū) though little used by Tōkyō speakers: Kodomo, gakusei tyyu no wa, idai na kanoo-sei ga aru ‘The child, the student, such a one has great potential’ (SA 2678.48c); Kangaete miru tyyu to, ... ‘Now that I think about it ...’ (SA 2678.47a); ... tyyu kotte (= to iu kotó de[su]) ‘It is a matter of ...’ (SA 2686.46c—speaking is Kishige Riichi, mayor of Asuka village, Nara); Dōo iu kotó ka tyyu to, ... ‘If you wonder what’s happening, ...’ (Tk 4.163a—a speaker born in Fukui prefecture who had lived in Taiwan); ... ‘Soko wa omae-táe no hái ruru tokoró zya néé’ tyyu ‘says “You kids got no business in there!”’ (SA 2678.47b).

In parts of northeast Honshū the abbreviation goes one step further, eliminating the palatal semivowel (and often shortening the vowel): tyyu → tyyu → t[u]. You will also find tó [1]iu abbreviated → tée or [t]tée or [t]te, as in these examples: ... ima no yo-nó-naka tte monó ga ... ‘this world of today’ (Maeda 1962.149); Nyyuun tée no wa, dókusyo(= ní ni wí i kíká(=) desú yó ‘Being hospitalized, you see, is a good opportunity for reading’ (Tk 2.99a); Siatu tée to báka ni suru keikóo arímásite né, ... ‘Speaking of finger pressure (treatment) there’s a tendency to overdo it, you know, ...’ (Tk 4.103b); Ataši-dómo o-kási no koozýýó(=) e itte, tyokoréto no úmi o mimáso to, kore kui-tái tte ki ga simašén yó ‘When we go to a candy factory and look at the sea of chocolate, we have no urge to eat the stuff’ (Tk 4.190a); Zenzen nakuru tte kotóo wa nái ga, usukú wa náru né ‘It isn’t that it completely disappears, but it DOES grow faint, doesn’t it’ (Tk 2.247b); Anná no [ ] dóo tte kotó(=) [ ] nái wáke desu yó ‘I mean there’s nothing special about one of that sort’ (SA 2686.26e)—the first ellipsis is of wá (or ní wa), from underlying gá/ní, the second is of gá; ... sinpo tte monóo ga nái to omóu n desu ‘there’s nothing in the way of progress, it seems to me’ (SA 2685.122d). Cf. the abbreviation té ná for tó [1]iu yóo na (p. 1005).

In western Japan (Zhs 4.17) the quotative particle is frequently dropped altogether, leaving the quoted matter as a direct adverbialization to the quoting verb, with no special marking: ... tyót-to de mo ì [to] yodómu to ... ‘stammering that’ even a little would do’ (SA 2647.88c); ... Ryuukiti [to] iu hitó ... ‘a man named Ryūkichi’ (SA 2657.46a); ... yameyoo [to] oomímasita ‘(I) thought I would quit’ (SA 2657.45a); Móo yosoó omó ‘I wanna quit now’ (R). Cf. Doi 228 (citing ‘... mái [t]o omó ‘think I won’t’) and 271-2. Omission of the quotative particle, a practice called to-nuke (or tonuke-kótoba), is particularly common in Shikoku, Hiroshima, and Okayama (cf. Miyara 1954.153, Maeda 90-1, Zhs 5.15 n. 2). The optional dropping of tó after V-ru yóo [ni] is prevalent even in Tōkyō, where it is more often dropped than not. See also §2.2a.

Quotation is a recursive device in Japanese as it is in English (‘He said that she said that I said that ...’). Here are examples of a quotation within a quotation: Kôomei-tóo wa toritugi-ten ni, sono hón o kotowáre to méi-zita(=) a utagawarete iru ‘It is suspected that the Kômei-tó ordered the agencies to turn the book down’ (SA 2665.32b); ... Huyiyama-
Ginkoo too-dori wa, "Wasi wa rakkan site iru" to katatta to tutaerâreta ga, ... 'the President of the "Fujiyama" Bank was reported to have said "I am optimistic" but ...' (SA 2685.17c—the bank is fictitious, as the nippy name suggests; the passage is from a satire).

A nominal sentence sometimes drops the copula imperfect dâ: Kûro o siro [da] to syutyoo suru 'claims that black is white'. (Cf. Mikami 1963.145.) But the ellipsis is not obligatory, and dâ is often present: Zibun o syuusai da to kangaeru 'thinks of oneself as a genius'. When the quotation involves NAMING (cf. §21.1) the noun is directly quoted with no copula: Tanaka to moosimâsu 'I am (named) Tanaka'; Kono gensyoo o hoo den to yobu 'This phenomenon is called electric discharge'; Ano sunâkku wa nân to iimâsu ka 'What is the name of that snack bar?'; Sintârōo to nauzuketa 'He was given the name Shintarō'. In such sentences the tô is functioning as an essive itself; note the distinction drawn between OBJECTIVE ESSIVE (ni) and SUBJECTIVE ESSIVE (tô) in §13.5a, and compare otokô to umarete 'being born [as] a male'. Quotations with N dâ tô, on the other hand, can be regarded as a subjective adverbialization of the directly nominalized finite sentence.

The COPULA is normally made on the OBJECTIVE essive: ni + âr- yields the literary nân- and also the adnominal colloquial forms nâ/nô; ni-te+âr- contract into the colloquial forms dâ/dé etc. But it is also possible to make a copula on the subjective essive: tô + âr- > târ-i/târ-u, p. 754. And uncontracted forms of tô âru will occasionally be seen, especially tô âtte, which sometimes means 'with/at the thought of' or 'on the grounds of (its being)': Inhure-ziidai to âtte, zisan-hôzen ni motte-kôi to iu hanasi mo âru ga ... 'In [what is recognized to be] inflationary times some say it [= investing in rare books] may be just the thing for protecting one's estate' (SA 2684.117c); ... moo ziki kaaiho sareru to âtte, sen'in-tâti no aida ni hôt-tol(-) sita kûuki ga nagârete ita '... as it became apparent that they would soon be liberated, an air of relief floated among the crewmen' (SA 2674.129a); Hazîmete no kaigai-ryôkô to âtte munê o wâku-waku sasete itâ ga, syuppatsu ga tikazûku ni turete hukitu no koto bâkari ga atamâ ni ukande kita 'The thought of its being my first trip abroad was making my heart leap with excitement, but as the departure drew near one sinister thought after another came floating into my head' (SA 2670.29d); Bankoku-haku kaisai 'tyuu to âtte haikân-sya wa bâzoo de âru 'While the International Exposition is being held, the number of visitors to the temple is doubled' (SA 2647.60); Hokaku-yôgu issiki(-) mo nisen-en mo ârêba totonoerârê to âtte, oosyû-u-hin(-) no hôtôndo wa motinsi humei 'A single set of the seized [fishing] equipment can be procured for a couple of thousand yen, they say [or: it appears], so most of the seized property (is of unknown ownership =) goes unclaimed' (SA 2665.126c); Syôôbai to âtte wa, itasi-kato mo arimasen ga nê 'If it's business, there's nothing we can do about it, you see' (Tk 3.190a). The expression is sometimes contracted to tô-âtte: Sore nara nigeýóo tâtte, nigašu monô ka 'Then you want to flee, but how can I let you go?' (SA 2793.106c). On other uses of âtte, see p. 490. N tô-ârêba is also fairly common: Meirei to ârêba ... 'If it be a command ...'; Hituyoo to ârêba ... 'If it prove necessary; should the necessity arise ...'; Nân to mo hën na "kooyoo" mo âtte môn da ga, sin-sêhin to ârêba, kono têido(-) no "huku-sâyoo" wa, tutimono na no ka mo sirenai 'There was quite a "strange effect"', but when it comes to new products such "side effects" are perhaps inevitable' (SA 2681.119c). And nân taru (<nânî tô âru) sometimes appears where you would expect nân de âru (or just nân [da]): Nippon-zîn wa, booken no nân taru ka o rîkai(-) siyoo to sinai 'I don't pretend to understand what the Japanese mean by adventure' (SA 2799.150). The surface phrase made from tô + iu often functions as a kind of copula: N tô- iu N (or N tô no N, p. 1011) = N de âru N (>N no N), N târu N (<N to âru N). Cf. §21.1.
Quotations of content are often adnominalized to a word like muné 'effect, purport' before adnominalization to the vehicle of the message: Niti-yóobi made ni kāeru to iu muné no tegami o yokosita 'He [sent me a letter saying =] wrote that he would be home by Sunday'.

Often a sentence + to can be regarded as an ellipsis of to itte 'saying that ...' or to omotte 'thinking that ...', though the quotative verb may be attenuated to little more than a grammatical device: Senséi wa eráin da kara to, wágakoto no yóó ni ootootó wa káta o ikaráseta 'The professor is so extraordinary that his younger brother lifts up his shoulders as if he had something to do with it'; Móo osói kara to tati-agatta '(It was late so =) Realizing the hour, I got to my feet'. For more examples of quasi-quoted causal sentences, see §17.1. Sometimes the ellipsis is of to site ' (treating it) as': Ningen to umaretára hito no tamé ni tukušánakereba naránai 'When you are born as a human being you must do all you can for the sake of other people'. A similar example: Onná ga "o-mekasi" o surú to wa, utukušiku nái hitó mo utukusuri yóó ni to iroiro té o kuwaérulu('') kotó de aru 'What is meant by a woman’s “dolling up” is applying all sorts of tricks so that even a person who is not beautiful is treated as beautiful' (Óno 1966.28)—though perhaps this is best viewed as ... yóó ni {site} to {omotte} ‘thinking to make it so that ...’.

The quotation-marker to is appropriately attached with no juncture to the quoted sentence as if a particle,10 but there is a common tendency to break it off as a separate element, often set apart by major juncture on both sides, as if it were an inserted interjection: $\S \S$ to iímásita ‘He said—[and I] quote—‘S’’. The second juncture can be reduced ($\S \S$ to iímásita), leaving to to function rather like a conjunction. This is somewhat similar to the modern use of Kéfe do {mo} ... ‘But ...’ as a sentence-introducer (like Sikási ...) in addition to its use as a conjunctionalizing particle (§17.4). Sometimes a bit of hearsay or an opinion will be flatly stated and then qualified by a sentence that says it is a quotation: ... Tó omoimásu ga ... ‘Or so I think, anyway ...’. But a sentence-introducer to may also be a reduction from [{Soo} surú] to ‘Then ...’ as in this example: Tó, O-kíta san mo inái no ka ‘Well, then, is O-kíta not here, either?’ (Kb 123a).

## §21.1. SPECIAL USES OF QUOTATIONS

The device of quotation is put to a number of special uses that call for comment.11 Some of these are given separate attention in the sections that follow; we will describe a variety of other uses in this section.

1. In identifying something or someone by name, designation, or the like,

10. So that a preceding "atonic" inflected form will display its underlying final accent (surú to, sitâ to, ...): but a more conservative version of Japanese, that in general followed here (as in the accent dictionaries), attaches to to inflected forms with an underlying minor juncture that cancels the final accent, before disappearing itself (surú \rightarrow surú to, sitá \rightarrow sita to) so that the accent is on the to, though that too will go unheard unless immediately followed by a particle or the copula i ... to wa, ... to mo, ... to da). Tó is attached to a noun as a particle, with no juncture: inú to (wa).

11. The attenuated use of quotation as a purely grammatical device is not unknown in other languages. An example from an eight-year-old speaker of English who lives at my house: 'It’s not exactly WHAT YOU’D CALL finished yet, Dad, but ...'.

\[10003\]
Japanese use the expression X to iu N da\textsuperscript{12} ‘It is the N which we call X = it is the N (called) X, it is the N of X’: Saga to iu mài ‘the city of Saga’, Sátoó Táaroo to iu hitó ‘a man named Tarô Sató’, hukyoo to iu zyootai ‘the condition known as a depression’, áki to iu kiséítu ‘the season (we call) autumn’, Tyuuoo–Kóoran to iu zassi ‘the magazine Chúó Kóroń’, Yúkíguni to iu yuumei na syoosetu ‘the famous novel (titled) Snow Country’, Mónako to iu tíísa na kuni ‘the little country of Monaco’, ... .\textsuperscript{13} From this we get the expression Nán to iu ími desu ka ‘What meaning is it? = What does it mean?’ Compare the use of koo iu/itta, soo iu/itta, aa iu/itta, and dóó iu/itta as synonyms of konna, sonna, anna, and dónna to modify nouns (§ 13.5); also soo iu utí ni mo ‘meanwhile’. The expressions N to iu monó/yåtu, N to iu monó/yåtu, and N [tTte] monó/yåtu ‘the thing (or one) we call N’ sometimes are used to mean ‘Ns in general’, as in inú to iu monó ‘dogs (in general)’, but often they mean just ‘as for’ N’: Keizái-kái no hendo o to iu monó wa íssyu no aranami dà ga ... ‘The vicissitudes of the economic world is a kind of troubled sea [for us] but ...’; Tabémonó no azi to iu monó wa nenrei tó ka, karada no tyoos ni yotte daibu tigatte kúru yóó na ki ga suru ‘I feel that the taste of food is something that comes to differ greatly depending on one’s age and the state of one’s health’ (SA 2665.104a); Atasya éiga(\textsuperscript{1}) de tózan(\textsuperscript{2}) tee monó o mite ‘ru n desu ga nê, ... ’ ‘I see mountain climbing in movies but ...’ (Tk 4.46a); Kono kígoom ttee yåtu ga, ... ‘This wielding of pen/brush ...’ (Tk 2.147b); Ningen te monó wa, taité zén’i no doobutú désu kara nê ‘The human being is in general an animal of good will’ (Tk 2.301b).

The expression kore to iu/itta [monó] means ‘[a thing] in particular, to speak of, worth mentioning’, usually followed by a negative: Kore to iu mé-ate mo náí ... ‘With no particular aim ...’; N wa kore to iu toktuyoo mo nái ga ... ‘There’s nothing especially distinctive about N but ...’; Kore to iu hón ga nái ‘I have no book(s) to speak of’; Soo, bètu ni, kore to iu hanasi wa náí n desu kedo nê ‘We don’t so much talk about anything in particular, you see’ (R). This expression can also be said with the gerund, kore to hitte N = kore to iu/itta: Kore to itte sangyoo mo nái ‘There really isn’t any industry to speak of’ (SA 2688.38a). A similar expression is made by following an INDETERMINATE (an interrogative-indefinite word) with ... to iu N + negative ‘(nothing) definite, in particular’, as in these examples: Dóko to iu ate wa nái ‘I have no definite destination in mind’; Dóó to iu riyuu wa arimasén keredo mo ‘There isn’t any reason in particular, but ...’ (SA 2654.44d); Kore dáké nara dóó to iu kotó mo nákatta ga ... ‘If this were all, there wouldn’t be much to it, but ...’ (Gd 1969/9.72b). A variant of this appears in the following sentence: Tokubetsu ni i l dóó l l l l l kó o l to iu sēito de wa nákatta ‘He was nothing special as a pupil’ (SA 2640.107b).

The expression N\textsubscript{1} to iu N\textsubscript{2} means ‘each and every N\textsubscript{1} or ‘every single N\textsubscript{1}’, as in these examples: Yagáté, rekóodo wa mirion-séiraa ni náí, kekkón-siki to iu kekkón-siki de, kono utá ga utaware, tyoodo syukkón-kà no yakumé o hatasi-hazímeta ‘Before long the record became a million-seller and this song, getting sung at each and every wedding, started to play the role of a veritable wedding march’ (SA 2652.67a); O-níwa no haná to iu haná wa komákái ámé ni nure sizúkú o tükete issoo akarui író ni hae-átte imasu ‘Every single flower in the garden is wet by the fine rain and has drops on it so that it shines all'

\textsuperscript{12} Also, for those speakers (from such places as Ōsaka and Hiroshima) who often drop the quotative particle, X iu N dá as in this example from an Ōsaka speaker: ... gi(ké)\textsubscript{1} iu món ga arimasu kara nê ‘for there is such a thing as giri (obligation), you know’ (Tk 3.290b).

\textsuperscript{13} Sometimes the best English translation is an apposition: ... Ásahi to iu dai-sinbun ‘a major newspaper the Asahi’ (Tk 3.228a).
the brighter’ (KKK 3.106). The repeated noun can carry with it a single adjective: ookii kito iu {ookii} kito ‘each and every large tree’; omosoroi hon to iu {omosoroi} hon ‘every single interesting book’. But any other kind of modification (including a single adjectival noun) must precede the entire expression: ooki na kito iu kito ‘each and every large tree’; kityoo na hon to iu hon ‘every single rare book’; omosoroku nai hon to iu hon ‘each and every uninteresting book’; watasi no hon to iu hon ‘every single one of my books’. When the noun is not countable, the meaning is intensive or insistent: konya to iu konya ‘this very night’; kyoyo to iu kyoyo wa ‘this very day’ (Okitsu 1.114).

In Sore to iu no mo ... karade aru ‘THAT is owing to the fact that ...’ we could omit to iu no ... with little difference of meaning. In the following example, N to iu no wa ... baai da means ‘By N we refer to a situation (such) that ...’: Kei-kasitu to iu no wa, dare de mo ari-gatii na koto de, sikamoo kazi ni narui kanoo-sei mo usui baai desu ‘By petty negligence we refer to a situation that is apt to happen to anyone and that has little likelihood of leading to a fire’ (SA 2669.105c). In this sort of expression, iu can be stylized: ... Tyoom ni tsukimaa. Kono Tyooan to iimaa no wa, motiron, Toto no miyako de ... ‘[he] arrived in Ch’ang-an. This Ch’ang-an, of course, was the capital of T’ang China and ...’ (R). Notice also the interjectional uses of Nn to iu no ... ‘What a ...!’ as in Nn to iu ii o-tenki desu ne ‘What a nice weather it is!’

In some of these quasi-appositional uses, the perfect itta car. replace the imperfect iu, especially when the identification is in the nature of a description: Akai saryo ni, hoso-me(‘) no zubon, gomu-zoori to itta hukusoo {da(tta)} ‘[He was] attired in a red shirt with narrow trousers and rubber zori’ (Gd 1969/9.101). Notice that to iu yoo no freely abbreviates to ... te na, as in ... te na tyooi de ‘in a tone such as to say ...’, but to iu yoo ni does NOT abbreviate to *te ni. You will also find ... te yoo na, which can abbreviate to [t]te yoo na, as in Go’makasuu tte na yatu wa imasen ‘There isn’t any so-and-so likely to swindle you’ (Tk 4.103a), and ... te yoo ni, which does NOT abbreviate. The contractions tyuu < to iu and tyuutara < to iutara (= ittara) and tyuute < to itte are largely confined to western and southern Japan; tuu < to iu is sometimes heard in northern Honshu.

(2) With naru ‘becomes’ and similar mutative verbs (including perhaps yama to tunda ‘it piled up mountain-high = a whole heap accumulated’), to is virtually equivalent to ni ‘(changing) so as to be’: Koto ni kookuu-tyoookoo to narui to ... ‘Especially when one gets to be an air force officer ...’ (Ig 35); ... kekkon no aite to narueru onna o ... ‘the women who could become one’s partner in marriage’ (Ono 1966.160); Kano-zyo wa sore ni nutyyuu to nari, kuussuu no sekai wa kiteit itta ‘She became absorbed in it [= school] and her imaginary world gradually faded’ (SA 2639.35d); ... Man’yoo-gana o syooroyaku site kaku no ga syuppata-ten to naitte ita ‘The writing of Man’yoo-gana in abbreviated forms formed the point of departure’ (Ono 1966.204). From a weather report: ... hararetari | kumottari l to l narimasyou ‘it will become fair with cloudy periods’. What little difference of meaning distinguishes to narui from ni narui is often a matter of personalized or subjective reaction: the ‘we’ in the translation of ‘Yagatemonosso to nattha ‘Before long we were at war’ (SA 2794.70c) is an attempt to convey this effect; perhaps a more telling translation would be ‘Before long we found ourselves at war’. The following passage (explaining legal indemnity) has examples of both N to narui and N ni narui: Inoti to iu monoo wa, kanee de kaeru monoo de wa arimasen. Mato, toirihiiki(‘) no TAISYOO TO NARU monoo de mo arimasen. Nedan nado tukerarurou monoo de wa arimasen. Tada, koi aru-iwa kasitu
ni yotte inoti ga ubawaretokiri, songai-baisyoo no TAISYOO NI NÁRU daké desu 'Life is not a thing that can be bought with money. Still less is it something to be treated as an object of bargaining. It's just that it becomes an object for compensation when a life has been taken owing to design or negligence' (SA 2684.123a). Sometimes ... to-náru translates as 'it amounts to ...' or 'it constitutes ...': ... syåkai no taisei no kihon to náru búbun ni made oyonde kúru 'it [= the invasion of loanwords] extends even to the parts that constitute the basis of the social structure' (Ôno 1966.162). And sometimes ... to-náru to, ... to-náreba, ... to-nattara, or ... to-nátte wa following a noun or directly nominalized sentence will translate as 'when it comes to (the situation of) ...', if it happens that ...': ... sono bûraku ni iku to náru to ... 'If you go to the villages there ...' (lg 38); Kane o uke-totta to náru to, súbete wa hyoohen sitå 'When he had received the money, everything took on a new look' (lg 38); Íma to nátte wa ... 'When we come to the present ...' And now ...'. Compare the expressions with ... to-suru (§ 21.4); ABC o syå to site means much the same as ABC ga syå to nári 'mainly ABC'. The expression nán to naréba 'If it comes to saying "what [or]"' means the same thing as Náze ka to iéba 'If one says why' = 'That is because ...' or 'The reason (for that) is ...'. With highlighting, N to mo nárae means 'when it comes to N itself/himself, typically enough (or: not unexpectedly) ': Daigaku no kyåôosi to mo nárea, susagå ni iroiro no kotô o omoi-tuku monó da 'The college teachers themselves, typically enough, have lots of ideas (= suggestions)' (SA 2648.35c); Ittôô-sya to mo nárea syawah-rûumu ga túki, booi ga syokuzi o kyåkuseki ni made "demae" site kureru 'The first-class car itself has a shower-room attached and a waiter will give you "take-out" meal service right to your seat' (SA 2660.12b).

(3) Similar to the preceding expressions, ... to-ka or ... to-ke wa 'When it comes to ... As to ...' is virtually equivalent to wå as the marker of a subdued theme: Anåta to kitara, zuibun, Yosio san ni go-néssin né 'You are awfully keen on Yoshio, I must say' (Y 444); Ore to ke wa, hitosuzi-nawa ni de ikanakkåta. Omae to ke wa hutasuzi-nawa(−) de wa iku "mai yó 'I was a tough customer; you'll be a tougher one' (Y 444).

(4) With quantity words, especially those that refer to time or frequency or distance, the particle to—often followed by a negative—is sometimes equivalent to hodô: Hyaku-meétoru to ikanai uti(−) ni ... 'Before we had gone a hundred meters ...'; Sán-pun to ìmo+ kakarânakkåta 'It didn't take three minutes'; ... yônde mikka to kakaranáî 'It wouldn't take three days to read it' (SA 2657.120b); Ít-nen (Ik-kånen) to tuzukanå 'It won't last a year'; Toosen site ma mo nái, ik-kågetu to tatånå toki desu karå né 'For it is [= was] a time shortly after being elected, less than a month' (SA 2660.48c); Kåra-ra [to] dooyoo [ni], watasi mo hyåkû-nen to wa ikinaå 'Like them, I will hardly live a hundred years, either' (SA 2657.120a); Is-şyun to madå 'I am perplexed for a moment'; Úso happyåkå to narabé kåku 'He writes eight hundred lies in a row'; Hanåsi ga yåma to áru 'I have a heap of things to say'; Nán-nen to kuroo-kéåi to o zuzukåte iro bóku-tåti no si no zasså ... 'Our poetry magazine that we have been struggling to keep going for some years now' (CK 985.326); Sono tabi ni, hando-båggå kara, nisen-en sanzen-en to, hette ikå 'Every time [she bet] her handbag would shrink by two or three thousand yen' (Fn 299a); Ni-då sán-do to naóåsåeta 'I had it altered two or three times'. A somewhat unusual extension of this usage: Sookåna Svåówa(−) sårnyuu yô-nen to huruí 'It [the comic
magazine Manga-sândee] is so old it was founded "way back in 1959" (SA 2676.22a). We can compare such expressions as Nanbyakú-nin to iu hodo [no hitó] 'several hundred people', hotondo/kanarazu to itte yói hodo/kúrai 'to the extent we may say) almost all/always' (see §9.2.2, p. 499). Notice also the final to of: A dà to ka B dà to ka to iroiro no syúrui ga àru 'There are various kinds such as A and B (and so on)'.

(4a) A specific quantity is sometimes quoted in adnominalizing it to a general quantity: ... nokótte iru 4960-maki no o-kyoo no ut{i}(−), sáňzyuu ni-syu hyak{r}{u}sán-maki to iu wázuka no makimoto ni ... 'of the 4960 scrolls of scripture preserved ... a small number of scrolls to the extent of (some) 103, of 32 types, have ...' (Ôno 1966.204).

(4b) A time word + {l}iù iu monó 'a matter of (so much time)' is a way of saying 'for (about) ...': Kono ni-sáňnîitu to iu monó{[1]}, zenzen âme ga huránakkata 'We have had no rain for the past several months'; Kono ni-sánniti to iu monó{[2]}, tabénai de sugóshita 'I've had nothing to eat for the last few days'; ... kono itín-en-kan to iu monó{[3]}, ... 'for the past year or so' (SA 2635.106). Sore kara to iu monó{[4]} means 'for a while after that': Sore kara to iu monó{[5]}, iroiro na arubaito ni hi o sugóshita 'For some time after that I passed the days with various part-time jobs' (SA 2637.56c); Sore kara to iu monó{[6]}, tokidoki -dókoro ka, hima sàe àru to Akutagawá-ke(*) o otozureta(*) 'After that for some time I visited the Akutagawa household not just once in a while but whenever I had a spare moment' (SA 2640.61b);

Sore kara to iu monó wa, kao wa hukanai 'I haven't wiped my face since then' (Okitsu 1.214). And V-té kara to iu monó means 'in the (short) time since ...': Sakunen gogátu, Noto-hántoo ga kokutei-kóo'en ni sitei sareté kara to iu monó{[7]}, Noto-búûmu ni isso hákusyâ(*) ga kakeráreta 'In the short time since the Noto Peninsula was designated a national park in May of last year the Noto boom has been spurred on all the more' (SA 2647.117e); Kyoóiku-dái ga sai-zyúúsyo hunsó-o kí ni nátte kara to iu monó, ... 'from the time when the Education College became the most seriously disrupted school ...' (SA 2651.28e). More examples will be found in Alfonso 1026, all subdued with ... wá.

(5) Quotations are sometimes used to emphasize DIRECTION: Atti-kótti to uro-tuku 'I wander around here and there'; Útî(*) no hóo e to órite itta 'He went down toward home'; Tugi kara tugi e to ... izuyu suru 'We keep moving from one place to another'; Ina-saku wa ... toobu-Nihón e to sidai ni hiromâtte itta 'Rice cultivation ... gradually spread to Eastern Japan' (Ôno 1966.218-9); ... kízoku no konran wa yagaté hurúi taisei no hookái e to susunde iku 'the disorder among the nobility eventually leads to the breakdown of the old structure' (Ôno 1966.212); ... senkyóku ga kyyo o tugeru to, niwaka ni yoosai no simá e to kawatta '... as the military situation became critical it suddenly turned into a fortress island' (SA 2670.44c); Syasoo no keikan no awái midori no suiden kara kóí midori no gomu-báyasi e to uturi-kawatta 'The very scene out the train window changed from paddy fields of light green to dark green rubber-tree groves' (SA 2660.12a); Hahaoya wa tugi kara tugi e to otokô o kae, ... 'His mother kept taking up with one man after another and ...' (SA 2661.125c); Sosite gízyûtu wa háado-úe kara sóhoto-úe e to susunde kíta 'And technology has progressed from hardware to software' (CK 985.61); Hassya "go(*)" ma-mó-naku, rokétto no sisei wa yuudo-seigyo-sóoti de ýoko-muki ni kaerare, tikyyu o mawaru kídoó e to toundé yóku no de àru 'Shortly after launching, the position of the rocket is changed sideways by remote control and it flies along a track that will circle the earth' (SA 2666.24b); Kore mo atasii hénka ga, higásî(*) kara nísi é to hiromâtta kekkà de àru 'This too is a result of the spread of innovations from the east.
to the west' (Öno 1966.220); ... syooryóó(’) kara tairyóó(’) e, tάnki kara tyóoki e to rinsyoo-zikken o okonai, ... '... conducting clinical experiments ranging from small quantities to large, from short periods to long ...' (SA 2651.22e); Ue e ue e to tumi-ksasanatte iku monó mo åreba ... sita e sita e to nóbite iku monó mo áru 'There are both those that pile higher and higher up and those ... that spread farther and farther down' (Maeda 1962.168); Dáre mo ga tookú e tookú e to iki-ta-gáru zidai de áru 'It is an age when everyone wants to go farther and farther away' (SA 2639.62b); ... toobu-Nihón no hatuon ga nisi e nisi e to hiromátta ... 'the pronunciation of Eastern Japan spread farther and farther to the west ...' (Öno 1966.220); Áto kara áto kara to tyuúmon(’) ga kúrú 'Orders keep pouring in'; Úteki (= Amadare) ga usiro kara usiro kará to suberi-otite iru 'The raindrops keep sliding down from behind'; Is-seki no böoto ga syoor yuu kara karyuu e, karyuu kara syoor yuu e to, ittári kítari site nagási-zúri o site irú ga ... 'There is a boat that comes and goes, drift-fishing [= trolling] downstream and upstream, upstream and downstream over and over ...' (SA 2662.48b). The effect of the emphasis is to make the direction of motion or change more vivid and immediate; notice how in the last few examples the direction is said with various kinds of iteration, to express persistence. In the following example tó emphasizes the change of state marked by ... [yóo] ni + mutative verb (§9.1.11): “Utukúsí' ga níkusín-teki ni aizyoo kara, kárén-sa(’) ni tai-súru aizyoo o arawásu yóo ni to utúta tamé ni ... 'Because [the adjective] "utsukushí" had shifted, from physical love, to express affection toward the pathetic ...' (Öno 1966.63). But other examples have a mutative verb with (N kara) N e to: ... Nanbókú-tyoool(’) -zidai o hète Murómáti -zidai ni náró to, kékkon no keiski wa, mukotorí-kon kara yometorí-kon e to kawatte iku 'Then when we pass through the Divided Court period and enter Muromachi times, the forms of marriage gradually change from the groom-taking marriage to the bride-taking marriage' (Öno 1966.96); ... huan kara iradátí(’) e, iradátí(’) kara ikárí(’) e, ikárí(’) kara níkusími(’) é to, saamázama(’) ni kanzyoo ga hěnka sita ‘... from apprehension to irritation, from irritation to anger, from anger to hatred—my feelings kept changing from one to another' (SA 2676.41b).

(5a) Before sagasu 'searches for' a direct object will sometimes appear to be emphasized with ó tó, but it seems likely that between the particles there intervenes an ellipsis of some transitive verb hortative ó [ ] tó as in these examples (where the ellipsis is filled with a suggested verb): ... dáre ka íi hitó o (yatoóó) tó sagasíta wáke desu yó ‘Let me tell you, I really looked for someone suitable [to hire] ...’ (SA 2665.44a); le no súbete ga tif(’) no omoide ni tunagarú no de, atasuî totí o (kaoo) tó sagasíte mitukétal no ga kono totí {da} ‘Everything in the house carried memories of my father, so I looked with the idea of [buying] a new piece of land and this property is what I found' (SA 2661.138). The result of the ellipsis is to leave the particle sequence ó tó in the surface structure. The full representation of what is unexpressed would perhaps be N ó [VT-o o] tó [omótte] sagasu.

(6) With miérú ‘it seems' and obosíi/obósíki ‘[that] looks/appears to be' (usually adnominal, but sometimes adverbalized obósíku), quotation is used to show appearance: Nihon-zín to wa miénai ‘He doesn't look like a Japanese'; Gaizín to obosíi/obósíki monó ‘a person who looks to be a foreigner'; ... nán to, sono sinbun, késa, míáda, dáre mo míté inai to obósíku, ... ‘somehow that newspaper this morning still had not been read by anyone, it appeared, and ...' (Kb 194b—the commas from the text). Alfonso 1972 says that Tó miérú means ‘seems to be' with the added implication that it
IS that way too, like as not; while Ni miér, he says, means ‘looks like’ but probably IS NOT. He has some good contrastive sentences to back the observation up. Note the suggested derivation of Ni omowarér (etc.) from N da to omowarér on p. 469.

(7) The somewhat literary expression ... to mo tukanai means something like ‘not quite arriving at, not quite making it; not exactly; manqué’: Åse to mo aká to mo tukanai niói ‘a smell that was a cross between sweat and dirt’; Zyyoánd to mo honki to mo tukuaz ... ‘Half joking and half serious ...’ or ‘Not exactly joking and not exactly serious, either ...’; ... honne to mo zyoánd to mo tukanai kotoba o kutisbari-nágara, ... ‘while blurring out words that are neither quite serious nor quite jesting’ (SA 2677.114c); Ôkite iru n desu ka i.—Ôkite iru to mo tukuaz, nete ‘ru to mo tukuaz ... ‘Are you up?—Not exactly up and not exactly in bed ...’ (Okitsu 1.213); ... to, benkai to mo honne to mo tukanai tyoosi de tubuyákú no datta ‘They would grumble “...” in a tone of not quite excuse and not quite truth’ (SA 2659.41d); Ôoki na aki-kan ni tundora no koké(’ to mo kusa to mo tukanai monó ga oshi-komáre, ... ‘In a large empty can there was stuffed something from the tundra that wasn’t quite moss nor was it quite grass, either, and ...’ (SA 2670.92a). Although common in pairs, the expression occasionally turns up alone: umeki to mo tukanu kotoba o ‘in words that were not quite a groan’ (lg 35). And more than two ‘not-quites’ are possible: Tosima Yosio san ga bannen, syoosetu to mo ésee to mo hyooron to mo tukanai zitú ni omoisii monó o kakaremásita ga, ... ‘In his later years Yoshio Toshima wrote some very interesting things that aren’t exactly novels, nor essays, nor criticism’ (SA 2835.20e). Each earlier to mo is presumably followed by ellipsis of {tukanakereba} if we follow the explanation suggested in §9.3.2.

(8) The expression (negative +) ... to mo kagiranai means something like ‘who knows (who can tell) but what’, ‘we can not exclude the possibility that’, ‘there is the possibility that’, or ‘may; might (very well)’ (cf. ká mo sirenai): Sonna kotó ga ná to mo kagiranai ‘Such a thing might happen’ (lg 1962.84); Ítu-nandoki(’ dáré ga kónai to mo kagirimásén ‘Someone may come at any moment’; Kóoku d’atte, kore karu nyuuasu suru wáke da kara, abura ga déru kanoo-sei no takai tokoró wa gakkoku no oote [= ootë-suzi] ni toráete, káusu o tukamasáréáin to mo kagiranai ‘Even in the mining areas bidding will now start, so that they [= the Japanese firms] may very well have the places with the highest oil potential taken by the big foreign operators and be left holding the ("dregs" =) crumbs’ (SA 2666.23a). Compare ... ni kagiru (§14.6.4) and ... (?) only affirmative + ... to wa kagiranai ‘it does not necessarily follow that’: Kanemótí(’) wa kanarazu-símo koohuku to wa kagiranai (Kenkyusha) = Kanemótí(’) ga kanarazu-símo koohuku da to wa kagiranai ‘The rich man is not always (necessarily) happy’; Daigákü-sei da ga kanarazu-símo kanemótí(’) no musuko da to wa kagiranai ‘He is a university student but it does not necessarily follow that he is a rich man’s son’; Gámén(’) ni ikizuku no wa, sono seisakú-sya no seissin bákari [de aru] to wa kagiranai ‘What breathes on canvas is not necessarily just the creator’s spirit’ (lg 1962.84). The following three examples are from Hayashi 139: Máníti(’) ãu to wa kagiranai ‘We don’t necessarily meet every day’; Otona ga kodomo yóìi kasikóoi to wa kagiranai ‘Grownups aren’t always wiser than children’; Anzen-titái ni ité mo anzen da to wa kagiranai ‘You’re not always safe even in a safety area’. (8a) Some expressions similar to the preceding are S + to wa ienai ‘you can hardly say that S, S is far from the case’, S + to wa miénai ‘it hardly appears that S’, S + to
wa omoénai/omowarénai 'it hardly seems that S'. Two examples from Hayashi 139: Sinbun ga tûne ni sinzitu(−) o tutâete(−) iru tó wa ienai 'You can hardly say the newspapers always report the truth'; Kanemôti(−) ga koohuku da tó wa ienai 'Rich men are far from happy'. Two examples from Kenkyusha: Kími wa gozyûu tó wa miénai 'No one would take you for fifty'; Guu-zen tó wa omoénai 'It can't be mere chance'.

(9) A somewhat formal equivalent of gerund + mó is quotation + mó: V-ru tó mo [literary V-i tó mo] = V-té mo, A-i tó mo or A-ku tó mo = A-kûte mo, N tó mo = N dé mo [literary N nári to mo]. Examples: Ínoti ni kakawáru tó mo 'Even at the cost of one's life'; Osoku tó mo 'At the latest'; Sukûnâku tó mo 'At the least'; Ôoku tó mo 'At the most', Kónaku tó mo yorosii = Kónakute mo izzé 'You need not come'; Itukâ(−) yórî okureru kotó wa arú to mo hâyaku wa nái daroo 'It may be later than the 5th but not earlier'. With indeterminates the literary tentative + tó mo is equivalent to [dê] mo or -tê mo: Dôko e ikoo tó mo = Dôko e itte mo 'Wherever one goes' (cf. §21.5); Dôtira to mo = Dôtira de mo 'Either will do'; Ima-mâde nári to mo nakkâta 'It was OK (perfectly normal) up to this point'. Nán tó mo ' [not] any at all' is also sometimes used as an intensifier 'utterly, quite': Nán tó mo komâta 'I was in quite a fix'. The adverb tasyoo 'slightly' also occurs followed by tó mo (equivalent to dê mo) as in the example ... sottyouko ni itte, tasyoo tó mo bûngaku ni kokôrî no âru hitô ni wa tae-gatai bûnysyoo da ga ... 'frankly it is an intolerable sentence to anyone with the slightest feeling for literature' (KKK 3.125). And we find, equivalent to V-(a)nâku tó mo = V-(a)nakkute mo, the particle tó mo following the literary negative infinitive (= the derived negative precopular noun, §9.5): V-(a)zu tó mo, as in Kokugo no senséi ga osiete kurezu tó mo [= kurenakute mo], zibun de benkyoo suú ni go atarimae dá ... 'it is appropriate to study (such things) by oneself even if the Japanese language teacher does not teach them to one' (Maeda 1962.202). The literary copula form nárâzu tó mo (= zya nakkute mo) is found in such expressions as Tîsa nárâzu to mo 'Even if it isn't a little child ...'. As with -té mo the focus particle sometimes drops: iwazu to sîreta 'it was clear without one's saying it'; ... sonna daïgakû-sei ni wa betu ni koten o yomásezu to [?mo] manga o yomasête okéba i ni no de wa nái ka 'wouldn't it be better to set such Japanese students to reading comics rather than have them read any of the classics in particular?' (SA 2640.104d). The word zéhi-tomo(−) 'by all means' is perhaps best treated as a lexical adverb derived from zé-hi to mo (= zé-hi de mo). We might want to regard this usage as an abbreviation of ... (S) tó ittê mo since that fuller expression is sometimes used as a purely grammatical device ('however'—see below), as are ... tó ieâba and ... tó ittâra 'speaking of' (cf. §21.2), and (S) tó sité mo ('though', §21.4). See also N nári to [mo] and N tări to mo, §15.19.

(9a) S tó ittê [mo] is sometimes equivalent to INFINITIVE +-tê (mo) 'even though' (cf. N tóte mo = N dé mo, § 21.3): Huyû to ittê mo Hiroshima no sâmù-sa wa tá-sâ ka kotó wa nári 'Even in winter (= huyû de mo) the cold weather in Hiroshima is never extreme'. But sometimes the best translation for N tóte mo is 'as (examples of) N(s) go': Suiso to ittê mo, kore wa tyôt-to sukeeru ga ooki 'As [fish] tanks go, this one is a bit large in scale (= size) (SA 2677.61a). A special case is INDETERMINATE + to ittê [mo]: ... dôko to ittê [mo] = dôko de mo) bûn no keiski ni wa arawârenai '... it does not appear anywhere in the form of the sentence'; Gimu-kyôóiku wa nán tó ittê mo ... kokumin-kyôóiku no kîte de arú 'Compulsory education is, after all, the basis of popular education ...'. For ... to ittê [mo] tó hodo/kûraí, see p. 499.

(9b) S tó [i] 'although it be said that S' means little more than S nó ni 'despite
(that) S': ... rokugatū da to iū no ni máda zyánpaa o ki-kōnda otokō datta 'It was a man who ... and was still bundled up in a jumper even though it was June’ (Kb 213a).

(9c) S to iū no de 'it is said that S and so' can mean virtually the same thing as S nó de 'S and so', since/as S'; examples will be found in KKK 3.175-6. (Cf. Nagano 1970.183.)

(9d) S to itte iū no de 'is saying that S and (so)' is often to be taken somewhat literally, but it usually shortens into S [t]té n de14 and the translation is sometimes 'on the grounds that S' (= S to iū wāke de, S to itte): Mūsya san ni misetā, "Āa, sóō" te n de, roku ni minai n desu 'When I show it to Musha (= Mushakōji) he says "Ah yes" and barely glances at it' (Tk 4.294a); Kono hōo ga omosirōi kara tte n de, ... 'On the grounds that this was more interesting ... ' (Tk 4.213a); Tyuugaku nánka de koosoku ni ihan sitāri suru to, misēsume no tamē ni te n de, teigaku ya taigaku no syōbun o kū séito ga iū keredomu, ... 'In high school some students violating the school regulations get suspended or expelled, for the explicit purpose of serving as object lessons’ (Tk 4.199b).

(10) The expression tö wa—often contracted to tāa—can be regarded as an abbreviation of tö iū no wa in such sentences as these: Tomodati tö wa [or Tomodati tāa] dāre no kōtō ka 'By "a friend", just who do you mean?'; Kawai sóō taa horeta tte kōtō yo 'What's pitiful is to have fallen in love' (= Kawai sóō to [iū no] wa horeta to iū kōtō da yō); Doowa-kyōōoiku to to nān[i] na no ka 'Just what is this "co-harmonious education"? ’ (SA 2672.136b). Some Hokuriku dialects (e.g. Toyama) use the abbreviation tyā < tē wa iū no wa: Takushū kakaşūru tya, nān-mai hodo desu ka 'When you say you will have us write a lot, about how many pages do you have in mind?' (SA 2672.107b). When tö is sentence-final, it marks an exclamation of surprise or incredulity, rather like S + nānte (§ 15.13a) as in Anō-hito wa kōndo no syatōo tö wa! 'To think that he will be our new boss!' and these examples from Hayashi 153: Kodomo ni makeru tö wa 'To think of a child getting the better of me!'; Daihyō ga kimii da to tö wa 'Imagine the representative being you (of all people)!'. X tö wa A o iū means 'By X we mean A'.

(10a) S tö wa iē-do [mo] is a fancy way of saying 'though S': Kāno-zyo no kokōrō wa ore no monō [da] tō wā iē, sore 'īzyōo ni sukōi mo sinton sinai 'Though her heart was mine, beyond that we made no progress' (SA 2642.37c); Tasūyo no tatemasi ga atē to wā iē, tatēmō to tō oōo no mo mata 'Although there have been some additions the building remains much the same (as it was then)' (SA 2688.26a).

(10b) The expression ... tö no N is an adnominalization of ... tö da and is the equivalent of ... tö iū N: ... zenkoku-senkyō-ku wa zenpāi site huken-tan'i-ippō ni aratame-tāi to no ikoo ga tūyoku kentōo 'tyyuu de āru 'Under close study is the idea of abolishing nationwide electoral districts and changing to a single prefecture (and metropolitan) unit' (KKK 3.167); ... kore o sekkyōku ni mitomu "bēshi [= mitoreru "bēki da] to no tuyōi ūken ga ārī ... 'there is a strong opinion that this should be positively recognized and ...' (KKK 3.167); "renpōo-zyooohoo-sēntaa" o tūkūru "bēshi [= tukūru "bēki da] to no kankoku o dāsita ... put out a recommendation that a "joint intelligence center" be set up' (SA 2682.35d). And sentence + tö no kōtō da is equivalent to ... tō iū kōtō da 'I hear (or They say) that ...', one of several ways to report hearsay. In Kanazawa people often end sentences with ... tō iū kōtō ("... I tell ya"); see p. 945. The quoted hortative -[y]oo to is adnominalized to a summational epipheme of purpose or aspiration: ... syōten("") mo

14. Just as S tö itte iū no da shortens into S [t]té n da: ... motte ike té n da 'You're being told to take it ...' (Okitsu 1.317).
A number of well-worn clichés that are used as sentence-openers come from abbreviated quotations:15 ... (cf. §21.4). To wai ittë mo ... (SA 2639.97a) = Tō wa ittē do - [mo] ... ‘Even so ...’; Tō wa ii - nagara ... ‘Granted that ...’; Nonetheless ...’; Tō wa iu mono - no ... ‘Nevertheless ...’ (SA 2661.33c). And a number come from unabbreviated quotations, as well: Dōtira ka to iēba = Dōtira ka to iu to ‘If anything, rather ...’; Nān to ittē mo ‘Say what you will; anyway’ (cf. Dōko made ittē mo ‘Go where you will’ = ‘Everywhere (you go)’); Sore to iū no wa, ... ‘In particular, ... To be specific ...’; Sore wa só to to site ‘Be that as it may ...’ By the way ...’. Quotation is a purely grammatical device in Da kara to iu to te or Sareba to itte ‘Just because of that ...’ ‘Even so ...’ And yet ...’ But then ...’ For all of that ...’. Similar are other “saying” expressions that do not contain quotations as such: Sikāsi sóo wa ittē mo ‘But even so ...’, Sōo iēba .. ‘If you put it that way ...’, ... ‘It goes without saying that ...’.

The expression itu to wa nāku (or itū to wa nāsi ni) means ‘before one knows/realizes it, in no time at all’; compare the dephrasal adverbs nan-to-nāku and dōko-to-nāku, both of which mean ‘somehow’ as does nān-to. An indeterminate number + to nāku means ‘quite a number of ...’; ikutu to nāku = ikutu mo: Sokō ni kyodai na tānku ga ikutu to nāku āri, ... ‘In that place there were quite a few huge tanks, and ...’ (SA 2672.96c). The expression V-ru to mo nāku (or V-ru to mo nāsi ni, § 14.6) means ‘[does it] unawares, without knowing it’ or ‘without intending (premeditating) it, casually, offhandedly’: Kiku to mo nāku nusumi-giki suru ‘unintentionally eavesdrops’, Kūru to mo nāku kīte simatta ‘I didn’t mean to come, but just happened to’. An indeterminate + to mo nāku is usually to be translated ‘not [any] in particular’: Ozyōōsan wa sono uti’ (no dare ni to mo nāku kōe o agete sakēnda monō da ‘The young lady raised her voice and shouted to no one in particular among them’ (Shibata 1961.174); ... dare ni iu to mo nāku, hitori-gotō no yō ni kō itta ‘not particularly speaking to anyone, she spoke thus, as if to herself’ (Kb 69a). These expressions, along with yōru-to-nāku hirū-to-nāku ‘night and day’, are derived from the colloquial negative of to aru, the copula built on the subjective essive.

The nominal expression N to mo arō no monō/hītō with the literary tentative of aru is the equivalent of N de mo aru hazu no monō/hītō and means ‘one with the status (caliber) of N’ or ‘N of all things/people (surprisingly)’: Eikōji-zen to mo arō hito-tati ... ‘Those who are intellectuals (of all people) ...’; Syatōo no ōkusan to mo arō monō ga ima-zibun hitōri de konna tokóro e iode ni nāte wa o-uti ni sumānaku wa gozaimasen ka ‘If you go into such a place alone at this time, wife of the company president as you are, won’t there be trouble at home?’ (Mio 96); Daigaku no kyoozyū- kai to mo arō monō ga, zuyu dai na bāmen (‘de konna arisamateru’) datta n desu ‘On an important stage such was the spectacle of (an association of university professors of all things)’ (SA 2671.30a). Cf. ... to aru (=? to site ‘aru) … tāru, §13.5a.

15. Cf. the summational quotation that picks up the opener in this example: To iu kōtō wa, tiryoo-hoo wa nāi to iu kōtō desu ka ‘What you mean is you’re telling me that there is no treatment?’ (SA 2647.106b).
(14) Tó mo is used as a sentence-final extension to mean 'of course' or 'indeed' (§15.14). This could be regarded as an abbreviation of some quotation, perhaps with ... omoérú or ... ierú as the omitted verb.

(15) N to i u tó (N + tó; N + tó iebra/ittára) is a roundabout way to state a theme that is virtually the same as N + wá (as subdued theme); similar is N + dá tó (or N + nará/dáttara). Cf. §21.2. N tó ni u ni wa (with direct nominalization of the 'saying' sentence, §14.6) seems to be a somewhat bookish equivalent. Cf. [tó i]ttára arimasén, §9.3.3.

(15a) S + tó ittémó i i-sugi de wa nái means 'it is no exaggeration to say that': Káre wa sekái saidai no kagakú-sya de arú to itté mo ii-sugi de wa nái 'It is not too much to say that he is the greatest scientist in the world'.

(16) In place of V-ru tokoró da 'is about to do' you can quote the hortative (V-[y]oo to iu) and adnominalize the "saying" sentence to the postadnominal tokoró: Dekakeyoo to iu tokoró desu ga ... 'I am just about to go out, but ...'.

(16a) The expression ... tó iu/itta tokoró desu (né) [or desyóo] means 'I would say that ...' or '... and that's how matters stand'. See Alfonso 1166.

(17) In place of S yóri i wa 'rather than do/be' you can quote the sentence (S tó iu) and adnominalize the "saying" sentence to the postadnominal yóri: 16 Hanno wa yowái, to iu yóri, hotóndó ga kyóomí o simésite(-) kuremasén desita 'Rather than the reaction being weak, hardly anyone showed interest' (SA 2662.24b); Mu-kánín to iu yóri génzai no nooson-kéiei ga, sono hituyoo o mitomenái no desu 'Rather than indifference it is that the present rural management fails to recognize the necessity' (KKK 3.231); Zuyugatú ni háitte, kyuu ni suzúsiku nátta. Suzusí to iu yóri, hada-samúi hi no hóó ga óóí 'Entering October it has suddenly become cool. Rather than "cool", chilly days are in the majority' (SA 2649.97a); Nihon-zín ni tóte ... Sina-go o búnysoo to site kaki-konasu konné wa, kómítí wataši-táti ga, Eigo o kaki-konasu konné to, hodo-tóóku(-) nái to iu yóri wa műsíro, kúroo wa issoo óókikatta ni sooi nái 'Rather than the difficulty for the Japanese to manage to write Chinese as sentences being not far from the difficulty we have in writing English today, the hardship must surely have been far greater' (Ōno 1966.199). This should be distinguished from situations that require the "saying" in order to carry the intended meaning as in Zitugyoo-ka to iu yóri mo gakusya to iu hóó da 'He is more of a scholar than a businessman' or Seikoo to iu yóri wa huseikoo de arú 'It is a failure instead of (= rather than) a success'. (= Seikoo de nákute huseikoo de arú, Morishige 186) and resumptive sentences that begin Tó iu yóri wa 'Or rather [than saying that]' (see Alfonso 1113).

(18) S + ká to omóu yóó ni 'so as to make you think (whether =) perhaps' means something like 'just as if', being the infinitive form of the somewhat less common S ká to omóu yóó da 'It is just as if ...'. (Is this limited to perfect and imperfect?) V-tá ka to omóu to 'when you think whether ... did' means 'as soon as'; cf. -ru ga hayái ka, §14.6. For S1 ká to omóu to S2 'If you think S1 then S2 = Not only S1 but also/even S2', see p. 927. For S n[o] zya nái ka to omóu 'I'm of the opinion that ...', see p. 948.

16. After an "atonic" inflected form (such as iu), yóri attaches directly as a particle or, optionally, with the juncture appropriate to a postadnominal—taking away the inherent final accent (iu) before disappearing. You can say either N to iu yóri or N to iu yóri.
(19) A kind of emphatic iteration is achieved by S1 to ieba S1 『gá/kédo』 'really does/is S all right [but ...]; does/is all too (= more than enough)': Hataraku to ieba hatarakū ga 'He really works, all right, but ...'; Kangäta to ieba kangaetä kedo 'I gave it more than enough thought, but ...'; Ookii to ieba ookii ga 'It's more than big enough, all right, but ...'; Kessaku [da] to ieba kessaku da ga 'It is indeed a masterpiece, but ...'; Sizuka [da] to ieba sizuka da kedo 'It's nothing if not quiet, all right, but ...';
... amari to ieba amari na moose-tu ga seken ni ruhu site orì, ... 'entirely too great a fallacy is widespread in the world ...' (Maeda 1962.194); ... husigi to ieba husigi de āru 'is strange indeed' (SA 2688.107d). Notice that da usually drops, even after adjectival nouns. The repeated S can enter into any appropriate conversions and can be modified by an adverb: ...
bakabakașii to ieba mattakū bakabakașii sensoo-kigeki da ga ... 'it is indeed quite a silly war comedy but ...' (SA 2688.108b). Somewhat different is S to ieba ierû (keredo) 'one could say ... (but)': Moti̇ron boku̍ ('') wa nani mo sira-äkatta no da kara syoo ga nai to ieba ierû keredo, de mo ... 'Of course one COULD say that I had no choice since I knew nothing, but even so ...' (CK 985.377).

(20) KKK 23.27-8 contains some examples of sentence-final to where the quotative origin seems obscure so that the result is merely emphatic—perhaps similar to a common use of Korean quotations that I have elsewhere translated as an assertive or insistent ‘I tell you’ or ‘Let me tell you’ or ‘Mind you’: Kore de yōsi to 'This is enough!'; Mōō yamet̄ okoo to 'Let's stop now!'; Dāi iti-ban —mē ni wakono ... (oo) ... Tyuu-nānbei no keizai-kōzoo to iu monō ga Amerika to kuraberu to taizen tigai ga āru to ‘First of all this, uh, economic structure of Latin America is something quite different from (that of) America’. It is not always clear, we are told (p. 28), that a sentence with final to is best treated as an abbreviated quotation rather than as emphatic, e.g.: Sono kazoku-sēikatsu mo kanarazu-simo sore zya(a) katei to iu kotobā de motte(e) ningen-kānekī ga sūbette setumei dekiru ka to iu to țōo wa ikanai to ‘When it comes to whether you can necessarily explain all human relations in terms of the home, the family life, uh, I don’t think you can’. Similarly, with kā to[1]‘I wonder’ (short for kā to omōu?)—KKK 23.53-4: ... sono tamē ni wa (ee) kotobā ni tūite hutatū no mē ni tyakumoku suru kotȯ ga hituyoo de wa nākaroo ka to ‘... for that I wonder (uh) I wonder whether it isn’t necessary to make one’s observations about words from two aspects’; ... (oo) nāni ka kenkyuu-kīkan to iu monō ga kokumin no seikatū to wa uita tokorō ni (ee) gakusya ga atumāru to itta yōo no katȯ ni nātte simain de wa nāi daroo ka to ‘... (uh) with the emergence of some kind of research agency as a part of life of the people (uh) I wonder if we wouldn’t just end up with (a group of) scholars getting together’; ... kekkyyoku̍ kono ningen ga zīyyū tō zinken o kakutoku suru tamē ni tatakatte kīta rekishī da to iu kotȯ mo ierū n zya nai ka to ‘I wonder if, after all, it couldn’t be said to be a history of man fighting along to gain freedom and human rights’. Sometimes the initial consonant is doubled for emphasis (cf. tte): Siranāi tto ‘I just dunno!’; Mōō neyyō (tte) ‘Now to bed!’ (The doubling usually induces an accent on the preceding syllable but that may be paralinguistic here.) Apparently tte can freely be used in this sort of sentence; Kenkyusha has the examples Sōō daroo/ desyoo tte ‘I can quite imagine that; I shouldn’t wonder!’

(21) Number + to 『wa/mo』 nai leads to such quasi-idomatic expressions as hutatū to 『wa/mo』 nai ‘is unique’ and hutarī to 『wa/mo』 nai ‘is peerless’. Any number that consists of ‘2’ + counter can appear: ni-satū to 『wa/mo』 nai ‘(a book) is unparalleled’, hutam̄a to 『wa/mo』 nai ‘(a room) is unmatched’, etc. There is a similar expression with
an adverb that is not a number: *mata to nai ‘is unparalleled, unique’; other negatives can replace nai: *Mata to dekinai koto da ‘It is something that can never happen again’ (SA 2659.49d). Cf. ni-do to + NEGATIVE ‘not ... again’: ... ni-dó to kono onná ni âtte wa narán zó ‘You must not see this woman again!’ (SA 2649.105c); Dê te ike! Boku(-) no mæ ni ni-dó to arawaréru na! ‘Get out! Don’t let me see you ever again!’ (SA 2655.122b).

(22) For *ittâra arimasen, see §9.3.3.

(23) Hortative (—or literary tentative?) + *i u no ni can mean ‘just when it is about to’: Kore kara dannâ yó ni nátte ikó to iú no ni Aikó san nánkâ hitôri de irarerû monó ka ‘With the night about to set in now how can Aiko remain alone?’ (Mio 94).

(24) For S kara + to itte ‘just because S’ see §17.1.

(25) For S + to/ttē sâl see §15.2. And notice (20) above, of which this would seem to be a special case.

(26) The expression (N/S +) ... *i u ka sore {wa}+ ... ‘if you/we ask about ... it’ is one of the many roundabout ways of introducing a theme (cf. §3.9).

(27) Nouns can be paired with infinitivized quotations (N to ii) to mean ‘whether (we speak of) N₁ or N₂ = both N₁ and N₂’: kóe to ii sügata to ii ‘whether in voice or in figure = both her voice and her figure’ = kóe ni sé yo sügata ni sé yo, kóe ni si ro sügata ni si ro; mé no irô to ii, kibá no rétu to ii ‘both the eye color and the fang occlusion’; hukusóo to ii, táido to ii ‘both in attire and in attitude’; Táimíngu to ii, seiryóo to ii, nakanaka rippa na azíteêta de aru ‘Both in timing and in vocal resonance he is a thoroughly splendid agitator’ (Gd 1969/9.109); ... týâgoró no toohú() to ii, hanpén to ii, nán-to ‘dántí-sáizu’ bákari na no daroo ‘lately whether it’s beancurd or fishcake, somehow there’s only the “tenement-size”’ (for sale) [= they are cut small!] (SA 2653.50d). Similar is X to ii Y to itté mo = X to itté mo Y to itté mo ‘whether (we speak of) X or Y’, virtually equivalent to X dé mo Y dé mo ‘whether X or Y’: ... Kyóowa-too to ii Minšyu-too to itté mo tâi-síta sooi wa náku, ... ‘Whether it be the Republican Party or the Democratic Party there are no great differences, and ...’ (Tk 4.215a).

(28) The expression S to tówazû() ‘without inquiring S’ means ‘regardless whether S, even if S’: ... nítiyóo, saízítu de áru to tówazû() ‘even if it is Sunday or a holiday’ (SA 2670.107a). Cf. N o tówazû() ‘irrespective of N’, pp. 152, 591. The expression S/N₁ to iwazu S/N₂ to iwazu ‘without saying S/N₁ and without saying S/N₂’ means ‘whether S/N₁ or S/N₂; not just S/N₁ but also S/N₂’: Nihon-go to iwazu gaikokû-go to iwazu dônna kótoáb de mo sôo na n desu ‘It’s the same in every language—whether Japanese or a foreign language’; Sensí to iwazu isya to iwazu kôngâe wa onázi dešyóo ‘Not only the teacher but the doctor too thinks the same way, you see’. See Kenkyusha for more examples.

(29) There are a few other expressions with ... to {wa} ...-azu, e.g.: Kisyâ to wa na-nórâzu() hanasi-kakêtâ no da ga, ... ‘I approached him without calling myself (= revealing myself as) a newspaperman and ...’ (SA).

(30) The expression N o monó to mo seu (cf. §21.4) means ‘in spite of (undaunted by) N’: Yóorú zyuuiít-zi, Watanabe san wa enkai no tukâré o monó to mo seu tonneru no náka e itta ‘At eleven at night, Mr Watanabe went into the tunnel [to work], undaunted by fatigue from the banquet’ (SA 2668.60e).

(31) The expression ári to arayûru (kotó/monó) ‘each and every (thing), all sorts of (things), the catalogue of (things)’ seems to preface the adnoun arayûru by
quoting the existence verb in the form literary infinitive (used for predicative) and the entire expression works as a phrasal adnoun despite the minor juncture within it (after \( \text{ā\i tō} \)).

(32) For ... \( \text{tō iwanbakari 'all but saying', see p. 614.} \)

(33) Idiomatic quotations include: are \( yō\) | are yo tō iu ma ni ... 'in no time at all; before your eyes; before you can say ('that! that!' =) Jack Robinson' (SA 2659.132e); \( \text{u\i tō mō sūn to mō iwanai 'says neither \( \text{u}\) (yeah) nor sūn (inch?) = says neither yes nor no; makes no response':}\) Tegami o dāsite mo, tō mo sūn to mo itte kōnai 'I sent a letter but got no (yes-or-no =) reply back' (SA 2670.43a). Is the etymology entangled with un-sunkaruta, name of a card game < Portuguese um 'one' and sum[mo] 'sum'mum?' (34) Sometimes tō, like nī, is used to mark an adverbialization: siawase tō = siawase nī 'luckily' (from siawase 'luck', abstract noun and adjectival noun); warai tō = warai nīt 'comparatively'. See §21.7 for more on this. And see §13.5a for the use of tō as the adverbial form of subjective adjectival nouns (AN tāru/tō).

### 21.2. TTĀRA, TTĒBA

Quotation is a common way to mention a topic for comment: X tōittāra (iēba,17 iu tō, itte wa18) 'When it comes to X, As for X'. From this come the colloquial particles ttāra and ttēba:19 Kore ttāra/ttēba ... 'When it comes to this ...; As for this ...'. The particle ttēba is used almost exclusively by women. Because of the indirectness, this sort of topic citation is fairly polite. Anata ttēba 'Oh you!'—with accent-flattening from anata ttēba—is often said by a woman exasperated with her husband.

Sentence-final ttēba (§15.15) can mean two things: (1) 'I tell you', a strong statement as in iyā da ttēba! = iyā da yo! 'But I don't like it!'; (2) ġnasāi tō yo, a command, as in Bōku(”) ga koosyoo site yarū kara moo sibāraku o-mati ttēba ‘I tell you I will negotiate for you so you wait a little longer'. Sometimes the final vowel is lengthened: Mātte ttēbaa! 'I told you to wait!'

Sentence-final ttāra can have the same two meanings, but they are expressed with stronger feeling: iyā da ttara! 'But I DON'T like it!'; Kāesite, kāesite, kāesite ttara! 'You gimme that back!'; Misē ro ttara 'Show me, I tell you!'

The first t- in these colloquial particles is automatically suppressed after n, as is that of tē: Sūgata san ttara /sugatasantarana/. For ttara nāi = [to i]ttēra nāi, as in Kāre no hyooban no wāru-sa ttara nākatta 'He had the worst reputation!' (KKK 25.78a), see p. 565. An equivalent expression is ttāte [= to itt'attē = to itte mo] nāi: Dōo-mo bakabakaśii ttate arimasēn ya 'How utterly stupid!' (Okitsu 1.245). Notice that [...]ttēra/ is to be interpreted as ... tē 'ttara = ... tō ittēra 'if/when one says that ...', a quoted condition used as one of the many devices to introduce a theme, as in this example: Omoi-dasu no tte ttara sā, sore kōso arihureta tabēmōnō na no nē 'What it reminds me of, precisely, IS a very common food' (Morishige 148). Sentences such as Isogasii ttēba isogasii na da ga nā 'I'm busy, all right, but ...' (Morishige 231) seem to mean the same as S₁ kotō wa S₁ga/kédo.

17. Or iyā[a].
18. Or ġtyā[a].
19. Also ttēbaa (Tk 4.317b) and (below) ttēbaa.
21.3. TÔ[TE], TÔ[TE]

The particle to, sometimes extended to tôte, can occur at the end of a phrase as if an abbreviation of ... to omôtte ‘thinking that ...’ or ... tôtte ‘saying that’, followed by a predicate that usually expresses action. A special—but perhaps questionable—use of tôte that it does not share with tô is after the perfect -tô, with the meaning ‘even (do)ing’:

S-tô tôte = S-tô mo.20 For this meaning it is more colloquial to attach -tâtte to verbal sentences, -kûtâtte to adjectival sentences, and dâtte to nominal sentences. See the discussion in § 15.11.

The use of d’âttâtte to mean dé mo ‘even’ is condemned by Kazama (203ff) as pleonastic; âttâte alone is quite enough. But dâtte tte of course can occur as a quotation with the interpretation dâtte tô (lit) ‘saying that it was’, just as you can use V-tâ tte and A-kûtâte tte for the perfect forms of V-rû tte and A-ittâte tte.

KKK 3.123 gives two examples in which N tôte mo is used to mean N dé mo; compare the similar use of N tôittê mo, §21.1.(9a). MKZ 614a cites an example of V-rû tôte that is equivalent to V-[y]oo to site ‘trying/starting to do’: Mizu o kumû tôte îdo e ôtîta ‘I fell in the well trying to draw water’. Perhaps this usage could be regarded as an abbreviation of ... tô omôtte ‘thinking that (I would draw water ...’.

In addition to the uses mentioned above (equivalent to tôte), tô is also used as a variant version of the quotation-marker tô, as an abbreviation of tôittê, and as an abbreviation of tô iu—as in this example: Husigi na onnà da nàa, kimî tte onnà wa ‘... You’re an odd girl, you are’ (Kb 381a). Sentence-final tôte sometimes marks a fragment with the quoting nucleus omitted. Thus I tô tte! ‘Say when!’ (in pouring a drink or the like) means something like I tô itte kudasai ‘Please say ‘That’s enough’ [when I have poured all you want]’. The expression soo iu no tô te no wa (CK 985.372) means soo iu tê [mo]nô tô iu [mojî wa ‘each and every such (one)’, with tôte representing a contraction of tô iu. For the Kansai use of kâte for tôte, see §§2.11, §15.11. On S karâ tô(t)ô te = S karâ tô (ittê/omôtte), see §17.1. An example of S tôte ‘on the grounds that S = because S’ in formal written Japanese is cited in LF 87. For S tôte/tô sa! see §15.2.

Both tôte and tôte are attached in the same way as tô (whether marking a quotation or a conjunctivalization), with optional underlying juncture when following an inflected form. If attached with no juncture, the last syllable of an “atonic” verb or adjective will be accented (suru tô, sitâ tôte, amâi tte); when attached with an underlying juncture, the juncture will disappear after suppressing the preceding accent (suru tô, sitâ tôte, amâi tte), and thus there will be an accent on the particle itself unless (for tô and tôte) it is suppressed by an immediately following juncture. Both Tô ..., and Tê ... can be used as conjunctive-like sentence-introducers, “Quote ...” (or, rather, ‘... Unquote’).
21. Quotations

21.4. Sentence + に to suru/Náru: Periphrastic Putatives, Subjective Mutatives

A statement can be followed by に to suru to mean ‘supposes that, considers (it) that, treats it as (true that)’: Yobu/Yonda to suru; Ookii to suru; Sensei だ to suru. The copula optionally (but commonly) drops, even after an adjectival noun: Sízuka だ to suru. A few other mutative verbs also occur with に (which is substituting, as it were, for に): S to kimeru ‘decides/determines that (or for it to be) S’, ...

From the gerund of に to suru we get に to sité か ‘considering it to be N, considered as N’; cf. に ni site か ‘for/as N’, p. 229. In honorific speech itasimásite may replace sité in these expressions. に to sité wa sometimes contracts to に to sitya(a): Ménseki to sitya, dai-tósi desu yó ‘In size, it [= Kyóto] is a metropolis, you see’ (Tk 2.308a); Wazuyu-ka to sitya, zettai ni seikoo sinai hitó desu ná ‘As a storyteller, I guess I am a complete failure’ (Tk 3.249b). Sono gen’in wa oku to sité, ‘(Leaving) the reason for that aside, ...’ (SA 2679.116b) seems to have a direct nominalization, gen’in o oku [kotó/nó] ‘putting aside the reason’.

The expression に Y ni suru means ‘converts X (in) to Y, makes X into Y, makes X [be] Y, decides that X shall be Y, assigns X to [the category of being] Y’; the more subjective expression に Y to suru means ‘considers/treats X as [being] Y’ and sometimes it can be translated ‘finds/discovers X to be Y’: Sánzyuu o kosite simau to nikutai-teki ní mo sore-hodo onnà o hituyoo [da] to sinai ‘When I got past thirty I didn’t find women so necessary even physically’ (SA 2639.35d).

The sentences that result can be turned into other sentences by the usual operations, such as applying a passive conversion: “I mi-kótoba” to iéba, kekkonsikí-zyoo nádó de, tukaú no o sakérú ‘békí da to sareru kótoba ‘By ‘tabu words’ is meant words about which it is considered that one should avoid using them in wedding halls and the like’ (Ôno 1966.45); Mooko-go mo, zyuu-san-seiki no kíroku ga hurú to sareru ‘Even for Mongolian, documents of the 13th century are considered old’ (Ôno 1966.191). Sentence + に to sité will commonly translate as ‘It is considered/assumed that ...’. But に to sité wa may be a subject-exalting version of に to sité wa, grammatically an anomaly in that what is exalted is the to-marked noun (there being no specific subject for the suru): ... are wa héika to satë wa, téinei na o-tumori zya nái ka sira ‘I wonder if that, for His Majesty, wasn’t intended to be polite’ (Shishi Bunroku in SA 2658.125b).

We can regard sentences with に suru as periphrastic putatives or as SUBJECTIVE (transitive) mutatives, in direct contrast with に suru, the OBJECTIVE (transitive) mutatives (§9.1.11): Táda, byoozyoo ni yóte wa, anzei o hituyoo to si nyuui suru bai mo arímásu ‘But sometimes, depending on the patient’s condition, rest is considered important and he is hospitalized’ (SA 2684.122e). Special uses of the forms include these:

1. Hortative V-[y]oo to + suru (or kímeru, kuwada-teru, kétu-i suru; tutómeru, dorýoku(”) suru) means ‘decides (plans; endeavors) to do’, and Máša ni ... siyo to suru means ‘is about to (begin), is going to (do)’. Cf. V-[y]oo to iú toki ni o V-[y]oo to iú no

21. In N に itasimásite, the verb itásu is functioning not as an object-exalting counterpart of the subject-exalting nasáru but rather as a polite euphemism for suru; you are unlikely to run across に to sité as the adverbialized form of subjective adjectival nouns, see §13.5a; the somewhat literary flavor of these expressions makes it unlikely that you will find itasimásite for sité.
ni ‘when ready (about, fixing) to do’, §21.1.(23). The translation of V-\[y\]oo to\(_1\) suru is often ‘tries/goes/starts to do’, especially when followed by some frustration or interruption: Tegami o kakóo to sita tokoró e denwa ga kakátte kita ‘Just as I was going/trying/starting to write a letter, a phone call came’; Túma ga ato o oo o(‘) to sitāra, ‘If the wife starts to follow ...’ (SA 2672.22c). But often the translation is simply ‘(when) about to do/happen’, and involuntary verbs freely occur: \(^{22}\) Zizóo-bon no nigiwái mo, yooyaku kore kara hazimaroo to site iru ‘The bustle of the Jizó festival [too] is finally about to begin now’ (KKK 25.80b); ... kuraku naroo to suru toki ni ‘when it was about to get dark ...’; Móo natu mo sugiyo o to site itā no ni ... ‘Although summer was just about over ...’. Observe that Haná ga sakoo to site iru ‘The flower is about to bloom’ is in no way deviant, though (*\(^{3}\)) Haná ga sakoo would be odd unless taken as a literary equivalent of sakú daroo ‘may bloom’. The hortative sometimes appears in its literary form -(a)mu, e.g. in Tatakai wa màsa ni kaisen\(_1\) = siyoo to site iru ‘The battle is about to begin’. For more examples, see §12.2.

(1a) Hortative -(y)oo to \textit{tō} \textit{mo}\(_2\) sinai means ‘has no intention of doing = is reluctant to do, is not about to do, shows no signs of (going to be) doing’: Dá ga, tyósya wa kekkon suru kóto ga dekinakatta no de wa nákute, siyoo to sinai no de aru ‘But it isn’t that the author couldn’t get married, it is that she has no inclination to do so’ (SA 2664.91-2); ... káno-zyo wa tonari no kitín ni kakúreta kiri dète koyóo to sinakatta ‘she stayed hidden away in the next-door kitchen and showed no signs of coming out’ (SA 2670.92c); Síkásí, Ándoo san to wa umá ga áu to iú no ka, Ándoo san go-zísin, hoka no isya ni maru-de kakaróo to nasarainai n desu ‘But perhaps because I seemed to hit it off with Mr Andó, Mr Andó himself was not the least inclined to consult other doctors’ (SA 2656.26b)—note the subject-exalting nasal used for suru. For more examples see §12.12. Similar in meaning is V-\[y\]oo to \textit{tō} \textit{mo}\(_2\) omowáinai: Watsái wa nemuroo to omowánakatta ‘I had no thought of sleep’ (Ig 1962.85).

(2) Perfect -(tá) + to\(_1\) suréba means ‘if, say, one should’ or ‘if at all’, much like -tá no dé wa, -tá n[o] zya (§9.3): Matigái nádo wa okosánai hazu dá ga, mósí, okósita to suréba sore ni wa tokubetú no riyyúu ga aró ‘This should cause no error or the like, and in the event it does, there will be some special reason for that’. Imperfect -(rú) + to\(_1\) suréba means ‘if (at all)’, much like -rú no dé wa, -rú n[o] zya (§9.3): Iku to suréba, asítá ni nárú desyoo ‘If we’re going at all, it will be tomorrow’; Génka ga takái to suréba, urinikuí to iú kóto mo kangaerú hituyoo ga áru ‘We must also consider the fact that if the manufacturing cost is at all high they will be hard to sell’; Yusyutú-hín(\(_2\)) ga hotóndo soákú-hín(\(_2\)) da to suréba, kuní no sin’yoo o usinai ‘If exports are quite shoddy, the nation is discredited’; Seiseki ga warukatta to suréba [or Warúi seiseki dáta to suréba] nyuugaku wa muzukasíi(\(_2\)) ‘If you’ve got bad grades, it’s hard to gain admission (to the school)’.

(3) S + to\(_2\) sité mo (= S to\(_1\) itté mo, §21.1.(9)) means ‘granting/granted that ...’: Sáiban de múzai to kimatta to sité mo káre no sin’yoo ga kaihuku dekinai daroo ‘Even if he is found not guilty in court, I doubt he will be able to regain his reputation’; ... ima ikite ita to sité mo ... ‘even if (they were) alive today’ (Tk 3.230b); ... tatóeba gésuto wo nakama-dósoi no yuuzyoo-syűtuen da to sité mo, taihen na aka-zi no hazu da ‘... even if,

22. Yet Yoshida (166) claims that V-\[y\]oo to\(_1\) suru with subjects that are inanimate (and thus involuntary) is rare in the spoken language, and not very common in the written language, either.
say, for guests you have complimentary appearances by friendly colleagues, you can still expect to run heavily into the red’ (SA 2677.115c). Cf. S + ni sitē mo ‘regardless of S, even if S’, § 14.6.(18).

(4) The expression X o kotō/mono to mō sinaī means ‘makes nothing of (= disregards) X’; cf. § 21.1.(30). For V-ru kotō to suru, see p. 843 (§ 14.1). We can compare Sensei to sitē wa dooi dekinai ‘The teacher, quā teacher (= in his role as teacher), can not agree’ with Sensei ni sitē wa tīsī gi sakunāi ‘For a teacher, he is singularly lacking in knowledge’. Neither the putative (tō suru) nor the mutative (ni suru) are to be taken literally here.

The distinction between tō suru and ni suru is sometimes hard to draw, as we have seen. The distinction between tō naru and ni naru—the INTRANSITIVE mutatives, subjective and objective respectively—is even finer; many speakers appear to treat N tō naru as a fancy or semi-literary version of N ni naru, with no particular feeling of the subjective versus the objective in spite of the difference in choice of tō or ni. If a difference is felt, the expression with tō will be used for situations that are less real, less enduring, or less substantial—to parallel the distinction of tō suru from ni suru. The various specific uses of tō naru are treated in § 21.1.(2).

It is possible to separate tō or ni from suru (as from nāru) with various focus and restrictive elements: ... tō DE MO surēba ‘If we suppose, say, that ...’; Tanyyō-o sa o sakeyōo to DE MO sitā no desu ‘I tried at least to avoid monotony’; Hotōndo kozinkkyōo o sū tū ni seito ni ateyōo tō SAE site iru ‘They even try to give masses of students a training that is close to virtually individual instruction’ (CK 985.62). Whenever suru itself can take a personal subject, exaltation is possible; examples of V-yōo to nasu are cited in Y 167.

21.5. LITERARY TENTATIVE + TŌ

The literary tentative (§ 12.3) + tō occurs, often in contrasting pairs, with the same meaning as the literary tentative + ga (§ 17.6) ‘whether ... (or)’: Anāta wa ikoo to iku ‘māi [or ikanakarōo] to sore wa kamawānai, watasi wa ikī-tai n desu ‘It makes no difference whether you go or not, I want to go anyway’ [= ittē mo, ikānakute mo ...]; Kimi ga iki-takarōo to dōo daroo to bōoku (=) wa kamawānai ‘It makes no difference to me whether you want to go or not’; Kueyōo to kuenakarōo to [= Kūete mo kuēnakute mo] būngaku o sīnā de wa irarenai hitō-tati da ‘They are people who must engage in literary pursuits whether they can eat (= make a living at it) or not’; Kore darōo to kore zya nakarōo to kamawānai = Kore de mo kore de nākute mo kamawānai ‘It doesn’t make any difference whether it is this or not’: Kore darōo to are darōo to kamawānai ‘It doesn’t matter whether it is this or that’; O-kane ga arōo to nakarōo to [= atē mo nākute mo] kai-tai monō wa kai-tai n desu ‘Whether I have the money or not, what I want to buy I want to buy’; Tatōeba, tūi kono-aidā made, kodomo wa sazukari-mōnō(=) dātta. İma de wa umoo to umo ‘māi to katte ni nātta ‘For example, until quite recently [having] a child was a godsend. Now it has become a matter of choice whether to have a child or not’ (SA 2672.128ab). Soori-daiizin ga korosareuyo dōo siyoo to, zenzen, mu-kānsin né ‘I couldn’t care less whether the prime minister gets killed or not’ (Fn 201b). Although this is most common for such adjectival as nāi, sukunāi, and desideratives (V-itai), occasionally other adjectives are heard: Ookikarōo to tiisakarōo to ‘Whether it be large or small ...’, Takakarōo to yasukarōo to ‘Whether it be expensive or cheap ...’. 
Sometimes, usually with an indeterminate (like náni 'what') in the sentence, there is only one tentative, the equivalent of -té mo (cf. Alfonso 867): Dáre ga nán to iyoo to, ...
Dáre ga nán to itté mo 'Regardless what anybody says ...' (SA 2677.34d); Dóko e ikoo to kími no katte da 'It's up to you where you go'; Dóo siyoo to ì de wa nái ka 'Isn't there any way that it's all right?'; Nakoo to waraoo to kamáu món ka? Dóo naróo to kamawání.

'Should it matter whether I cry or laugh?—It makes no difference what I do'. A somewhat similar use is -(y)oo + ní mo; see §17.7.

Notice that -(y)oo to is sometimes followed by mó: Dóko e ikoo tô mo = Dóko e itté mo 'Wherever you go' = 'Everywhere (you go)'; Dónna ni sabískáároo to mo = Dónna ni sabísikute mo 'However lonely one may be'. Compare the optional absence of mó in statements of permission: Itté {mó} iì 'You may go' (p. 480). A rare case of polite stylization will turn up: itasímsiyóó to itasímsáu 'mái to 'whether I do it or not' (Mio 281).

When an adjectival noun is put into this expression first affirmatively and then negatively, in the second part you can omit not only the repeated adjectival noun but also the appropriate copula form de, provided the copula in the first part has reverted to its formal (uncontracted) form de aru: ... sore ga kanzen de aróo to nakaróo to, ... 'whether healthy or not' (SA 2664.33b). The formula: AN₁ de aróo to {AN₁ de} nakaróo to. If, however, we start off with AN₁ daróo to, there can be no ellipsis; we must finish up with AN₁ de/zya + nakaróo to, nái daroo to, or arú ~mái to. If we start off with AN₁ de mo we will have to end with AN₁ de/zya nákute mo; if we start with AN₁ d'atte, the conclusion will have to be AN₁ de/zya nákut'atte.

### 21.6. TÓ KA; TÓ YARA

The particle string tó ka 'something to the effect that; or something' can be added at the end of a sentence to make a vague synonym of the hearsay conversion: Byooki ni site iru tó ka = Byooki site iru sóô da 'I hear he's ill (or something)'. It can also be tacked on to a quoted noun to add a touch of vagueness: Tanaka tó ka iu hitó 'a man called Tanaka or something' or 'a man called, I believe, Tanaka'. Tó ka can be used in citing items on a list, with optional omission after the last item: A tó ka B tó ka C {tó ka}  'A and/or B and/or C'. The meaning of N tó ka is sometimes close to that of N dé mo 'N or the like': Kí to ka, kusá to ka, teatari-śídái {ní} tabérú 'We eat plants or grasses, or whatever is at hand'; O-keikoo tte, dónna?—O-hana tó ka o-ryóóri to ka desu nè 'By lessons, what sort do you mean?'—I mean flower arranging and cooking and the like, you see' (SA 2672.64c). N tó ka nán to ka means 'N or something (or other)': Bunsí-seibutúgaku to ka nán to ka no kake-góé de, ... 'With much noise about molecular biology or something (like that) ...

(SA 2677.112c); "Onná no sóno o arasu otokó-tati' to ka nán to ka iw kóé ga, tikágoro tómi ni tákaku nátte iru 'Voices saying "Men are intruding into women's domains' and the like have suddenly grown loud of late' (SA 2672.117c)—the quoted sentence is an epithematic identification. From this usage, the sentence-opener Nán to ka {śítej} 'Somehow or other, Anyhow ...

In writing, at least, case-marking particles occasionally follow tó ka: Sikááso sore wa óoki na yamó to ka káwá to ka ga áru kara to iu wáke de wa nái 'But that doesn't mean it is because there are mountains and rivers or the like'; ... homérú tte iú no wa tokí to ka baai tó ka o sootoo erândári sino to suñári uke-totte moráenai kóto ga óói no de wa nái 'When it comes to offering praise unless you are careful in selecting your times and
places, it will often happen that you can not get it accepted smoothly, don't you think' 
(CK 985.391); Tyuuoo-kóoron to ka Kaizoo tó ka ni ronbun ya kansoo o káku yóo na
hitó wa ... 'The sort of people who write articles and impressions for Chúoo Kóron or Kaizó ...' (Tk 2.210b); ... iegará(−) to ka umare tó ka o omon-ziru(−) yóri wa ... 'rather than
value one's family standing or birth or the like' (Ono 1966.83); Dá kedo, watáši-tásti ni
suréba, ano Kírisutó-kyoo to ka Búkkyoo to ka niwa, kairitu ga áru n desu ná ‘But as WE
see it your Christianity and your Buddhism have (their) commandments, you know’ (SA
2671.18c). This is in keeping with the notion that a ká-question is a nominalization treated
as a pure noun (§15.6). When followed by a quoting verb, a nominal sentence retains dá:
Kore dá tó ka are dá tó ka ãoì ìwaretau to ... 'When you get told that it's this or it's that ...
But N dá tó ka can be used (in much the same sense as N tó ka) even in the absence of a
quoting verb: Soko de suteizi-dezán da to ka kosuttuuumu-dezán da to ka erokyúusyon
o narátte, ... ‘There I studied stage design and costume design and elocution, .. .' (Tk
2.323b). The following passage has four phrases of the type N [dá] tó ka; the copula is
omitted in the second and fourth instances: Mata, keisátu-woo(−) no mondai dá tó ka,
kyyóikú-hi no mondai tó ka, suto-kínsíhoo(−) dá tó ka, arú-wa gúnzín-onkyúú-woo(−) tó
ka, soo iu mono no naka ni ... ‘Again, there’s the question of the Police Law, and the
matter of educational expenses, and there’s the Anti-strike Law, and the Military Pension
Law; (and) among all such things .. .' (Tk 4.213b).
Instead of tó ka you may find tó yara: ... tettei-teki ni térebí ni yoru “Sin-zídai no
sénkyyo” to yara o osiyoo to iu “Gendai-sénkyyo-zemínárá” naru benkyóó-kái ga
hirakáréru ... ‘a study group that constitutes a “modern-election seminar” is held with
the idea of teaching [what might be called] the “new-era election” that is thoroughly based
on television’ (SA 2640.130). More examples of tó yara are cited in KKK 3.226. In Kyóto
the meaning of ... tó ka ... tó ka is carried by ... kanno ... kanno [? ká+nó] (Zhs 4.232);
in western Kyúshú, by ... te ro ... te ro (Zhs 6.24). See also §15.16, §15.18. Cf. dá no
(§15.17).

21.7. ADVERBIAL, INTERJECTIONAL, AND MIMETIC QUOTATIONS

Extending the use of quotation to show manner, a number of adverbs occur only in the
quoted form: hu-to ‘unexpectedly; unintentionally’ (the Chinese characters in Kenkyusha
represent a false etymology, cf. MKZs 981c); onozu-to ‘spontaneously’ (= onozukará;
waáza-to ‘on purpose’; siká-to ‘definitely, firmly’; sésse-to ‘frequently, diligently’; wariq-to
= wariá-to ‘relatively’; ói-sore-to ‘readily’ (< ‘saying “oh that!”’); ari-ári to ‘vividly’ (from
ári ‘existing’); akiáka-to ‘brightly’—cf. kúdo-kúdo ãoì ìtediously’; ... .
In addition, there are four special classes of interjectional and mimetic quotations that
call for comment:23

(1) Those that are quoted with tó + iu (or some other verb), but also occur alone as
interjections; these end in glottal catch, pronounced as /tt/ in -q tó:24 aq (to iu) ‘Oh!’—

23. See also §13.5a for the subjective adjectival nouns (marked by tárú/tó), some of which are old
Chinese mimetic adverbs.

24. In this book you will find these words sometimes written ..., but more often ...tI- to. Other
cases of ‘tt’ are usually reductions of such sequences as ...tU-... or ...tI-... at a morpheme
boundary, as in words borrowed from Chinese or made up of morphemes borrowed from Chinese. After
whence aq to iu ma ni ‘in an instant’ (perhaps from aa ‘ah’ or, ultimately, from a-re ‘that’); kyaq (to iu) ‘Oh how surprising (or frightening)!’; waq (to iu) ‘Boo!’; waaq (to iu) ‘Oh how nice! Goody-goody!’; zaq (to huri-dasu) ‘(pours down) copiously’.

(2) Those that do not normally occur except “quoted” with to suru/nárú; they end in a glottal catch (-q to suru/nårú ‘makes with a “...” effect’): gyoq to suru/nárú ‘acts/gets startled, frightened’; haq to suru/nárú ‘acts/gets startled, taken aback’; hooq to suru/nárú ‘acts/gets relieved’; muq to suru/nárú ‘acts/gets indignant, miffed; seems/gets stuffy, close’; zaoq to suru ‘shudders’—see below.

(3) Those that only occur adverbially with -q to /tto/ or with -n to: dōq(\~) to ‘bursting out suddenly; stampeding’; guq(\~) to ‘suddenly, with a jerk; tightly; considerably’; kāq(\~) to ‘suddenly arising; opening up’; kiq to ‘surely, I bet’; mōq to ‘more’ (from moo ‘more’); hyoq to ‘by chance’; yaq to ‘at last, with much difficulty’; sāq(\~) to ‘suddenly’; suq to ‘straight (out); up quickly; relieved’; soq to ‘quietly; secretly’; tiq\~ to ‘a little bit’; tyōq to ‘a little bit; please; say!’—whence tyōt-to da ‘is slight’ as in tyōt-to no kaze ‘a slight cold’; zaq to ‘roughly; sketchily’; ziq to ‘steadily, intently; quietly, patiently’; zuq to ‘all the way; directly; considerably’ (also zuuq to); dēn(\~) to ‘conspicuously (placed)’; kiitīn to ‘accurately, punctually, neatly’; tan to ‘lots’; tōn(\~) to ‘utterly; completely’; tyān to ‘perfectly, regularly, neatly, safely, comme-il-faut’; ūn(\~) to ‘with great force; copiously; lots’.

(4) Other mimetic words that can occur as adverbs alone and also with to (suru/nárú): bon’yāri, bon’yāri 1to} suru ‘absent-minded, vague’; hakkiri, hakkiri 1to} suru ‘clear, precise’; ottōri 1to} ‘quietly, generously’. When these forms occur alone with suru, as in bikkūri suru ‘is startled’, they look as if they might be verbal nouns, but the words must be adverbs since they cannot be followed by the object-marker: ‘bikkūri o suru; cf. sanpo o suru ‘strolls’. When you can apply focus, the appropriate particle (wā/mō etc.) is better attached to the adverb: bikkūri wā/mo suru rather than (*) bikkūri sae surēba as well as bikkūri sae surēba ‘if he is just startled’.

Although dictionaries carry a good many of the mimetic adverbs that are in common use, new ones keep turning up, as well as unexpected variants of older forms. A few that I have found missing in many dictionaries:

- gappōri (zeikin o tōru) [MKZ5] ‘(takes) lots (of taxes)’.
- hūnwaka = hūwa-huwa [MKZ] ‘soft, floating’; Tōire no naka made hūnwaka to attakai waga-ya ... ‘Our home that is warm [with central heating] floating all the way into the toilet ...’ (SA 2659.118b).
- kutya-kyutsya to gāmu o kāmi, ... ‘smacking their chewing gum’ (SA 2654.133b)—[Shimmura: = kusyā-kusya ‘rumpled’].
- kwaq(\~) to hirāte ‘opening wide’ (SA 2666.85c) = kāq(\~) to with expressive labialization?

an atonic morpheme the (\~)tō carries a basic accent, but many of these adverbs never occur in a position for the accent to be heard (i.e. before wā, mō, or dā); and some (like certain other basically oxytonic adverbs) have been reinterpreted as atonic.
hin'yāri ‘cold’ (cf. hiya-hiya): Kūuki ga hin'yāri to site huyu da nāa ‘the air is cold and it's winter’ (SA 2662.42c).

ninmāri ‘smirking’ [Shimmura, MKZ5] (cf. niko-niko, nikōri): Yobi-koo no keieī-sya ga ninmāri suru wāke da ‘No wonder the operators of cram schools are all smiles’ (SA 2663.27a); ninmāri waratta ‘smirked’ (SA 2666.19e).

sin to ‘silent, quiet’ [Shimmura, MKZ5]: sin to site i ru ‘is still’, sin to sita tokorō ‘a quiet place’, sin to sūzuka ni nāru ‘becomes quite still’ (cf. sīni ‘death’, sūzuka ‘quiet’; sitōyaka ‘gentle’, sitō-sito ‘gently’).
The expression suttōbu (SA 2670.116b, MKZ5 586b) looks like a contraction from sū(q)(-)[to] tobō ‘springs up’.

These interj ectional and mimetic words form a set with special phonetic characteristics. Some are very old and widely used; others are ephemeral creations, perhaps the property of a single comedian. The phonetic system utilizes syllables and moras in ways that facilitate the creation of new variants from established forms; that is one reason dictionaries do not cover this part of the vocabulary comprehensively. Phonetic symbolism helps make connotational variants that differ only in vowels or in choice of initial consonant by taking advantage of series such as these:

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & \quad \text{CVq} & \text{CV CV} & \text{CV q CV} & \text{CV CV q CV} \\
(2) & \quad \text{CV CV r CV} & \text{CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV q} \\
(3) & \quad \text{CV CV n CV} & \text{CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV q}
\end{align*}
\]

One group of mimetic words is built up on single syllables by applying various expansions, with and/or without reduplications, as in the following set, all meaning something like 'puffing' (together with extended senses, e.g. 'suddenly'):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CVq} & \quad \text{CV q CV} & \text{CV CV q CV} \\
\text{ CV:} & \quad \text{pāq to} & \text{pāq pa} & \text{pāq pa q pa} \\
\text{CV:q} & \quad \text{pāq} & \text{pāq q pāq} & \text{pāq pāq} \\
\text{CV:n} & \quad \text{pān} & \text{pān q pāq} & \text{pāq pāq} \\
\text{CV:n} & \quad \text{ pān} & \text{pān q pāq} & \text{pāq pāq}
\end{align*}
\]

A large group of disyllables enter into variant formations of the following types:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CV CV to} & \quad \text{hāta to, } --, -- & \text{hāta to, } --, -- & \text{hāta to, } --, -- & \text{hāta to, } --, -- & \text{hāta to, } --, -- \\
\text{CV CV CV to CV CV} & \quad \text{hāta hata, pāta-pata, bāta-bata} & \text{hāta hata, pāta-pata, bāta-bata} & \text{hāta hata, pāta-pata, bāta-bata} & \text{hāta hata, pāta-pata, bāta-bata} & \text{hāta hata, pāta-pata, bāta-bata} \\
\text{CV CV CV CV CV} & \quad \text{CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV} \\
\text{CV CV CV CV CV CV} & \quad \text{CV CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV CV} & \text{CV CV CV CV CV CV} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Although you should not feel free to make up new formations yourself, be prepared to run into them. You will come across odd sounds in some of these mimetic morphemes, of types seldom found in the rest of the vocabulary: gyāggya (= gyāg-gya) ‘squalling, bawling’; kwātya-kwata or gwātya-gwata ‘splattering in large messy droppings’; zāzza (= zāq-zā) ‘pouring’; wōqq to ‘with much commotion (?)’; gyuq to ‘with a jerk’. A number of the two-syllable mimetic adverbs will attach the postnominal verbs -meku or -tuku; see §3.13. And a few enter into other derivations, to be found in the lexicon.

By meaning the mimetic adverbs can be divided into three groups:
PHONOMIMES (gisei-go) are attempts to imitate sounds: wán-wan ‘bow-wow’, káa[-kaa] ‘caw’, pyúu[-to] ‘whizzing’, ... .

PHENOMIMES (gitai-go) try to describe the manner or looks of a situation: kusyá-kusya ‘all crumpled, rumpled’, pótú-pótú ‘in small drops/spots, sporadically’, gúru-gúru ‘round and round’, dossári ‘in large quantity’, ... .

PSYCHOMIMES (gizyoo-go) are intended to express one’s inner feelings or, sometimes, one’s physical reactions: muq-to ‘offended, sullen’, gakkári ‘disheartened’, múzu-muzu ‘itchy’, ... .

But a word may be used with more than one meaning, and it is not always obvious which group a given adverb belongs to.

Many of the mimetic adverbs are simply ways of intensifying a verb and are best learned in context with particular verbs: Tyoosyuu no kao o zéro-zéro mite ... ‘Staring (fixedly) at the audience ...’ (Tk 3.252a); haiyuu san wa amari géso-geso ni yasetó ‘tya komarimásu né’ ‘if an actor is too skinny it won’t do’ (Tk 3.244b); ránpu ga pág-to(-) túku ‘the light pops on’ (Tk 3.235a); Seiyyoo o gurúq-to mawatte kíte, ... ‘After travelling around the Occident ...’ (Tk 3.234a); Sono uti(-) ni, mukoo(-) kara nání ka tírá-tíra to hikáru monó ga miete kíta ‘Meanwhile from across the way there began to appear something flashing’ (Tk 3.284a); sura-suráq to kotáérú ‘answers smoothly’ (Tk 3.215a); ban-tya o gábu-gábu nóndári site kíte ... ‘gulping down coarse tea’ (Tk); kenbutu wa wáq-to(-) kíta ... ‘the audience came in droves’ (Tk 3.220a); tana kara óoki na nímou ga bokú(-) no senaka e basáq-to okkótte kí-yagáta ‘from the rack a big piece of luggage came tumbling down thump on my back’ (Tk 3.120a); Nání ka wakaránai monó o pyúq-to tukámu ... ‘suddenly grasps something not understood ...’ (Tk 3.260b).

Not infrequently these mimetic adverbs correspond to the use of expressive gestures by speakers of European languages; such gestures often correspond also to sentence-final particles of the interjectional type, such as né and yó, as pointed out in §15.

Often you will see the mimetic part of the word written in katakana, with to in hiragana; this is especially common for phonomimes, much as quotes are often used in English (‘the cow went “moo”’). But a number of adverbs that originate in mimetic (or quasi-mimetic) morphemes have lost the feel of being special vocabulary and their meanings have been rather widely extended; these are most often written in hiragana throughout, especially such words as tyóotto = tyóq to, móotto = móq to, zutto = zuq to, kitto = kiq to, tyantó = tyan tó, úntó = ún(-) to; hakkári, yukkanári, ... . Of those words ending in -tó, Saeki 1960.11 suggests that only the following seventeen be treated as lexical adverbs to be written solid: huto, hyótto, kittó, móotto, onozuto, tantó, titó, tító, tóntó, tyóotto, úntó, wázato, yattó, zattó, zittó, zutto.
Sentences can be "stylized" in two ways, to show respect (POLITE STYLE) or deference (HONORIFIC STYLE) toward the person to whom the sentence is spoken. The honorific style is also called the HYPERPOLITE or ELEGANT style, and these terms may be less confusing than "honorific", which I am using in a somewhat restricted, technical sense; what I have called SUBJECT EXALTATION (§6.1) is sometimes called "honorific speech", and what I have called OBJECT EXALTATION (§6.2) is sometimes called "humble speech".

Use of the honorific style is a bit like the insertion of "sir" in American prep-school speech; if overdone, it sounds unnatural. Polite stylization is common at the end of a sentence or followed by a particle extension (such as ká). Polite sentences that are adnominalized (-másu N da and negative -masén N da) or adverbialized (-másite and -masén de or [Mio 213] -masén desite,1 -másitari and -masén desitari, -másitara and -masén desitara, -máseba/-másureba and -masén nara) sound more deferential than the usual polite style and are not too common, except when used as sentence fragments: Arimásitara née 'If I only had some, you see'. But see §17.4 for -másu (or désu etc.) + monó 'but ...'—a womanly protest.

Mio observes that polite stylization is not ordinarily used with NONFINAL forms—other than ... ga 'but' and the like, except:

(1) with an HONORIFIC final clause, so that each part of the complex sentence is upgraded one style, so to speak;
(2) with an incomplete sentence fragment that "picks up" the stylization we would have expected to find at the end of the full sentence; and
(3) before an interrupting pause, often accompanied by ... né.

Mio says that polite stylization is still less common with adnominalizations—other than the rather special cases of nó de and nó ni (§14.2.1-2)—and largely limited to sentences with a final honorific-styled clause. I have caught the following examples: Mázu kan-zimásita no wa ... 'The first thing I felt was ...'; [koko] de yatte orimásu sigoto 'the job I am doing here'; íma moosimásita yóo na imi de 'in a sense like that I have just mentioned'; Kinöö mairimásita tokoró wa née (kirei de gozaimásita) 'The place we went yesterday, you see'—(it was lovely).

The polite stylization at the end of a complex sentence will induce similar stylization within the sentence before various linking elements, to varying extents depending on the individual element (cf. Mio 248-9). Below are tables of percentage for several linking elements; the order gives us a rough idea of the looseness of connection of each element. There are four columns of figures: the first shows the percentages found by Mio 252; the following three are from KKK 25.170, where ratios are separately taken for conversational passages, other passages, and overall text.

1. But *-masénai de and *(a)ní de desite are apparently used by no one, not even sentence-final as questions or (with optional yó) statements in female speech.
Although there are some questions on the statistics, the general picture is quite clear. (The large difference between the two studies with respect to to may indicate that the KKK study included the quotational to, which Mio—and we—would exclude.)

Mi kam i (1963a,27-8) suggests that nonfinal stylization is more likely to occur (if at all) when the action is clearly about the speaker or the hearer. He also says (1963a,25ff) that stylization is applied by starting from major breaks and going on to minor breaks—both within the sentence and in the larger paragraph. In order of RESISTANCE to stylization he lists five stages: (1) gerund conjoining (site); (2) conditionals (sitara, suru to); (3) ... nO de, ... nO ni; (4) predicative + conjunction (presumably ga, karA, karedo, si); (5) sentence-final. Mi kam i (1963a,27) says that V-i ni iku (§9,1,1) does not stylize the V (in fact there is no *V-masi as such anywhere) nor does V-rú/-tá kará ni [wa] (§17,1) despite the acceptability of V-i-mási/-mAsí kara without ni. An example of ... arimási ka sira will be found in §15,9, p. 937.

Mio (354) says the gerund is never stylized before auxiliaries (*simásite iru, *simásite imAsu, *simásite orimási), hence (there being no *simásite kudasáru) not before kudasái in polite requests (*simásite kudasái → site kudasaimése). The stylized gerund is used sentence-final (see §9,2,1a): Soo i iken mo arimási ná 'There are some such opinions, you see' (SA 2686,48a). When applied to semantically tenuous gerunds (such as those in the phrasal postpositions of §9,7: ... ni arimási te, tukimási te, etc.), the stylization seems to add a touch of elegance.

Mi kami (1963a,25) points out that the polite infinitive -mási-i is not actually used for anything, except to build the gerund -másié (and related forms); it is of interest to observe that, unlike the situation without stylization, you can not substitute the infinitive for the gerund in loosely linking two sentences: Ûti(‘) e kaeri/kaet te góhan o tábeta 'I returned home and ate' but Ûti(‘) e kaerimásié(/kaerimási) góhan o tabémása. Mikami,(1963a,30) also says that while speakers accept both plain gerund + exalting polite (O-uti e káette mesiagarimási ka) and exalting plain or polite gerund + exalting polite (O-uti e o-kaeri ni nátte/narimásié mesiagarimási ka), it is a bit "rude" to follow the unexalting polite gerund by the exalting polite: "O-uti e kaerimásié mesiagarimási ka".

2. I.e. only 5.5 percent of sentences that end in desú (etc.) have dá (etc.) rather than desú (etc.) before gá ‘but’ within them.
Although N désite\(^3\) and N de gozaimásite will be heard, neither *A-\(\dot{i}\) désite nor *A-\(\dot{i}\) de gozaimásite are acceptable, being replaced by A-[\(\dot{k}\)u] gozaimásite or just A-[\(\dot{k}\)u]te. Instead of N désite you may hear N de arma site: Atakusi wa \(\dot{\imath}\)ma de kookoku-syasinka de arma site, nyuudo-syasinka to iwareru kotô wa ... 'I am still (an advertising =) a commercial photographer; and to be called a nude-photographer, well ...' (SA 2680.47b).

Hyperpolite stylization is unusual for adnominalized sentences, especially those with adjectival and precopular nouns, but it is sometimes found before a postadnominal or in a quasi-final sentence fragment: O-samuu gozaimásu uti(\(\sim\)) ni 'Despite the cold weather'; Namí[i] no sízuka de gozaimásita kotô wa 'The fact that the waves were calm'; Sore ga hontoo de gozaimásita baii wa ‘The situation where (= If) that was true’. The polite perfect copula désita may appear—though infrequently—before such postadnominals as séi \([ka]\), tamé, kawari, etc., yet it almost never occurs adnominal to an ordinary noun (i.e. an extruded epitheme). And -masén (desita) NOUN is said to be quite rare—under one percent of stylized adnominalizations; the stylization is largely limited to the AFFIRMATIVE adnominalizations, with the perfect (-má-sita) making up the bulk (about 70 percent) of the cases and the imperfect (-má-su) occurring in most of the remaining 30 percent of the examples. (But we find examples such as ... zikan ga gozaimásén no de wa ... 'since I lack the time', with a postadnominal.)

In their discussions of what they call keigo ("respect language" in O'Neill's translation), Japanese often lump sentence stylizations together with the conversions we are referring to as subject and object exaltation; they also include lexical honorifics, and polite euphemisms (or genteelisms) such as tabérú (and now itadaku) for kúu 'eats', motomérú for kau 'buys', naku-naru 'passes away' for sinu 'dies', yorosii for yóii/ií in the sense 'satisfactory', oisii 'delicious' for umái 'good (tasting)' (the latter is more used by men and the former by women), o-naka ga suku for hara ga her-u 'gets hungry', etc.—called teinei-go ("polite words") by Mio (333). In this broad sense of keigo, Tsujimura (216) lists five uses to which it is put: (1) to observe relative social status, (2) to seek favor or patronage, (3) to keep one's distance, (4) to maintain one's "dignity", (5) to show affection.

It is open to question whether a speaker starts from some "basic" style (or form) and then upgrades or downgrades that so as to reach the level he wishes, or whether he freely enters the system at any point and then moves on from there. If the former, is the basic style the one represented by N dá (called dá-tai) or that represented by N désu (called désu-tai)? We have followed most modern grammarians in assuming that the dá-tai is basic; but observe that a sentence ending in dá itself (with no final particle or other element) is semantically marked as rude or rough and the connotationally unmarked version will suppress the imperfect copula: Kore wa hón [ ] rather than Kore wa hón dá.\(^4\)

We have pointed out elsewhere (§ 15) that there are many devices utilized to personalize a sentence and the interplay between them is subtle and elusive.

\(^3\) Examples of désite will be found in §9.2.1a and in Terase 129-30.

\(^4\) The word dá goes back to the Muromachi period (Y 399); from Edo times it has been considered coarse, but more recently it has started creeping into the impersonal de-áru style of treatises and reportage (402). When not at the end of a sentence, of course, there is usually no feeling that dá is a "marked" form, since it can not be omitted.
22.1. Polite stylization

Polite stylization is typically produced by attaching the bound auxiliary -masu to the infinitive of verbs, by attaching to (the imperfect or perfect of) adjectives the word desu, and by changing da to desu after nominals. An alternative to V-i-masu attaches desu to the verbal imperfect: Yobu desu = Yobimasu. This form seems to be gaining popularity among younger Tōkyō speakers; you will also hear datta desu for dēsita—or perhaps for datta no desu: Ítumo ohanasi-tyuu datta desu yo ‘Your line’s been busy (all day)’; Érai otoōsan datta desu ne ‘He was a splendid father, wasn’t he’ (Tk 2.94b); ... Sono tugi ga atashi datta desu ne ‘and the next was me, you see’ (Tk 4.300a); Mukasya [= Mukawa wa] sóo datta desu ne ‘That’s the way it used to be, all right’ (Tk 3.325a); Utida san no koogi-buri wa, dóo iu hū datta ka ‘What was your lecture style like, Mr Uchida?’ (Tk 3.98a). An example of N de wa atta desu (= N de wa arimāsita): Tō-ni kaku inyō-tekki na rasuto-siin de wa atta desu ne ‘Anyway, it WAS an impressive last scene, wasn’t it’ (Tk 2.126b).

The negative is traditionally built on the polite form (Yobu → Yobimasu → Yobimasen), but it is increasingly popular to reverse the order of the conversions: Yobu → Yobanai → Yobanai desu (whence the double negative Yobanai de wa nai ‘It isn’t that one doesn’t call’, cf. remarks on the negative gerund, p. 477). Similarly, the perfect is traditionally built on the polite (Yobu → Yobimasu → Yobimāsita) but the reversed order is increasingly popular (Yobu → Yonda → Yonda desu); the reversed order is especially favored for adjectives, and some speakers would completely reject Ookii desita in favor of Ōokikatta desu. The forms with verbal/adjectival + desu are often considered to be abbreviations of verbal/adjectival + no desu (§ 14.2); this may be the historical origin, but synchronically the two should be kept distinct. Tsujimura (126, 128 n. 5) tells us these forms have been spreading since Meiji times, but (198) the verb forms such as kāeru desu = kaerimāsu have been slower to spread than the adjectival forms, including verbal negatives. The following examples of -(a)nai desu are from the speech of Miss Yoshinaga Sayuri (b. Tōkyō 1945) in an interview in SA 2645: Gōri-teki zya nai desu yo ‘It isn’t logical, I tell you’ (48d); (Imootō-san to kenka suru?) → Imootō to wa sinai desu ne ‘(Do you quarrel with your younger sister?—) I don’t, not with my sister’ (48d); Sōo wa omowānai desu ‘I don’t think so’ (50c). And from Miss Itō Yukari (b. Tōkyō 1947): (Sēttaa amérū ka.) → Sore wa dekinai desu ‘(Can you knit sweaters?—) That I can’t’ (SA 2651.46b). An example from the speech of Saga Sen (b. Tōkyō 1914): Bōku(‘) wa sake [o] nomān desu kara, ... ‘I don’t drink, so ...’ (SA 2650.42b). And from an interview with Shishi Bunroku (b. Yokohama 1893) shortly before his death in 1969: Minai desu ne ‘I don’t watch it [= television comedy]’ (SA 2658.127d). An example from Hatano Akira (b. Kanagawa 1911): Nai desu nā ‘I have none’ (SA 2678.46b). There are quite a few examples in the speech of Okayama-born Kihara Michiko in her interview in SA 2640.42-6, e.g.: Sināi desu ‘I don’t’ (42d); Sonnā no, nai desu yo ‘I haven’t any like that’ (43b); Sōo de mo nái desu yo ‘That’s not true, either’ (43c).

One use of V-rū desu is to combine an expression of respect (in the form of a subject-exaltation conversion on the V-rū) with polite friendliness: Sore zya, taitei no ningen yōi wa ōoku mawatte irassyāru desu ne ‘And you’ve been around more than most people, haven’t you’ (Tk 2.260a). Examples of V-rū desu (even āru desu) and V-i-masu desu will be found in Y 466, where the forms are described as ‘not very Tōkyō-like—at most, hama talk’. Y 477 says that women tend to use (V/A) n desu, when men are more likely to drop the n.
In addition to *yobimāsu* and *yobū desu*, Tsujimura observes that *yobimāsu desu* is "used by merchants" (211). Sometimes one gets the feeling that *dēsu* can be added to just about anything to lend a touch of politeness. It should be noted that *dēsu* is often underarticulated and sometimes reduces to *'su yō* "I tell you"'. The speaker, to be sure, is a rakugo comic storyteller. But here are more examples:

Soray katyoo no meirei de yattā n 'su yō 'I tell you that at the section head's orders' (SA 2688.145a);

*Mattakusii* 'su nā 'It's hard, you know' (SA 2679.150— katakanasu);

Assirarashi [Watasi-?] kankei nai 'su yō 'Makes no difference to us [taxi drivers whether the companies raise the fares or not]' (SA 2666.37a);

Matta ku menboku nai 'su yō 'I am thoroughly ashamed of myself, I tell you'. The speaker, to be sure, is a rakugo comic storyteller. But here are more examples:

The following paradigms show some of the possibilities for each category in polite stylization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFIRMATIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMPERFECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yobimāsu.</em></td>
<td><em>Yobimasen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yobū desu.</em></td>
<td><em>Yobanai desu.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ookii desu.</em></td>
<td><em>Ōokiku arimasen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hōn desu.</em></td>
<td><em>Hōn za arimasen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yobimāsita.</em></td>
<td><em>Yobimasen desita.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yondā desu.</em></td>
<td><em>Yobanakatta desu.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ookii desita.</em></td>
<td><em>Ōokiku arimasen desita.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ōokikatta desu.</em></td>
<td><em>Ōokiku nākatta desu.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hōn desita.</em></td>
<td><em>Hōn za arimasen desita.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENTATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yobimāsu (n) desyoo.</em></td>
<td><em>Yobimasen desyoo.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yobū desyoo.</em></td>
<td><em>Yobanai desyoo.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6. Thus the following ingratiating sentences from Suzuki Kenji, an NHK announcer (SA 2676.46ab):

Hai, yari masu desu yō; ... yari masita desu né; Ironna tegami ga kimāsu desu né. A less exuberant example:

... sono manma yōsya to site nokorimāsita desu ‘I remained on as an assistant’ (SA 2689.53b).

7. On the Meiji usage of -mesēkatta and -masēnanda = -mesēn desita, see Mio 217 and Tsujimura 161, 162 (n. 5-6); cf. the dialect form -(a)nanda = -(a)nākatta, p. 372. Here is an example: ... sukoshi mo hosigari wa naisaimasēnanda 'hadn't the least desire for it' (Fn 53a). According to Y 467, the form -mesēn desita appeared in Meiji times and came to replace -masēnanda (also -masēnanda) by way of the form -masēndatta. The contraction -masēn(an)da = -masēn desita in Mie and Nara (Hōgen-gaku gaisetsu 406) should not be misconstrued as some strange combination of -mesē + đa.

8. Mio 224 observes that -mesēn desita is "unrefined", and its abbreviation -māsita desita is even more so. Examples will be found in n.6 above.

9. For an example of arimasēyō = āru desyō, see p. 615 (§ 12.3).

10. Tsujimura 117 quotes Mio as favoring -(a)nai desyō over -mesēn desyō; that preference despite -mesēn desita and the dim view taken of (*)-(a)nai desita.
Ookii desyoo.
Hon desyoo.

PERF. TENT.
Yobimásita desyoo.
Yondá desyoo.¹¹
Ookii desita desyoo.
Ôokikatta desyoo.
Hón desita desyoo.¹²
Hón datta desyoo.

HORTATIVE
Yobimayôô.

IMPERATIVE
Yobimése.
Yobimáši.¹⁴

The imperative is usually limited to subject-exalting verbs (kudasaimáše, nasaimáše etc.) so that "ikimáše will not be heard from a standard speaker, for he will instead say irrassayaimáše or o-ide (ni nätte) kudasaimáše. According to Tsujimura 204 the imperative -máši/-mášu is used only with these verbs: irrassyarú, nasáru, kudasárú, ossyárú; asosabu, mesiagarú, mésu. But I believe you will see other verbs in the form V-i-máše in advertisements from time to time. Y 284 says -máše is limited in Tôkyô to subject-exalting verbs, but in Shikoku is widely used for all verbs (e.g. ikimáše 'go').

Though not common, adnominalization of -mášu occurs (particularly with postadnominals), as in Go-kôohai kudasaimasú yô ni o-negai itasimášu ‘Please use your good offices on my behalf’, and sometimes a pseudo-literary ATTRIBUTIVE form -masúru is written (Mio 220): Sore ni Wakâyama ni orimasúrú hâha ga are bâkari tâyorî ni ítâsité(‘) ‘And I will depend to that extent on my mother who is in Wakayama’; Taku é de mo mâtte iru yôô ni itasâô ka to zon-zimasúru no de gozaimasú ‘I am wondering whether I should decide to come and stay perhaps at your house’; Koko ni hîroo simásûru {no} wa, ún o tén ni makásète no dái-bôóken ‘dá ‘What we will reveal here is a great venture with one’s fate entrusted to heaven’ (SA 2666.16—for the direct nominalization, see §14.6). And, in appropriate literary fashion, the form is extended to some conjunctivalizations that we do not usually consider adnominalizations (since the colloquial uses dá, not ná/nô, for the copula): Sore ni gísei no tamé o omótte mimásúru to, gësyuku ni okimásu no wa ikága de gozaimasyôô ‘And thinking of the victims’ welfare, how about putting them in a boarding house?’ (As okimáše in the last part of the example shows, the use of -masúru is only an

¹¹. Mio 224 says -másita ‘roo is “little used now”; Mio 233 gives examples of gozaimásita ‘roo.
¹². But desita desyoo is considered "ingratiating" by some; apparently there is no corresponding *desita desu. Nor is there *desita daroo, though desita 'roo will be heard from male speakers (cf. fn. 8): Hu-yûkai desita ‘roo nê ‘It must have been unpleasant’ (SA 2660.47a—lizawa Tadashi).
¹³. But often replaced by: (1) Yobanai kóto ni simayôô; Yamemayôô ‘Let’s not’; (2) Yobanai tumori desu ‘I think I won’t’; cf. §12.1.
¹⁴. V-i-máši is a Tôkyô pronunciation; in Ösaka only the V-i-’máše version is used (Maeda 1961.218). The latter version is also heard in older and uptown Tôkyô speech, the version with final i being newer and "downtown" (Y 262, Tsujimura 203). Yoshida would explain the i form as the infinitive used as a command.
elegant option.) I have spoken of these forms as "written"; yet KKK 23.153 (iv) gives a spoken example that includes ... wareware wa arúi-wa kázokû de arimasûru to ka arúi-wa syotá de arimasûru to ka arúi-wa mâta utî("") nántë iu kotobá mo tukaimásu ... 'we use words like "family", or "household", or "home" ...'.

Notice that -másu "mái (= -masén desyoo), the negative tentative, is apparently never replaced by *-masûru "mái. And there seems to be no use of *-masítáru ...; nor, despite -táreba (kôso) §9.3.1, can we find an example of *-masítareba (kôso).

The provisional form (virtually limited to sentences whose final predicate is honorifically stylized) is either -masëba or -masüreba. But Tsujimura 203 says that -masëba is "not standard" and that -masüreba has never been common, even in earlier periods.

In origin the polite forms are made by adding an auxiliary verb "más-" to the infinitive -i- (cf. §9.1.10), with the conjugational irregularities similar to those of su(ru) 'do'; unlike other infinitive-auxiliaries, "másu is accentually dominant over both tonic and atonic infinitives even for the conservative speakers.

Several etymologies have been suggested for the auxiliary -más-. The best would seem to be by way of these attested forms (cf. Tsujimura 201): -mas-u[ru] < -mas-su[ru] < -mar[a]-su[ru]-maisu[ru] < mawira-su[ru]. Mawira-su[ru] is an old verb meaning 'humbly presents', used early as a humble (i.e. object-exalting) auxiliary. The origin of this verb, in turn, is no doubt the subjunctive -form of the old verb mawîr-u 'goes, comes, etc.' (whence modern máir-u) + the verbal auxiliary su[ru], whose presence is attested by the negative -masên[u], cf. sen[u] = sinai.

Tsujimura 193-4 lists five suggested origins for désu: (1) de arimasu; (2) de gozaimasu; (3) de, su[ru] - i.e. copula gerund + verbal auxiliary; (4) de owasu; (5) de sooroo. Synchronically we need the first explanation anyway because of de wa/mo arimasu; and it will suffice to explain historically both the Tôkyô form and the Ôsaka form désu: Tôkyô is de [arimå]su, Ôsaka is d[e arimå]su. But the Kyôto form dôsu will have to be explained as an abbreviation from d[e]o[za]imåsu or from d[e] o[wa]su/omåsu. Since these are all relatively modern forms, the divergent developments are not surprising, especially in view of the reputation of Kyôto speakers for greater elegance than is found in the speech of Tôkyô and Ôsaka. According to Lewin (128-9) dâ was contracted from de âri in Muromachi times (i.e. sometime during the 15th or 16th centuries) and désu was contracted from de arimåsu or de soorô in Edo times (after 1603).

Polite forms in some of the dialects are the result of contractions and assimilations of various sorts. For example, V-i-måsu will often drop the nasal V-i-[m]åsu, intrude a palatal

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15. The -masûru forms are used for both attributive and predicative functions in formal speeches, according to Gekkan-Bumpô 1/8.56 (1969).
16. Yoshida (284) suggests a possible blend with the old verb másu, a subject-exalting euphemism for 'stays' or 'goes', and/or with the verb máusu < mawôsu 'tells; humbly does', the source of modern móosu "humbly tells/does".
17. This is not necessarily in conflict with Maeda's explanation (1961.149) that dasu came from de yasu, since yasu is a shortening from [ar](i)[m]åsu.
18. But these descriptions are misleading. Dâsu is a contraction of de omåsu, still used in Ôsaka; dôsu is a contraction of de ôsu, ôsu being the Kyôto contraction of omåsu. Omåsu (not to be confused with orimåsu 'stays') is a polite Kansai verb used as an equivalent of arimåsu (the plain form being âru) and sometimes also of imåsu/orimåsu.
semivowel V-i-yasu, and sometimes reduce to V-yasu. And that will account for such Osaka forms as these: ... to omowareyasu = omowaremásu (SA 2678.205a); ... to iu ii-kata o itasiyasu [= itasmáus] (SA 2678.205-6); kiyan na (Zhs 4.191) < kiyas[u] na < ki[yas] na < ki[m]asu na = kímasu ná; iiyasu mon naa (Zhs 4.192) = íímasu kara ná; nariásita (Zhs 4.197) = narímasáita; narihén wa (Zhs 4.192) = narímasën wá. (I here assume a different development from that explaining the negative forms on p. 376.) In place of dé-árimásu (or its contraction désu, Ôsaka désu, and the Kyôtö equivalent dósu) you will sometimes find dé[yá]n[s]u: Zyumyoo ga nóbite kita sô de yansu ga, ... ‘They say life (expectancy) is getting longer, ...’ (SA 2679.105d); ... genkyoo de yásu ná ‘is the chief culprit, you know’ (ibid.); ... o-kage de yansyóo = o-kage desyóo ‘is probably due to that’ (id. 205a). You will also find de omásu, the uncontracted form of désu = désu: Kázitu, kansan to sita doobutu-en no gorìra-gáden de no kótó de omásu ‘It happened a few days ago in the quiet Gorilla Garden of the zoo’ (SA 2671.118a). And de ósu, the source of Kyôtö dósu, also appears (Shûkan-Yomìuri 1289.67).

The Tókyö polite copula désu, which we will assume is a contraction of dé [arimásu], has been borrowed into dialects as a variant of more authentic local developments such as Ôsaka désu < d[é]omásu and Kyôtö dósu < d[é]ósu (ósu being the Kyôtö equivalent of Ôsaka omásu = arimásu). The final -su on these forms, and also on other polite and hyperpolite forms such as go[w]asu < goza[r]imasu, is often lisped or assimilated to a following consonant. The lisp is especially characteristic of Kyôtö women’s speech, where you may hear a voiceless interdental fricative (θ) as well as the totally swallowed s > h. Here is a list of parallel forms from Ôsaka and Kyôtö speech, expanded from Maëda 1961.19, with the Tókyö equivalents on the left:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TÔKYÖ</th>
<th>ÔSAKA</th>
<th>KYÔTO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>désu</td>
<td>dásu ; désu</td>
<td>dósu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zya arimasén</td>
<td>ya omahén</td>
<td>ya ohén / oohén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arimasu</td>
<td>omásu</td>
<td>'ósu,21  óh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-i-másu , -masén</td>
<td>V-i-másu , -mahén</td>
<td>V-i-másu/-máh , -mahén21a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>désu ka</td>
<td>dák ka ; dék ka</td>
<td>dósu ka, dóh ka ; désu ka, déh ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arimásu ka</td>
<td>omák ka</td>
<td>ósu ka , óh ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-i-másu ka</td>
<td>V-i-máh ka</td>
<td>V-i-másu ka, V-i-máh ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. But notice the contraction in ... nó ‘[o]su = ... nó désu.
20. Zhs 4.240. The ya in these forms is from de wa > dé [w]a > dé ya > dyá₁ > ya₁; cf. de á[ru] > dyá₂ > vá₂ (= dá).
21. Though sometimes thought to be contractions of o-+ arimasu, the verb o[m]asu goes back to omásu/owasu, an old honorific for ‘go, come, be (animate or inanimate)’, ultimately derived from o-+ ma[w]ira-su, the likely source of -masu itself. Cf. Makimura 131-2. O[m]asu is used as an equivalent of iru/oru as well as aru (Zhs 4.20). And it serves as an auxiliary (comparable to aru) in other constructions, e.g.: Yoho donari-tou omásita ga, ... ‘I very much wanted to shout, but...’ (SA 2671.118c) —equivalent to donari-ta[k]u [wa] arimasita = donari-takatta désu. The negative of the V-te ya sentence (in which ya is to be taken as the copula, equivalent to da—see §9.2.1) is V-te ya omahén (= V-te zya arimasén); these are Ôsaka forms of an intermediate degree of politeness (Maëda 1961.227).
21a. Also reported (Y 290) is -mehen, but I am uncertain whether it is localized. Corresponding to -másu, Y 290 cites examples of -ma, taken as shortenings of -ma[h]u.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V-i-masu</th>
<th>V-i-masu</th>
<th>dás sakai, dés sakai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karā</td>
<td>karā</td>
<td>os sakai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arimasu</td>
<td>arimasu</td>
<td>V-i-mas sakai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masu</td>
<td>masu</td>
<td>yaró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>désu</td>
<td>désu</td>
<td>dósu yaro, ñósse yaro, désu yaro, dósse, désse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arima</td>
<td>arima</td>
<td>omáss yaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>désyó</td>
<td>désyó</td>
<td>omássyaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dezyó</td>
<td>dezyó</td>
<td>V-i-massyaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>árú/arimasu</td>
<td>déss</td>
<td>dás; déssse, déssé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masu</td>
<td>masu</td>
<td>V-i-masse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>désu</td>
<td>désu</td>
<td>dósu wa, dós‘a[a], dósse; désu wa, dés‘a[a], déssa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arima</td>
<td>arima</td>
<td>omáss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>désyó</td>
<td>désyó</td>
<td>V-i-mássyaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dezyó</td>
<td>dezyó</td>
<td>V-i-mássyaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>désu</td>
<td>désu</td>
<td>dás; désssa, déssa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of dialect polite forms: Kane ga mokutekī ya omahēn ‘Money is not the object’ (SA 2677.65cd, Ōsaka); Kane o tōrū kōto ga mokutekī ya omahēn nē ‘Taking money is not the object’ (id.); Rokuto no hyōogēn(−) ya omēn ‘It’s not a frank expression’ (Shūkan-Yomiuri 1288.67a, Kyōto); Tosi-kasa no monō ga ikā to sin’yōo nā sākai si-yōo ga omēn (= si-yōo ga arimasēn) ‘We are at a loss because they [= the potential backers] lack faith in how we older fellows will do [as mountain climbers]’ (SA 2680.114e, Kyōto); Mōo arimasēhēn yaro (= Mōo arimasēn desyōo) ‘There wouldn’t be any more’ (Ōsaka, Zhs 4.197) < Ár[w]a siimēs[=] yarō = dezyó; ... yaramahēn yaro (= yaramasēn desyōo) ‘probably wouldn’t do it’ (Zhs 4.197); Zyettō-ki no sēi désu yaro nā ‘It’s because of those jets, you know’ (SA 2679.65e, Ōsaka); Sore mo toozen déssyaro ‘It [=the accident] was only too likely to happen’ (SA 2677.128a, Toyonaka); ... narimasēhēn yaro (= nāttē desyōo, narimasēhēn desyōo) ‘must have become ...’ (Ōsaka, Zhs 4.195); O-turi oo osse (= ọō[k]u osu e = ōō[o] gozaimasū yō) ‘You’ve given me too much change!’ (Kyōto, Inokuchi 101); Yorosī osu (= Yorosī[ku] osu = Yorosyuu gozaimasū yō) ‘That’s quite all right’; Akimahēn e (= Ikemasēn yō) ‘That won’t do’ (Kyōto, Inokuchi 101).

22. Zhs 4.211.
25. The doubled sibilant in these forms reflects a more general habit; cf. tessyōri < tessyōri, nittyo[o] < nittyo. And notice the contraction in ... nó [dós]yaro (Zhs 4.234).
26. Maeda 1961.75. We can add -mayo (Y 290).
27. Zhs 4.232. It is said that ñósse is masculine, dósu e feminine (SM 2795.102).
29. But -manne is said to be from -masu no e/yo (Inokuchi 274).
269): Kora, uti no kodomo dönne ya [? = dōsu no e ya = désu yó] ‘This is my child’ (Kyōto, Inokuchi 95).

Y 263 cites examples of -massu, -massen, -masse (imperative), and -massyoo from written versions of Kyūshū speech. In southern Kyūshū the polite verb forms are made with V-i-mosu (Zhs 6.25). In eastern Kantō and neighboring areas sentence stylization is said to be largely lacking (Kindaichi Kyōsuke 1959.178).

22.2. HONORIFIC (HYPERPOLITE, ELEGANT) STYLIZATION

Nominal sentences are made honorific by changing đá to de gozaimasu; the negative is dē tōa gozaimasen. But if the subject is to be exalted, de irassyaimasu will replace de gozaimasu: Tanaka sensei de wa irassyaimesen ka ‘Aren’t you Dr. Tanaka?’ Adjectival sentences are made honorific by adding gozaimasu (negative gozaimasen) after the infinitive; obligatorily before the affirmative and optionally before the negative, the infinitive A-ku appears in the Kansai abbreviated form A-‘u (= A-[k]u) which is altered through crasis with a preceding vowel as follows:

...u-‘u ...uu wáru-‘u = wáruu
...i-‘u ...yuu óoki-‘u = ókyyu, okási-‘u = okásyu
...o-‘u ...oo kúro-‘u = kuroo
...a-‘u ...oo táka-‘u = tákoo

But further contraction takes place in óo[k]u > óoo > óo gozaimasu ‘are many’ and too[k]u > tooo > too gozaimasu ‘is distant’; we would expect yówa[k]u > yó[w]oo > (?)yóo gozaimasu ‘is weak’ to sound the same as yó[k]u > yóo gozaimasu ‘is good’, but I have been unable to confirm either that form or kówa[k]u > kó[w]oo > (?)kóo gozaimasu ‘I am afraid’. In western Japan these k-dropping forms are widely used for the adjective infinitive in ALL expressions; and the long final vowels are often shortened. If the subject is to be exalted, A-kute irassyaimasu will often replace A-[k]u gozaimasu: O-isogiskute irassyaimesen ka ‘Aren’t you busy?’

Strictly speaking, the only verbal that takes honorific stylization is Āru → Gozaimasu.30 For other verbs, nominalization is necessary (Yobu no de gozaimasu); but sometimes the nó is dropped (Yobu de gozaimasu). Like -másu, gozaimasu is less common in adnominalized or adverbialized conversions, but we find the forms gozaimásite (gerund), gozaimásitara (conditional), gozaimásitare (alternative), and gozaimáséba or gozaimásùreba (provisional—but these forms are not in use, as mentioned earlier). The corresponding negative forms are gozaimasen de [site], gozaimasen desitara, gozaimasen desitari, and gozaimasen nara. In modern Japanese gozárutu itself is virtually unused, but you will hear it on the kabuki stage and in samurai films—with REGULAR conjugation, so that gozarima is used for gozaimasu. The plain forms are sometimes employed for humorous effect: Tote-mo watasi

30. But there are those who use orimásu (for iru ‘stays, is’) and mairimásu (for kúru ‘comes’—also iku ‘goes’?) sometimes merely as honorific stylization rather than for object exaltation, especially with an impersonal subject or as an auxiliary; this is more common in writing and in Kansai speech but it seems to be spreading. On such usage and similar uses of itasu, móosu, and itadaku, see §6.4. Y 267 cites examples of female speakers in novels who use V-i-másite gozaimasu, but observes that in meaning the usage corresponds to the perfect V-i-másita, for which the ladies have substituted the auxiliary construction V-te āru, with polite stylization of the verb gerund and honorific stylization of the auxiliary.
The likes of me could ne'er match it [his enthusiasm] (SA 2669.91b). The verb even appears in the imperative form in the compound noun nandemo-gozâre = nandemo-kôi ‘Jack of all trades’. And gozairimásu will sometimes turn up outside the theater, too: Sô de gozairimásu ka = Sô de su ka (Fn 150b). For the form gozaimasûru, borrowed from the literary attributive, see the remarks on -masûru in the preceding section; the example with N de arimasûru tô ka could have been said with N de gozaimasûru tô ka. In western Japan gozaimasû is often reduced to gozânsu: Otôtosi Sanhuransisukô e itta toki wa, omosiroo gozânsita nē ‘Visiting San Francisco year before last was most enjoyable, you know’ (SA 2659.120e—traditional theater man Matsumoto Gennosuke); ... yō[ku] gozânsita ‘was good’ (SA 2689.42b). A further reduction to go[zaim]âsu, usually spelled gowâsu (with intruded labial semivowel -w- after rounded o), is also common in western Japan and elsewhere (e.g. Nagano, Zhs 2.567): ... ne-kônde simoota no de gowâsu (= ne-kônde simatta no de gozaimasû) ‘fell asleep’ (KKK 25.76a). This is sometimes further reduced to g[ozaim]âsu = g'âsu: Êê, wa u'mo g'âsita ‘Yes, he was good (at it)’ (Tk 2.15a–úmoo < úmâ(k)u); ... okâsyuu g'âsita nē ‘it was odd, you know’ (Tk 2.18b). By combining the forms found in Zhs and in Fujiwara 125, we can make the following table of dialect variants for goza[r]imásu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gozaisu</th>
<th>goze[e]su</th>
<th>gozasu</th>
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Paradigms for the honorific stylization are shown in the following chart. The left column displays the affirmative sentences; the right column gives the corresponding negative sentences.

31a. And gozassu appears in Tk 3.296b.
32. Iwate, Zhs 1.125.
33. Ishikawa, Zhs 3.110 (etc.).
34. Cf. gan-kotoba, p. 48.
36. Zhs 1.86.
38. Chiba 2.323—or is this from arimasu?
39. In N de owasu = N de gozaimasu (Tk 2.4a).
§22.2. Honorific (hyperpolite, elegant) stylization

IMPERF. Gozaimasu. Gozaimasen. 
Ôokyuu gozaimasu. Ôokiku/Ôokyuu gozaimasen. 
Hon de gozaimasu. Hôn de wa gozaimasen. 
Yobu (no) de gozaimasu. Yobu (no) de wa gozaimasen. 
Yobimasu de gozaimasu. Yobanasu de wa gozaimasen.

PERF. Gozaimasita. Gozaimasen desita. 
Ôokyuu gozaimasita. Ôokiku/Ôokyuu gozaimasen desita. 
Okikatta de gozaimasu. Ôokikatta de gozaimasen desita. 
Hôn de gozaimasita. Hôn de wa gozaimasen desita. 
Yondâ (no) de gozaimasu. Yobanakatta (no) de wa gozaimasen.

Ôokyuu gozaimasyoo. Ôokiku/Ôokyuu gozaimasen desyoo. 
Hôn de gozaimasyoo. Hôn de wa gozaimasen desyoo. 
Yobu (no) de gozaimasyoo. Yobu (no) de wa gozaimasen desyoo. 
Yobimasu de gozaimasyoo. Yobimasen de gozaimasen desyoo.

PERF. Gozaimasita desyoo.41 Gozaimasen desyoo. 
Ôokyuu gozaimasita desyoo. Ôokiku/Ôokyuu gozaimasen desyoo. 
Okikatta de gozaimasyoo. Ôokikatta de gozaimasen desyoo. 
Hôn de gozaimasita desyoo. Hôn de wa gozaimasen desyoo. 
Yobu (no) de gozaimasita desyoo. Yobu (no) de wa gozaimasen desyoo. 
Yobimasu de gozaimasita desyoo. Yobimasen de gozaimasen desyoo.

TENT. Ôokyuu gozaimasita desyoo. Ôokiku/Ôokyuu gozaimasen desyoo. 
Okikatta de gozaimasyoo. Ôokikatta de gozaimasen desyoo. 
Hôn de gozaimasita desyoo. Hôn de wa gozaimasen desyoo. 
Yobu (no) de gozaimasita desyoo. Yobu (no) de wa gozaimasen desyoo. 
Yobimasu de gozaimasita desyoo. Yobimasen de gozaimasen desyoo.

Since the only verbal which will undergo honorific stylization is Âru, and it can not be made into a proposal or a command, we find no honorific hortative or imperative as such. Yobimasu de gozaimasu/gozaimasyoo occur, but the perfect and the gerund can not be made in this fashion: *yobimasu de gozaimasita → yobu de gozaimasita, *yobimasu de gozaimasite → ? yobu de gozaimasite. (Cf. Mio 47.) And the use of -masu de gozaimasu would seem to be largely confined to nonstandard speakers or (like those who use -masu desu) to shopkeepers soliciting favor.42

40. And (in the speech of entertainers, at least) ... de gozaimasu is sometimes truncated: ... de gozai. (Okitsu 1.415 has an example.)

41. As in Niwa ni ike ga gozaimasita desyoo ‘There was a pond in the garden, you see’ (Tk 2.142b).

42. But the late Shishi Bunroku in an interview (SA 2658.125) quotes himself as using such forms in a luncheon conversation with the Emperor: Sono-uti heika ga, kumâ ga goyoo-tei no kinzyo ni dero to ka iu yoo na hanasi o sarete ne, kitune mo joito to ka ne. Sore de “Ano kitune wa BAKASIMASU DE GOZAIMASU” tte ittyatta ‘Meanwhile His Majesty was talking about how bears appear near his villa and how there were lots of foxes, too. At that I found myself saying “Those foxes can bewitch one”’. Throughout the interview the Emperor is referred to with the usual subject exaltation, often the passive in the speech of Shishi Bunroku but regularly o-V-i ni naru from the interviewer, Izawa Tadashi (id. 125b): Heika wa kitune ga bakasu kotó ni, kyôomi o o-simesi ni narimasen desita ka
For VERBAL sentences, the ordinary speaker will normally not go beyond the polite forms available in the polite paradigm (yobimāsu, yobimāsita, yobimāsu desyōo) unless he has syntactic reasons to make a nominalization (yobū no desu → yobū no de gozaimāsu or yobimāsu no de gozaimāsu): Kekkon sitē mo zenzen aen nante higeki ga okoru n yza gozaimasan koto? ‘[For the couple who both work] there arise such tragedies as not being able to see each other at all even though they are married, you know’ (SA 2640.21a)—a rhetorical question with koto, §15.16. But the speaker will take advantage of exaltation, euphemisms, and formal words to add additional touches of politeness.

In addition to the forms found in the paradigms given above, you will run into various hybrid combinations, e.g. Iroiro omosirōi hanasī ga gozaimāsu n desu keredo mo ... ‘There are, to be sure, many interesting things (said) but ...’ in which the higher stylization is put on the "content" verb of existence rather than on the semantically weak nó da 'it is a fact that'; cf. Iroiro omosirōi hanasī ga áru n[ō] de gozaimāsu keredomo ... . If both parts are highly stylized, the result will be Iroiro omosirōi hanasī ga gozaimāsu n[ō] de gozaimāsu keredo mo but such excessive politeness comes on a bit thick.

22.3. OTHER STYLIZATIONS: FORMAL SPOKEN, LITERARY, FORMAL WRITTEN, AND EPISTOLARY STYLES

In addition to the stylizations that pervade everyday speech, there are a number of style options that occur only under special circumstances. In making a public address, a speaker will avail himself of forms and stereotyped phrases borrowed from the literary language while avoiding modern slang, colloquially vivid or mimetic expressions, and abbreviations. The copula will revert to the uncontracted forms de áru (impersonal) and de arimašu or de gozaimāsu (personal—i.e. explicitly recognizing one’s audience). At major breaks within the sentence, the infinitive will often be preferred over the gerund. Instead of the colloquial tentative, you will hear the literary tentative: áru darōo/desyōo will be replaced by arōo/arimašyōo (or by gozaimasyyōo), nāi darōo/desyōo will be replaced by nakarōō or by aru/arimašu “māi, and hayai darōo/desyōo by hayararōō or by hayaku arōo/arimašyōo (or háyoo gozaimasyyōo). And the tentative will be allowed to modify nouns, especially postadnominals such as kotō, hazu, monō, hitō, etc.; recall that the colloquial language will adnominalize only the imperfect or perfect forms of a sentence, so that the formal tekitoō de arōo monō ‘ones probably suitable’ will have to be rephrased as tekitoō da to omowarēru monō ‘ones that are thought suitable’, tekitoō ni omowarēru monō ‘ones that appear suitable’, tekitoō na hazu no monō ‘ones that are likely to be suitable’, or just tekitoō na monō ‘ones that are suitable’. In formal writing, subject and object markers (ga and ó) often drop; and the various types of ellipsis described in Martin 1970 (and in §9.1.12, §28) are common, as are direct nominalizations (§14.6).

By the LITERARY style we refer to the set of well-established traditions called Bungo, in which most literary compositions were written until modern times. Many of the less esoteric forms of the literary style are used in the formal written and epistolary styles:

‘Didn’t his Majesty show an interest in the foxes bewitching people?’; Tenno-heika no o-hanasi ni wa, yūumō wa o-ari desu ka ‘Does His Majesty the Emperor have humor in his conversation?’; Heika wa dōo iu o-kotoba o o-tukai ni nāru n desu ka ‘What sort of language does His Majesty use?’
some will be found in proverbial sayings and idioms that are used in the midst of otherwise colloquial speech. The most important of these forms are treated elsewhere in this study.

The FORMAL WRITTEN style is a rather sparse version of the literary language with a number of favored set forms—not unlike those found in the "business-letter" jargon, the bureaucratic, and the legalistic phraseology ("whereat and whereby" the lawyer is able to pursue his craft) that plague some kinds of modern written English. The formal written style of Japanese has been described in some detail by Lehmann and Faust (LF); they also provide information on the epistolary style, as do a number of other sources.

The principal characteristic of the EPISTOLARY style is the omnipresent auxiliary verb sooróō (historically spelled sahurahu), a verb that originally meant 'serves', etymologically related to the noun samurai. This auxiliary, often pronounced with short vowels as soro, is attached to the infinitive: V-i, V-(a)zu (the literary negative infinitive), A-ku, N ni. The resulting forms can be shown as parallels to the colloquial equivalents (on the left):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colloquial Equivalents</th>
<th>Epistolary Equivalents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaku 'writes'</td>
<td>káki sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakánaí 'does not write'</td>
<td>kákazu sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aki 'it opens'</td>
<td>aki sooróó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akanai 'it does not open'</td>
<td>akazu sooróó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takái 'it is high'</td>
<td>tákaku sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tákaku náí 'it is not high'</td>
<td>tákaku náku sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áru 'it exists'</td>
<td>koré-ári sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nái 'it does not exist'</td>
<td>koré-náku sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N dá 'it is N'</td>
<td>{ N ni koré-ári sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N ni góza sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N ni koré-náku sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N de/zya náí 'it is not N'</td>
<td>{ N ni koré-náku sooroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N ni árazu sooroo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although some of the inflected forms of sooróō are in use—soorawába 'if', soorába 'since', sooráedó mo 'although'—it is rare to find the gerund (for which the appropriate form is sooróōte, cf. Kansai haróote = harátte) or the tentative (soorawáán < soorawámu), the latter being replaced by the affirmative V-ru béku sooróō (normally only with meaning 'will'; cf. béku, §15.12b) and the negative V-ru máziku sooróō 'will not' (cf. máziki, §15.12a). The difference between what the colloquial would mark as perfect or imperfect (past or nonpast) must generally be understood from context; to make a specific perfect, you can adnominalize your sentence with the attributive perfect ending -tarú: V-tarú monó ni gózaí sooróō (LF 129).

43. If we follow Satō (2.318-9) the etymological development is sooróō < saurapu < saburapu < samorapu. The island of Toshiba, not far from Tókyō, still has sooróō forms, but they are used for emphasis rather than politeness (Zhs 7.19); the auxiliary sometimes appears reduced to soo or ssa, and the latter is thought by some to be connected with the sentence-extending particle sa used so widely in Tókyō. The auxiliary is also found (as a sentence-extender) on the island of Oki, off Shimane prefecture, as S sara < saara < saurau < sa[p]ura[p]u (Zhs 8.28).
Si ‘do’ (suru) is generally replaced by itasi, and that may be omitted after a verbal noun, or replaced by ái-nari or koré-ári:

Soodan ḫitasì sooróó
Soodan ái-nari sooróó
Soodan koré-ári sooróó

‘(Someone) consults/consulted’.

Itasi sooróó is used for both 1st and 3rd person subjects; for the 2nd person (‘you’) an auxiliary is called for: (infinitive V-i+) nasāre, kudasāre, asobasare, nāsi-kudasāre (+ sooróó). This means that su[ru] itself is little seen; but serare sooróó is used for the passive (LF 127). For ‘(I) humbly do’ tatematúri sooróó is the equivalent of colloquial itasimásu.

Corresponding to the colloquial V-te iru (both resultative and continuative) there is V-i óri sooróó, using the auxiliary [w]óri attached to the infinitive. Other auxiliaries to be encountered include V-i tatematúri sooróó, roughly the equivalent of V-i-másu (polite ‘does’), and V-i káne sooróó ‘can not’. Desideratives are common: V-i-taku sooróó ‘wishes to do’, V-i-taku náku sooróó ‘does not wish to do’. There can follow certain postadnominal expressions, of which MKZ lists these:

...i sooróó tokoró ‘but’ (= S ga)
aida
mama
ni tuki
yosì ‘according to report ...; since we hear that ...’ (= S sóo de)
ya ‘question’ (= S ka)
zyoo ‘with respect to; in view of; although’

There are also a few nouns that are used as postnominal particles, notably N gi(−) ‘(it is a matter) concerning’—an equivalent of N wa or N ní kán-site wa or kotó N ní kán-site wa that is particularly common with the first person (watakusi gi); cf. Henderson 103. Commands are stated either as requests or as nominalizations with sentence-final kotó.

44. Not to be confused with the quasi-restrictive “zyoo ‘with respect to’ (written with the character for üe ‘above’), this morpheme basically means ‘item, provision’ and it is used both as a postadnominal after the imperfect (see §13.2) and as an adverbialization based on the infinitive in the expressions ... tó wa iu ź ź zyoo and ... tó wa ii-zyoo ‘although’ (the equivalent of ... tó wa iě-do {mo}).
23 INTERJECTIONS; AFTERTHOUGHTS; MINOR SENTENCES OF VARIOUS TYPES

Ideally, people talk in well-edited sentences, put together according to fairly well established patterns of the sort we have been discussing in this book. But in practice the speaker often indulges in false starts, self-interruptions, parenthetical asides, uncompleted sentences or phrases, illogical connections, inadvertent slips of the tongue, and other disconcerting behavior. Conversations can be extremely fragmentary, as in these two (the first on the street, the other on a telephone):

Zya, sayonara. Asita né. — Asita né. Hiruma? — Yóru. 'Well, goodbye. See you tomorrow. — See you tomorrow. During the day? — No, in the evening.'

Mósí-mosi. — Bóku. — Damé. — Zya. 'Hello. — It's me. — Not now. — OK.'

Several kinds of minor sentence call for comment. We have observed the optional ellipsis of the imperfect copula dá, which sometimes leaves a noun standing naked, as a one-word sentence. Written Japanese, especially in headlines and the like, will often suppress various forms of the auxiliary suru by which verbal nouns are predicated, as well as forms of the copula used to predicate pure and adjectival nouns. The omitted forms are normally the imperfect, perfect, or gerund: suru, sita, sita; dá, dáta, déa.

Names, kin terms, titles, and second-person pronouns often stand alone in a vocative function—to call a person's attention, or sometimes just to emphasize one's words or to personalize the communication. But these words also appear in many ordinary situations. Certain other words and phrases, on the other hand, are characteristically set off from the rest of the discourse by major junctures and are often accompanied by special voice qualifiers or intonation features. (Cf. the glottal catch, or abrupt shut-off of vowel, discussed in §15.) These elements stand outside the domain of the well-formed sentence itself; we will call them INTERJECTIONS or INTERJECTIONAL PHRASES. They are used (1) to express the speaker's emotional reactions—pleasure, relief, surprise, disbelief, hesitation, disgust, etc.; (2) to call attention; (3) to respond to a question, a command, or (as when iie 'no' is used for self-abnegation) a social transaction; (4) to hold the floor when fluency fails and one is searching for a desired expression: Sosite ano are desu l né e ... 'Then, uh, I mean, you see ...' (R). Mimetic adverbs such as wán-wan 'bowwow' are sometimes used as interjections, but they will not be discussed here. Interjections come from varied sources. Some are taken from deictic elements (kore! < kore 'this') or from short verbal forms (máe! 'wait!', mí ro! 'look!'); others are stereotyped phrases, or truncations there-from: sibaráku [desita], arígoto [gozaimásu], yóo koso [irasssyaimásita], tadaima, [kaerímašita], etc. The origins of some interjections are in doubt; we can guess that má[a] may be a shortening of mázu 'first; in general; well now; anyway' or of ima 'now' (or of both), and that sá[a] comes from either the old deictic sá = so[re] or (by contraction) from the auxiliary soroó < sa[p]ura[p]u. Although others seem like little more than grunts or shouts—á[a], yá[a], yó[o]—they may have originated as shortenings of more legitimate etyma: óo 'yea' is, after all, a Chinese loanword. Elsewhere we have observed the use of an adjective base or an adjectival noun as an exclamation: O sámu 'Oh how cold!'; Damé 'No good!'.

The list of interjections below is far from complete. I have not attempted a semantic analysis, but the English translations will suggest the lines such an analysis might take.

1041
INTERJECTIONS

*¡a, ¡a, ¡aq 'oh, good gracious, my goodness'*
*¡o, ¡o, ¡'oh'*
*yáa, yáa, yáq 'oh, gee; well; hi!*
*wáa, wáq 'hurray'*
*huree 'hurray'*
*banzáï 'hurray'*
*ãrã, ãraq 'oh, good gracious, my goodness'*
*óyã 'goodness, oh dear, oh my'*
*óyã 'tsk tsk!'*
*kóre 'here, say'*
*kóra 'hey there'*
*sóre 'look, look out, see'*
*hóra/sóra 'look, see, remember'*
*dóre 'now, let me see, I wonder'*
*nã(a)n(i) 'what, why, pooh'*
*súwa 'great heavens; great Scott'*
*ó 'hey, man, guy'*
*óói 'ahoy, hallo'*
*yóó 'hello; bravo'*
*appáre 'bravo; good show'*
*simeta 'I've got it! good!'*
*móisi-móisi 'say, hey, hello'*
*óorái 'all right, OK; go ahead (you're safe)'*
*sóó 'yes, true'*
*óó 'yea, yes'*
*háá, háá, háq 'yes'*
*hái, ái 'yes'*
*héé, éé 'yeah, yes'*
*iésu 'yes'*
*ookéé 'OK'*
*yoíí 'OK; fine'*
*ún, ñ 'uh-huh, yes, yup, yep'*
*hún 'yes' (see Inokuchi 198)
[hů-]hún 'hm(ph), psaw'*
*ha-háá 'ah yes, very well'*
*iie, ie (Ig 87) 'no, nope'*
*iýa 'nay; rather'*

*íya háyã, íya móó 'gee; well'*
*másaka 'surely not!; no way!'*
*nóó 'no'*
*sasuga 'as expected! I might have known!'*
*kówa íká ni 'lo and behold!' (from a
literary analog of kore wa dóó)*
*kore-wa kore-wa 'oh, how nice (of you)'*
*kore-wa sitári 'good heavens'*
*yâre-yare 'thank god, hallelujah'*
*simátta 'damnit, damn it; oh dear; god'*
*baka-yároo 'damn'*
*kono-yároo 'damn'*
*kusó 'shit, damnit'*
*kusottaré 'shifftace, (you) scum'*
*náí-ní 'shit, damnit, hell'*
*kon[ö]-tikusyô[ö], tikusyô[ö] 'damn
beast = damn you/it/him'*
*máá, má 'well, say; dear me; please (do)'*
*máá-má 'come come could be'
*sáá, sá 'come (let's); now (there); well let
me see'*
*íza 'now (let's)'*
*ee-to 'well, let me see now, uh, er'*
*ano nó 'uh, er; hey; say'*
*wássyo[ö] 'heave-ho'*
*dókkói 'hold on, just a minute (there!)*
*dókkói-syo 'heigh-ho, heave-ho'*
*yóó-syo 'yo-heave-ho, yo-ho'*
*hákkuusyó, hákkuusyon, hákkuusyo 'ker-
choo, ah-choo' (with a sneeze)*
*sayonara, sayo[ö]nára 'good-bye' (from
'if it be so')*
*abayo 'bye(bye)' (from sá áraba 'if it be
so' + yó)*
*sarába 'farewell' [literary] (from sá áraba
'if it be so')*
...

You will find that certain speakers of Japanese punctuate their phrases with má[a]—
often spoken in a lower register—much as speakers of English will use 'uh' while searching
for the next word: Sosite ll máall ... Dé wall kekkoku[ö]l máall ... Tokoro-ga l máall ...

1. And other insulting nouns, often accompanied by the pejorative suffix -mé: baka or baka-mé
'fool', koziki or koziki-mé 'beggar', etc. See p. 830 (§13.8).
Interjections typically appear before a full well-formed sentence, but sometimes they are interpolated as a side comment. There are a number of other elements that often serve as INTERPOLATIONS, thrown in at any point where the phrasing leaves an opening: ano[o], sono[o], are[e]; are dēsu/da[yō/nē], are desyō[o], are zya nai [dēsu] ka; dā [né/nā/yō].² de [né/nā], dēsu [né/nā/yō].³ ka; ūn, ō; sō; ttē; soko dē da; .... A string of several interpolations may be run together. Sometimes ano and (especially) sono are anticipations or summations of genuine adnominal phrases, rather than marking empty pauses. It is not always easy to decide how a given occurrence is to be taken: ai tē no sono l zyoo tai to iu mono l nē ‘the other fellow’s, uh, condition, you see’ (R); ....

A quite common feature of everyday speech is what we will call AFTERTHOUGHTS. This is a way of providing additional information without turning back and reediting an entire sentence that has already been put into words. What you do is simply supply the missing elements that would have been inserted earlier if you had gone back and resaid the entire sentence. The afterthought is tacked on at the end of the sentence intonation, usually with a lowering of the voice register and a flat “vocative” type of intonation. Often what is supplied is the information that would have been thematized had it been put in the sentence earlier. We can divide examples into several types, depending on what the afterthought represents in the underlying sentence:

1. underlying subject: Sekkati desu nē. Sensei wa ‘Quick-tempered; aren’t you, professor’ (V 39); Dōo sita no desu ka, anō-hito wa ‘What’s happened—to him?’ (V 40); Kigeki-teki na zinbutsu da nē, ano otokō wa ‘A comical character, he is’ (V 40); Soko nā no desu mondai wa ‘That’s just where it is, the problem’ (Tanigawa 23); Ūribun buatūi monō-rasii desu yō, sore wa ‘Looks real thick, that one’ (SA 2655.37b); Yuumōa o kaisinai wāke desu nā, onnā to iu monō wa ‘It’s that they don’t understand humor, you see—women’ (SA 2653.46c); ... hidōi zya nai ka minnā [l] aren’t you just terrible, all of you!’ (CK 985.392); Dē mo, anmari tuyoī desu yō, kaki-ppurī ga ‘But it’s too forceful, I tell you—your way of writing’ (SA 2671.25d); Ūribun kawarimāsita nē, Yokosuka no mē ‘It’s all so changed, isn’t it, Yokosuka and all!’; Syōowa(−) zuyukū-men no hāru desita ka nā, dai-gekizyoo ga minnā heisa ni natta no wa ‘It was the spring of 1944, I guess, wasn’t it—when all the big theaters got closed’ (Tk 3.244b).

2. underlying direct object: Mi ro, mi ro. Anō boosi o ‘Look at it, look at it; that hat’ (V 39); Anāta sitte ‘ru? O-tonari no ōkishan o ‘You know her?—the woman next door’ (V 39); O-kiki nasāi, ano kotori no utā o ‘Listen to it, that bird’s song’ (V 40);

3. Watasī wa desu nē, ‘I, you see, .. ’ (Tk 3.64a). See also §15.
\textbf{\S 23. Interjections; Afterthoughts; Minor Sentences}

Bōku\(^(*)\) ga damāsu? Kimi o? ‘I'm bamboozling? You?’ (SA 2671.22b); Bōku\(^(*)\) wa suki na n da nā, kobobā ga gissirī tumātta sibai tte no ga ‘I like ‘em, you know—those plays packed solid with words’ (SA 2668.105c).

(3) other underlying adjuncts from the simplex: O-kiki ni narimasēn desu ka, Huruya kara ‘You haven’t heard from them—the Furuya people?’ (V 39); Dōo sita no, ima-zibun ‘What have you done now, at a time like this?’ (V 40).

(4) adverbial elements: Sore de mo o-nii-san no kotō o wasurete wa irassyarānakutte yō. Kit-tō ‘But you won’t forget about your older brother. Surely (not)’ (V 39); Ī ziya nāi desu ka, nakanaka ‘Isn’t that nice—really quite?’ (Tk 3.225a); Hazukasii desu yō, mattakū\(^(*)\) ‘I am ashamed—utterly’; Sono tokō mo tēsuto datta desyoo, tābun ‘That time too must have been a test (filming)—no doubt’ (Tk 3.300); Sore nāra nigeta no desyoo ka. Watasi o kiratte ‘In that case, I wonder if she ran away—out of dislike for me’ (V 39); Anāta, seibutugakušya ni nari-tāi? tenno-hēika mitai ni ‘Would you like to become a biologist?—like His Majesty the Emperor’ (SA 2663.42c); Zibun hitōri de oyoide ‘māsita, Kurasuki-reiyōno suiei-bu e itte ‘I would swim by myself—going to the swimming facilities at Kurashiki Rayon’ (SA 2638.44a); Dāre ga itiban hihyoo-ka desu ka, anāta ni ūtete ‘Who is the best critic—of you[r work]?’ (SA 2633.44a); Kore, omosōri hanashi desu né, kiite ‘ru to ‘This is an interesting story, you know—while you’re listening to it’ (SA 2676.48d); Āa, daibu tositi-torimāsita né, bōkū-ra no atō kōro yori wa ‘Oh [the photograph shows] he’s aged quite a lot, hasn’t he—from the days when we saw him’ (Tk 3.259a).

(5) adnominal elements: Byūhwe desu né, issyu no ‘It’s a buffet, you see, sort of’ (SA 2658.124c); Sore wa yumē no iti-būbun da yō. Bōku\(^(*)\) no ‘That is part of the dream—my dream’ (V 39).

The device of afterthoughts is put to effective use in slogans and public admonitions: Dāsū na (—) supiido ‘Speeding—No!’; Minnā de nakusōo (—) abunai hāmono ‘Dangerous blades—let’s all get rid of them!’; Hosī-garimasēn—kātū made wa! ‘We will forego desires—till victory!’ (a relic of World War II).

Sometimes more than one element may be given as afterthought: Sukī ka, kimi wa, heya ga? ‘Like it?—do you? the room?’ (Kb 319a). Even though the afterthought was not part of the planning of the sentence, sometimes it is spoken very quickly and you may find it hard to detect from the phrasing or intonation. I once heard a student thank a stranger for taking a picture of the two of us by saying quite fast Arigato dō[o]:mo ozi-san in the same order as the English ‘Thank you very much, sir’ rather than the well-edited Japanese order we would expect: Ozi-san dō-mo Arigato[o] gozaimashu. A common way to ask Íma [wa] nān-zi [desu ka] ‘What time is it now?’ is Nān-zi ima.

There are some good examples of afterthoughts from various dialects in Fujiwara 71-5.
24 CONNECTORS AND SENTENCE-OPENERS; OPENING ELLIPSIS

Many of the conjunctions listed in §13.7a can begin a sentence, as a transitional link to the preceding discourse. In addition to the single words and short phrases given there, you will find many other well-worn phrases that are used to open a sentence and somehow connect it with what has gone before. (Cf. KKK 23.90, from which several of the items listed below were taken.) Some of these expressions refer directly to the act of speech (or of writing) itself:

-  "li-kaereba ..., li-kaeru to ... 'In other words ...'.
-  "Ippan-teki ni itte ... 'Speaking in general terms ...'.
-  "Hoka de mo arimasen ga ..., Hoka de mo nai n desu ga ... 'All I want to say is ...'.
-  "Oozappa ni itte ... 'Loosely speaking ...'.
-  "Gai-site ieba ... 'Generally speaking ...'.
-  "Betu no kotobā de ieba ... 'Put in other words ...'.
-  "Tatōete ieba ..., Tatōete iu to ..., Tatōeru nara-ba ... 'Figuratively speaking ...; So to speak ...'.

Kantan ni itte simaeba ... 'To put it simply ...'.
-  "Tan-teki ni itte mirēba ... 'To put it bluntly ...'.
-  "Syooziki 'itte/ittāra/iēba ..., Syooziki ... 'To tell the truth ...'.
-  "Zitū o iu to ..., Zitū wa ... 'To tell the truth ...'.

Arī-tele ni ieba ... 'To tell the truth ...'.
-  "Sen-zī-te mirēba ..., Sen-zī-te mirēru(...) to ... = Sen-zī-te mirēte(...) iēba ... 'What it boils down to is ...; Reduced to essentials ...'.
-  "Nāo hitōtu tuke-kuwaete iēba ... 'To add one further note ...' (Maeda 1962.74).

Wadai ga kawatte 'ru (n desu kedo/ga) ... 'Not to change the subject but ...' = 'To change the subject ...' (R).

-  "Tyōt-to hanasi ga soremasu ga ... 'This is a bit off the track but ...'.
-  "Tyōt-to hanasi ga yokomitsi ni soremasita ga ... 'I've gone off on a tangent, but ...' (R).  [Watakusi ga] omō ni ... 'In my opinion ...'.

-  "Omēba ... 'Come to think of it ...'.
-  "Kangāete miru to ... 'Upon reflection ...'.
-  "Tanōmu kara ... 'As a favor to me ...'.
-  "O-negai {da kara}, ... 'As a favor to me ...'.

-  "Tyōt-to ukagaimasu ga ... 'May I inquire ...'.
-  "Uketamawārēba ..., Uketamawarimasūreba ... 'I understand (am told) that ...'.
-  "Moo ik-kā moosimāsu to ... 'To repeat, ...'.

Nān-ben mo moosimāsu keredo mo ... 'I repeat myself but ...'.

-  "Saki-hodo no hanasī desu keredo (sore wa) ... 'I refer back to what was said earlier'.
-  "Mōto wakari-yāsuku iēba ... 'To make it easier to understand ...' (Tk 3.139a).
-  "Mōto kuwāsiku iēba (iu to) ... 'To put the matter more precisely ...'.

-  "Tyōt-to mi-nikūk ka mo siremasēn keredo mo ... 'This may be a bit hard to read, but ...' = 'I'm sorry about my handwriting'.

Kotowaté okū ga, ... 'Let me remind/warn you that ...; Bear in mind that ..., Remember, ...; Mind you, ...'.

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Some refer to the speech situation directly or indirectly:

I kōda kara ... 'Be a good little boy/girl and (do that for me)'.

Tokí ni ... 'By the way ...'.

Are désu ga ... 'Uh (what I want to say is) ...'.

... no kótó désu kedo (are wa) ... 'I am speaking of ... and'.

Yokei na kótó désu ga ... 'My remarks are uncalled for, perhaps, but ...'.

Sukói hanaši wa hurúi ga ... 'This isn’t new, but ...'.

Réi no mondai désu ga (are wa) ... 'About the matter in question ...'.

Zéngo simásita keredo ... 'I’ve got things out of order, but ...'.

Sáigo ni narimásita ga ... 'Now in conclusion ...'.

Tótyuu ni narimásita ga ... 'Excuse the interruption'.

Sōo wa iu mono-no ... 'Nevertheless ...'.

Sōo wa ittē mo ... 'Even so ...'.

Soo iēba ... 'Speaking of that ...'.

Kore nítai-sitě ... 'In this connection ...'; 'By way of contrast ...; On the other hand ...'.

Others are more like adverbial or transitional elements within a sentence:

Dóo iu monó ka ... 'For some reason or other ...'.

Dóo sita kótó ka ... 'Somehow or other ...'.

Nán to sita kótó ka ... 'Somehow or other ...' (Ig 87).

Dóo sita wáke ka ... 'For some reason or other ...'.

Dóo [sitë] mo ... 'There is no denying that ...', 'In ever so much ...'.

Hizyoo ni zanněn na kótó de ... 'It is very regrettable but ...'.

Sité iu to ... 'If forced to say ...; If one must say something ...; If anything ...'.

Náže ka to iēba ..., Náže nara ..., Náže nareba ... 'The reason is ...'.

Dó tíra to/tte iu to ... 'If anything ...; If a choice is to be made ...'.

Dó tíra ni sitë mo ... 'Either way ...' (Lit. Izure ni sitë mo ...). Móái ka sitára (suru to) ... 'Perchance ...', 'On the chance that ...'.

Móái mo no kótó ga áttara ... 'Perchance ...'.

Mán-itii no kótó ga áttara ... 'Perchance ...'.

Náni ga dóo átte mo ... 'When all is said and done ...': ~ Taiheiyyo-sénsso wa Nihón ni totté, máinsu datta 'All in all, the Pacific War was bad news for Japan' (Tk 2.122).

Nán da [ka/i] ... 'I don’t know why but ...'.

Síte míařa (miru to) ... 'And so we see that ...' (SA 2668.40b).

Tóoi no kótó da ga ... 'Naturally enough ...'.

Ií ka ..., Ií ná ..., Yóší ... 'OK, ...'.

Tó-ní/mó-kaku [mo] ... 'Nonetheless ...'.

Tó-mo-are ... 'Nonetheless ...'.

Soko de ... 'Thereupon ...'.

Sore wa sóo to ... 'Be that as it may ...'.

Sore wa sore to sitë mo ... 'Be that as it may ...'.

Sore tó mo, ... 'Or (else) ...'.

Náisi wa, ... 'Or, ...' (Tanigawa 145).

See also the sentence-introducers with nágara in §9.1.3; adverbializations with ... kótó ni (p. 842); direct adverbializations (§9.1.13); sentence-introducers derived from quotations, §21.1.(11).
A number of introductory phrases optionally drop the first word or two:

[dekiru] nara-ba ... 'If possible ...; Preferably ...'.

[soo] suru to ..., s'u to ..., to ... 'Well then ...'.

[soo] site ... 'And then ...'.

[soo] suru uti ni ... 'Meanwhile ...'.

[soo] suru tokoró ga ... 'But ...'.

[soo] suru to to tómo(*) ni ... 'At the same time ...'.

[soo] suru kuse ni ... 'Nonehless ...'.

[sóo] ká to itte ... 'If that surprises you ...; If you wonder about that ...; By way of explanation ...'.

[sóo] ká to omóu to ... 'If that is questioned (wondered at) ...' (SA 2640.24a, Fn 265a).

[sóo] dà to suru to ... 'Granted that, ...; If so, ...': Da to suru to, tyotto-sita sei-zi-ka yâ
ne [= de né] 'If so, he's a petty politician' (SA 2663.20c).

[sóo] dà to suréba ... 'Granted that, ..., If so ...' (CK 985.314).

[sóo] dâ ga/kedo ... 'But ...'.

[sóo] desu ga/kedo ... 'But ...'.

[sóo] dâ kara ... 'So ...'.

[sóo] desu kara ... 'So ...'.

[sóo] de áru kara ... 'And so ...' (Fn 223a, beginning a paragraph; SA 2669.47b).

[sóo] de arimásu kara ... 'And so ...' (SA 2672.18a).

[sóo] dâ kara to itte ... 'On such grounds ...'.

[sore] dê ... 'Then ..., So ...'.

[sore] dê wa ..., [sore] zyá[a] ... 'Well, then ...'.

[sore] dê mo ..., [sore] d'âte ... 'But ..., Even so, ...'.

[sore] ná no ni ... 'Nonehless ...'.

[sore] ni mo kaka warazu ... 'Regardless [of that] ..., Nevertheless ...'.

[sore] nára = sonnára 'If so, ...'.

[sore] bâkari/daké ka ... 'Not only that but ..., What's more ...'.

[sore] bâkari/daké de náku ... 'Not only that but ..., And what's more ...'.

[sore] to iu wâke de ... 'For that reason ...' (SA 2661.24a).

[sore] to iu kotô wa ... 'That refers to ...'.

[sore] to iú no wa ... 'That refers to ...'.

[sore] kara ... 'After[ward], ..., Then ...'.

[sore] de áru ga yûe ni ... 'For that reason ...' (Tanigawa 48).

[sore] to site mireba ... 'Seen in that way ...'.

[sore] to suréba ... 'So considered ...'

[(sore) to] dôózi(‘) ni ... 'At the same time ...; Then ...; Also ...'.

[(sore) ni] yotte ... 'Accordingly ...; Hence ...'.

[(sore) ni] sitagätte(‘) ... 'Consequently ...; Accordingly ...'.

[(sore) ni] tûite/tukimâsite wa ... 'In this connection ...; Consequently ...'.

[sóo/sore] de/zya nákereba ... 'Otherwise ...'.

[sóo/sore] de/zya naku[t]te mo ... 'Even so, ...; Anyway ...'.

[sono] totán ni ... 'At that moment ...; Whereupon ...' (Shibata 1961.187).

[sono] tamé ni ... 'Therefore ...'.

[sono] doôri de ... = dóôri-de 'For that reason ...' (SA 2672.24c).
When one noun stands next to another, we expect the two of them to combine into a compound noun, dropping the juncture between and usually assuming a new accentuation. If that does not happen, we know that one of the following statements is probably true: (1) a case marker (ga, ó, ní, tó) has dropped (§ 2.2a); (2) a conjoiner (tó, ýá, ká, ...) is unexpressed (§ 2.8); or, (3) the adnominalized copula (ná, nó, de áru) is suppressed, on which see also § 13.1.5 and § 13.5a. The third explanation will account for such examples as these: ... ni-sánniti(−) (no) utí(−) ni ... ‘within two or three days’ (Kb 89b); ... nooryoku-syákai (no) Amerika de ... ‘in America the meritocracy (= the society that prizes ability) ...’ (SA 2665.21e); Syuuyakyú-eki (no) Singapóoru ni tikazúku ni turete ... ‘As we drew near to Singapore, the terminal station ...’ (SA 2660.16); Kyóóri (no) Niigata e kaette ... ‘Returning to his home town of Niigata ...’ (R); ... syooogyoo-tósi (no) Oosaka no hitó no kotobá ... ‘the language of the people of Osaka the commercial metropolis’ (Miyar a 1954.176); Tyuukintooh-kínmu (no) keikén-ya ... ‘... a person with work experience in the Middle East’ (SA 2665.19e); Béi-so (no) syuono-káidan ... ‘the American-Soviet summit talks’ (R); Syakaiminsi-tyoo (no) kakuryou ... ‘The Social Democratic ministers ...’; ... syusyoo (no) sokkin dé ... ‘those who are close to the Prime Minister and ...’ (SA)—sokkin = sokkin-ya; Koré-ra (no) Man’yóo-syuu no réi ni wa ... ‘Among these examples from the Man’yóo-shú ...’; Nihon-zyósei (de aru) Ono Yóóko to kekkon (site) irai ... ‘Since marrying the Japanese woman Ono Yóóko ...’ (SA); Watási-táti (no) ísí wa, ... ‘We physicians ...’ (SA 2689.122c); Warebare (de aru) Nihon-zín wa ... ‘We Japanese ...’; ... watáši-táti (no) zyosei wa ... ‘we women’ (SA 2661.111a); Bóóku-táti (de aru) sutáhhu ga ... ‘we [men who are] the staff’ (SA 2652.64c); ... káré-ra (no) husái ni yusuyoko o soyootai sarete, ... ‘... got invited to dinner by that couple and ...’ (SA 2656.62c); Koko (no) Doítu de mo ... ‘Even here in Germany ...’ (SA 2672.96c); Kátute no gekísé-ni (de aru), koko (no) Guamu-too ní wa, ... ‘In this place (= Here on) Guam Island, onetime battleground, ...’ (CK 985.198). In such expressions as ... koko (no) saikin ... ‘lately now’ (SA 2689.119a) and Koko (no) zyúu-nen Ëïyoo mo ... ‘For over ten years now ...’ the ellipsis would appear to be obligatory.1

The suppressions of the copula result in a kind of apposition. Quite similar is the ellipsis that results from omitting the nó that represents a GENITIVE OF SPECIFICATION (or of scope-narrowing), as in these examples: Rokugatu (no) gosyuu no terebi wa ... ‘Television during the fifth [sic!] week in June ...’ (SA 2685.115c); Sángatu (no) hazime [−góró] ni ... ‘At the beginning of March ...’; Rainen (no) hazime kara ... ‘From the beginning of next year ...’; Sángatu (no) sue ni ‘At the end of March ...’; Zyuuyuu-seikí (no) matu kara ... ‘From the end of the 19th century ...’ (Martín 1970.443); ... rokugatu (no) hatuka (no) Ëï ka-yóobi made ni Ëï ... ‘by Tuesday, the 20th of June’ (R);

1. As it is in zyúu-nen (no konó-kata ‘the period of') these past ten years’, not to be confused with zyúu-nen kara konó-kata ‘during the period since the year ten’; konó-kata is a relational time noun. The ellipsis is usual in sá-yu (no) izure o tówazú(‘) ‘regardless whether it’s left or right’. The extent of the noun phrase to which the apposition applies is not always obvious: Ákiko wa kón’ya to asité (no) iti-niti ‘bun no kaimono o site kító [= kaerimíti ni] ní tujący ‘Ákiko did a day’s shopping for the evening and the morrow and then started home’ (Ariyoshi 175) probably puts kón’ya to asité in apposition to the entire phrase iti-niti ‘bun no kaimono.  

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Meiz-išin [no] tyokuken ... ‘Right before the Meiji Restoration ...’B  
Syuusen [no] tyōkūgo(-) ... ‘Right after the end of the war ...’;  
Nikkatsu no hookai [no] sunzén(-) to iu toki mo toki, ... ‘Right on the brink of Nikkatsu’s collapse, ...’ (SA 2664.103c);  
Nisidōitu [no] kokkyo ni ... ‘At the West German border ...’;  
Sangatsu [no] tooka ... ‘March 10th’;  
Nizyuu iti-nen [no] natū, ... ‘In the summer of (Shōwa 21 =) 1946 ...’ (SA 2671.39a).

Other kinds of genitive are sometimes represented by ellipsis, too:

1. Taido [no] ikā ni yotte kimarau ‘It is decided on the basis of how one’s attitude 
is’;  
kari-kata [no] ikā de wa ... ‘by the manner of borrowing’ (SA 2677.53c);  
Sono un’ei to kānri [no] ikā koso ga, kōnniti kangaerānakerēba naranai mondai nā no de aru ‘The 
problem that must be considered today is precisely the state of operations and manage-
ment of them [= Japan’s public corporations and organizations]’ (SA 2684.105e).  
Ikā is a noun (ikā ni mondai ni suru, ikā ga mondai ni nāru) derived from the literary adverb 
ıkā-ni ‘how’ (cf. that elegant equivalent of dōō ‘how’, ikā-ga < ikā-ni ka).

2. Ígi [no] moositate ... ‘A statement of dissent = a formal objection, an exception’;  
isī [no] toōitū ga dēkīta ‘a consensus formed’;  
sinji [no] hikobashi ‘prolongation of deliberations’.

3. Sanhuransisuko [no] okai no Arukatorasu-too ‘Alicatraz Island off-shore from 
San Francisco’ (SA 2673.114d).

4. ... ikkai [no] syūzyutusitu-dōnari no kānri-situ de ... ‘in the office next to the 
operating room on the first floor’ (SA 2666.112c).

5. ... yākusya [no] atogaki ni yoru to, ... ‘according to the translator’s postface’ 
(SA 2676.97c).

6. ... Kántō [no] dai-sinsai no mae-no-tosi ni, ... ‘the year before the great Kantō 
earthquake’ (R).

7. (2) Kōkutō [no] Okačimachi ‘the Okachimachi station of the National Railway’.

8. Sato-seikēn [no] II kono I hati-nen II ... ‘These past eight years of the Sato 
regime ...’ (R).

9. Kakkoku [no] kisya-dan wa ... ‘the corps of international reporters’ (R).

Certain examples involve quantification with a specific number:  
Sūsusūrohu-ra [de aru] san-nin wa ... ‘Suslov and two others ...’ (SA 2673.131a);  
koko zyūun-nen ‘these past ten 
years’ (see §13.7). Others show quantification with some word meaning ‘all’ or ‘general’  
(cf. §13.8):  
Syūkai [no] zenpan ga ... ‘The whole society ...’;  
Syūkai [no] ippan ni wa ... ‘In society as a whole ...’;  
Kyūyūsuu ētai o hukūmete ... ‘including all of Kyūshū’;  
Nagasaki ētai ni ... ‘in the Nagasaki area as a whole’;  
kōgyōō zentai ni ... ‘all of 
industry’ (Martin 1970.443);  
kono issyō zenpēn o ... ‘the whole of this volume’ (Maeda 
1962.1);  
Nihon zēndo ‘all Japan’ (but Nihon zēnkoku is usually tightened into the comp-
pound Nihon-zēnkoku). The quantifying word often has the prefix zen- ‘all’ or iti- ‘one 
(whole)’;  
kakū(-) ‘each’ also turns up:  
Syūkai kakkū kara ... ‘From each society ...’. The 
expressions iti-men ‘all over, the entire surface, full of’ and īppai ‘all over (around)’ are 

2. The expression ûtyūu [no] zentai ‘the entire universe’ is put into further apposition in ... ûtyūu 
zentai itarù-tokorù ni nagāretö  ŏru ‘is flowing everywhere in the entire universe’ (Tk 3.159a).

3. A toryū in ... kōtosī iti-nen no isiwase o inorimāsita ‘they prayed for happiness for all 
the people on New Year’s Day’ (R). These types should be distinguished from the direct adverbialization of a 
place noun found in zēnkoku [de] itiru ‘alike throughout the country’, zēnkoku [de] itiru (no/ni) ‘uniform/uniformly 
throughout the country’.
similar in meaning to the quasi-restrictive "ippai ‘full’ (§ 2.4) but they are preceded by an underlying juncture (which may be dropped as a surface option): Sora iti-men ni hosiga dete iru ‘The sky is full of stars’; mado ippai ni ‘all over the window’. The expression N hitotu da ‘it all depends on N’ resembles both ‘sidai and dakè in meaning: Anata no okonai hitotu desu ‘It all depends on your behavior’; ... kokumin no nêtui hitotu de aru ‘It entirely depends on the enthusiasm of the people’. This expression must be derived from some sort of ellipsis, but the exact nature is unclear. The da can, apparently, be replaced by ni kakatte iru.

The expression N sen’you ‘for the exclusive use of N’ resembles the quasi-restrictive yoo ‘for the use of’, but is separated from the noun by an underlying juncture: hokō- sya sen’yoo no sigunaru ‘a signal for the pedestrians’ (Tsukagoshi 100); zyōsi l sen’yoo no syawaa ‘a shower for women’.

The expression NUMBER soko-soko ‘only about ...’ is used only for round numbers, generally rather small, that refer to money, time, or countables: ... hyakū soko-soko dātta kādo no hakkō-ginkō wa ... ‘the banks issuing (credit) cards, which were only about a hundred in number ...’ (SA 2660.25a) ← hyakū l soko-soko; Han-tōsi soko-soko no kotō da ‘It is a matter of only about a half year’ ← Han-tōsi l soko-soko; ... sánzī-sai soko-soko no koomū-in da ga, ... ‘is a civil servant around thirty years of age’ (SA 2676.106b); ... tukí ni zyuurō-pon soko-soko sika tukurēnai n desu ‘for we can only make about sixteen films a month’ (Tk 3.236a); Hyakuken soko-soko ‘Only about a hundred yen’. This expression is similar to several of the restrictives (§ 2.4). It may well derive from a reduction of NUMBER mō l soko-soko ni [site] ‘letting even NUMBER be just around there or there’—cf. Āsa-han mo soko-soko ni tobi-dasu ‘dashes out with a hasty breakfast’ (Kenkyusha).

For the use of kakkiri ‘exactly’ in kū-zi kakkiri ‘exactly nine o’clock’, and possibly kokkiri as a synonym, see § 13.7.

Sorēzōre ‘each one, individually, respectively’ (< sore- ‘-sore) is sometimes used as a quantifier in apposition: hito sorēzōre ni yorimāsite ‘depending on the particular person’; korē-ra sorēzōre no N ‘these respective N’; Kākuzin sorēzōre no risoo ga aru ‘Each has his own ideal’ (Kenkyusha); ... Similar is the use of kōzin ‘(as an) individual’: Kore ga Keinzu kōzin no kanga de atta ‘This was Keynes’s individual thinking’ (SA 2672.49d); Kane wa kāre kōzin ga moratte ita wāke de wa nai ‘He did not receive the money as an individual’ (SA 2686.26c).

Words for ‘self’ are common in apposition: Watakusi zīsin ... Watakusi zibun ... ‘I myself ...’; Mākino-san go-zīsin wa ... ‘Mr Makino himself ...’ (Tk 3.207b); ... to iu kotō zitate ga, ‘the very fact that ...’ (SA 2684.105b); ... giin mizukara ga ... ‘the Diet members themselves ...’ (Tk 4.14a); ... tennō mizukara ga ... ‘the emperor himself’ (Shiba 89); ... gakkai mizukara ga ... ‘the society itself’ (SA 2670.34a); ... taisyuu mizukara ga sānka(‘) suru kotō ni yotte minōru(‘) to surū nara-ba ... ‘if we consider that it bears fruit according to the participation by the masses themselves’ (SA 2674.43a). The expression for ‘self’ may itself be an appositive phrase: Watakusi ZIBUN ZĪSIN ... ‘I myself (in person) ...’, I my very own self ...’; Korē-ra no zyookēn(‘) wa subete ningen SORE ZĪSIN no zyookēn(‘) de atte ... ‘These conditions are the conditions of the human being himself ...’; Kōnkai no sippai wa, seisaku ‘zyoo no monō de wa naku, seiizai-taikei SORE ZĪSIN no kekkkan ni yoru monō to ieyoo ‘The failure this time can be said to be due to defects in the political system itself, rather than the policies’; Ŗō no kāti SORE ZĪTAI ga mondai ni natta ‘The very value of the yen itself became an issue’. 
The word sono-mónó ‘(in) itself; the very ...’ (< sono monó ‘that thing’) is put in apposition after nouns and also after adjectival nouns: ... kono na sono-mónó ga ... ‘this name itself’ (Maeda 1962.97); ... tobaku sono-mónó ni tā-site wa ... ‘with respect to gambling itself’ (Tk 4.170a); Wareware no sonzai sono-mónó ga ... ‘Our very existence ...’; Sooretu sono-mónó datta ga ... ‘It was brave (ry) indeed’ (SA 2671.93c).\(^4\) Kore/sore/are can be followed by sono-móno or by zītaī, zisin, or zibun—all with much the same meaning; but watakusi/soi/taitu sono-mónó are replaced by watakusi/soi/taitu zīsin. (Yet sono-mónó can be used after other words of personal reference: gakusei sono-mónó ‘the student as student’.) Zubāri sono-mónó means ‘frankness itself’ and it is a reversible phrase: zubāri sono-mónó no ii-kata = sono-móno + zubāri no ii-kata ‘calling a spade a spade’. Māsa ni sono-mónó zubāri desu = Māsa ni zubāri sono-mónó desu ‘You hit the nail (right) on the head; You said it!’.

Like nādo ‘and the like’ (§ 2.9), the expression sonō-ta ‘and other(s)’ directly follows a noun: Taigū(-) sonō-ta ni mo mondai ga aru ‘There are problems in treatment and other things’; zakka sonō-ta ga ... ‘notions and other goods’; ... . The noun hoka will sometimes follow a noun directly, as a shortening of ... [no] hoka, with the same meaning as ‘igai outside of’: Zyūugyōō-in, syōotai-kyaku hoka no tati irū ‘Entry by others than employees and guests is forbidden’.

The word sokkurī ‘just like’ is a precopular noun (optionally an adjectival noun, KKK 44.49), often found in apposition with a pure noun: Wānī sokkurī no kao to kibā o site iru ‘It [= the pike] has a face and fangs just like a crocodile’ (SA 2666.84c); ... Yamamoto Hūzīko sokkurī no onnā ga arūte iru ‘a woman is walking along who looks just like Fujiko Yamamoto’ (SA 2662.110d); ... Nīhō no koogū-ō-dāntī sokkurī no keikā o mišete iru ‘it presents a scene just like the industrial areas of Japan’ (SA 2659.43b); Ÿīgā(-) no syūzin-kō sokkurī da ‘He is just like a movie hero’. This usage is an ellipsis N to/nī sokkurī; the full form can be seen in these examples: ... kore to sokkurī no hanasi ga ... ‘a story identical with this’ (SA 2650.92d); ... mattakū watashi no bō-ru (= naku-natta tītī) ni sokkurī de atta ‘he was the spit and image of my late father’ (SA 2659.69c). A very similar expression is N ni/nī iki-utusi dā ‘is a living picture of N, closely resembles N’. The predicative adverb sa-nagarā ‘just like (that)’ can anticipate a simile (Sa-nagarā(-) N no yōo da ‘It is just like N’) or be used in direct apposition with a noun:⁵ Zitobutu sa-nagarā(-) no mōderu/mise-somōnō ‘a model/show just like the real thing’, Nīhō no ‘tuyū’ sa-nagarā(-) no āme ga ... ‘a rain just like the tsuyu of Japan’. The precopular noun soko-noke (from soko [e] noke ‘Get out of the way!’) is used in direct apposition with a noun to mean ‘surpassing N’: Honsyoku soko-noke no wāzyutu desu ‘It is better storytelling than you

4. On AN | sono-mónō da ‘is the quintessence of AN’ and AN kiwamari nai ‘is ever so AN’, see §13.5a, p. 759. In print I have seen ‘sono koto’ used after an abstract noun; that is an ill-advised substitute for sono-mónō, which is appropriate after abstract nouns as well as other kinds. But it is more polite to use sono-hito for people: Akutāgawa sono-hito mo ‘Akutagawa himself’. Notice also S koto zitai ‘the fact itself that S’.

5. Apparently with obligatory suppression of ni or ga: Ŷūgō(-) fūni/ga sa-nagarā(-) no sanzyū da ‘It is a horrible scene worthy of hell itself’. A similar obligatory suppression of the case marker (probably ni) is found in the expression N suresure ‘very near to, just grazing N’ (a precopular noun): seiiyou suresure no tokorō ni aru hyoo gen(-) ‘expressions that are just a shade from correct usage’ (Nagano 1970.217); Ŷūkan suresure ni ma ni atta ‘We made it barely in time’; Yuusyūo suresure no tokorō made itta ‘I had got to where victory was within my grasp’; atami suresure made no mizu ‘water almost up to one’s head’; ...
hear from a real professional' (Tk 2.13b). This should not be confused with N [o] sotti-noke [ni surú no] da as in ... sigoto sotti-noke désu 'we forget all about our work [= neglect our work'] (Tk 2.93a), from sotti e noke 'put it aside over there'.

The word tappuri 'full' is basically an adverb. One of its uses is to modify a following quantity as in these examples from Kenkyusha: tappuri zyuu-gó-hun 'a good quarter of an hour', tappuri zyuu-máiru 'a good ten miles', tappuri ni-syoo 'a full measure of 2 shô'.

When tappuri stands after a noun, the meaning is 'being full of N', and the expression is treated as an adjectival noun:6 ... zisin tappuri na táido ni ... 'with an attitude full of self-confidence' (Tk 4.312b); ... hiniku tappuri ni koo káite iru no de aru 'they write like this, full of sarcasm' (SA); Közukai/Ryohi tappuri ... 'All kinds of petty/travel expenses ...'.

The word takenawa 'being at the height, (being) in full swing' is an adjectival noun (optionally a precopular noun) which basically occurs as a predicate: Tatakai ga takenawa de aru 'The battle is at its height', Tatakai ga/no takenawa na toki ... 'When at the height of the battle ...'; Yóru ga takenawa ni náru made hanásu 'talk on till the night is far advanced' (the examples are from Kenkyusha). But sometimes ga is dropped, leaving N I takenawa: Syurryoo-sízúun takenawa dá ga ... 'It is the height of the hunting season ...' (SA 2660.49c); ... bangumi-seisaku takenawa no íma wa ... 'right now when the preparation of new programs is at its height' (SA 2657.154).

See §13.7 for pseudo appositions involving direct adverbializations (such as those found in sízúoo saiko o no ... 'the highest in history', zinrui hatú no ... 'mankind's first ...', sêkái dái-ití no ... 'the Number One ... in the world', Nisi-Dóitu ítí no ... 'the foremost ... in West Germany') and for sáuga [no] N and iroiro [no] N.7

Various kinds of ellipsis that leave two nouns juxtaposed are described in Martin 1970. Examples of a few types to be kept in mind: Gendái-zin [to/ní] KYOOTUU no zyuu-daimón-dái de aru kótó wa ... 'Things which are important problems common to the modern man ...'; Kyóoto [ní] KOYUU no kotobá ... 'Words peculiar/native to Kyóoto ...'; Káre [ní] TOKUYUU no, ano kutibúe(-) o, narásió no da 'He sounded that peculiar whistle of his' (Fn 290a); Káre [ní] DOKUTOKU no yari-kata de ... 'In his own individual way ...'; ... zyoodai-go [ní] DÔKUZI(-) no seikaku ... 'characteristics original to the ancient language' (Mabuchi 1993); Káre [ní] ITI RYUU no gyakusetu da 'It is a paradox of his own'; Maku-áí(-) ni haiyuu-táti [ní] YUKARI no sina o utta 'During the intermission they sold things [souvenirs] connected/associated with the actors' (SA 2676.40a); Tóso [ní] SOO'O O ni Appropriately for one's age', míbun [ní] SOO'O O na kurási 'a life fitting one's status'; syuunnuyu [ní] SOO'O O no seikaku o surú 'leads a life appropriate to one's income', tíi [ní] SOO'O O no koosai o surú 'engages in social intercourse that is appropriate to one's position';8 ... koko dé mo súde ni, kónnití [to] DOOYOO no zyoo-tai de átta kótó wa ...

6. Optionally a precopular noun: Zisin tappuri no hanasi-káta o surú 'He talks full of confidence'. The adverbialized adjectival/precopular noun competes with the adverb (directly adverbialized): Zisin tappuri [ní] hanasi-daisítä 'He started talking full of confidence in himself'. A similar expression with manmán(-) 'brimming full' (§13.5a) is apparently limited to a single idiom: ... zisin manmán(-) no hyoozyoó(-) o misérő 'shows a visage brimming with confidence'.

7. Here is another example that may be of the same type: dáisýoo [ ] suuyuk-káso 'some tens of places large and small' (SA 2686.29b). Or is dáisýoo functioning as a pure noun 'big (ones) and little (ones)'? See also husyoo | NAME 'unworthy l ... by name', p. 751 (§13.5); dán-zyo l kyoogaku 'coeducation' (etc.), p. 752.

8. Soo'oo is both an adjectival noun and a verbal noun; soo'oo no N can be taken as propredication
§25. Apposition

'the fact that there too already it was the same situation as today' (Tsujimura 1967.84); ... motínusi [ga] HUMEI da ‘the ownership is unknown = it goes unclaimed’, ... yukue [ga] HUMEI ni nárú = yukue-húmei ni nárú ‘the destination becomes unknown = disappears’. Notice also ik-ko [ga] gozuyú-en no ringo ‘... apples that are fifty yen a piece’. In kono gakka [no] tantoo no kyóozyu(‘) ‘the professor who covers this work’ (Kenkyusha) and ... Eigo [no] tantoo no senseí to hanásu kotó ga ókakatta ‘... did a lot of talking with the teacher in charge of English’ (SA 2666.10), the deeper derivation is N o tantoo suru N; the overt nó represents adnominalized propredication. (Tantoo is a transitive verbal noun.) Certain set phrases will not permit the dropped particle to surface: bűzi l réiku ‘rhetorical flourishes, eloquence’ comes from a structure N fi tó N. (It is also said in a single phonological word, as a syntactic reduction: bűzi l réiku.)

A common type of apposition puts a specific noun phrase after a generalized or indefinite noun phrase:9 dôko ka késiki no i tokóró ‘some place where the scenery is nice’, dáre ka Eigo ga dekíru hitó ‘some person who can speak English’, itu ka hima no tokí ‘sometime when you are free’, nání mo kyóókun ‘rasíi monó ‘nothing in the way of proper training’ (R), ... . If these expressions are to be explained as ellipsis of the adnominalized copula, we must also assume inversion, since the meaning is i tokóró no dôko ka ‘some place that is a nice place’ rather than dôko no i tokóró ‘a nice place that is some place’.10 The problem is similar to that posed by titles (§26): Sátō soorí- daizin ‘Prime Minister Sátó’ is probably better interpreted as sooorí-daizin no (= de arú) Sátō ‘Sató who is prime minister’ rather than Sátō no (= de arú) sooorí-daizin ‘the prime minister who is Sátó’. Cf. syoogún léyasu(‘) ‘leyasu the Shógun’, where the title is being treated as an epithet. On the other hand, the following examples of N1 N2 may well be stylistic inversions of something like N2 [to iu] N1 or N2 [de arú] N1: Ningen Henri-Míraa no, kakisáretta itímen(‘) ‘It is a hidden phase of Henry Miller the man’ (SA 2681.105e); ... kankoo-tósi Bénisu ... ‘the tourist city of Venice’ or ‘Venice the tourist city’ (SA 2686.49b). Cf. Áporó [tuki-ryóko ‘Moonshot Apollo’ or ‘the Apollo moon-shot’. Something more like English apposition is seen in PRONOUN N NOUN: ... sono siki o tóru no ga, káre Kumagaya Hiroshi da ‘... and he, Hiroshi Kumagaya (in person), is conducting them’ = ‘and they are conducted by the well-known H. K. (= káno H. H.)’ (SA 2666.104a).

Complex numbers are made up of scope-narrowing phrases that go from the larger to the smaller and thus could perhaps be regarded as ellipsis (obligatory) of the genitive of specification: níman yónsen sánya yóki ití-mai ‘24 301 sheets’. But some other explanation

9. The opposite might appear to be true in ... suteru monó ga nání mo nákatta no ka ... ‘apparently because there was nothing to be thrown away ...’ (SA 2665.117a) but the case marking (gal) tells us that the following nání mo must be adverbal. This is not the pseudo apposition coming from anaphoric reprise of a theme (described below), but rather a quantification, in which nání mo ‘nothing’ functions like hitó mo ‘(not) even one’.

10. But such examples as Nání o báká na kotó o itte ‘rú n da ná ‘What nonsense are you talking?!’ (Okitsu 1.251) suggest that a better solution is that of the scope-narrowing multiple adjuncts of §3.11.
may be more suitable, e.g. níman [ni] yónsen [ni] ... . Dates and times seem clearly to include an optional [nó] in moving from larger to smaller areas of specification: Syóōwa(*) [no] yuú-nen [no] šangátu [no] tooka [no] gógo [no] hati-zi 'eight o’clock p.m., on the tenth of March of the year Shōwa 10 (1935)'. But further quantification (hati-zi zip-pun ’ten minutes after eight’) must be handled some other way.

Expressions of the type A to B {tō} dōtira mo (or ryoohōo(“)) ‘A and B both’, A to B to C {tō} minnâ[,] ‘A and B and C all of them’, are a special case of counting, and are to be treated in the same way as kami iti-mai ‘a sheet of paper’.

This can be noun + directly adverbialized number, as in Kami [ga] iti-mai irimãsu ‘I want one sheet of paper’, or it can be an apposition (Kami iti-mai [ga] irimãsu ‘I want one sheet of paper’) that must be assumed to involve inversion from iti-mai no kami ‘paper which is one sheet (in quantity)’; cf. §13.6. An example of a number (‘all’) in apposition to a phrase that contains the apposition N sonó-ta: ... heya sonó-ta issái o kaizoo suru ... ‘renovating all the rooms and other things’ (Tk 4.27a).

Another kind of pseudo apposition is the result of anaphoric reprise of a theme (as described in §3.9—cf. KKK 23.151-2); this could be thought of as apposition of adverbial phrases (since that is what the case-marked nouns function as): Koo itta siki no monó [wa], SORÉ wa kóoka arimašén ‘This type of thing, it won’t be effective’; Kono hitéi-kei to iu yóo na katati mo KORE mo yahári ná; yóo de arimašu ‘Nor this form like a negative, it doesn’t seem to be there, either’. Among theme-reprises are list summarizers, such as ABC kono zénbu ‘ABC all’ and resumptive generalizers: Nómú monó mo kuú monó mo NANNI MO naku ... ‘They had nothing to eat or drink (or anything) ... ’ (SA 2648.61c); Tyoósén no heigóo-sí kara NANNI kara kàngáuru to nó ‘When you think of it from the viewpoint of the history of the annexation of Korea and all ... ’ (Tk 3.5a);

Niwa wa, ike kara NANNI kara minnâ (sono niói made) omoi-dasita ‘I recalled the garden, starting with the pond and everything, all of it, right down to the way it (all) smelled’ (Kusakabe 1968). Something like this lurks in the background of nado and its synonyms, §2.9. And some of our conjunctural phrases, such as sore ni ‘to that = additionally, and also’ have similar origins: Nomimono wa, Nihon-syu, bīru, SORÉ Ni Santórii no kaku-bin no zidai [‘It was an era when what one drank was sake, beer, and Suntory (whiskey) in the square bottle’ (Gd 1969/9.95).}

While another type is the apparent apposition of a question or an alternative question to a summational postadnominal, as if a copula or quotational pseudo-copula were omitted: S ka [to iu] N, S ka [no] N. Ishigaki suggests S ka [ni tûte no] N. Examples (from Ig 1962.88): Ittai, zibun ga îtu kara konna huukei no nákã ni ìtá NO KA, Môtokô no KIOKU wa mattaku ná ‘There is not the least memory for Motoko of just when she got into this kind of state’ (... no ka to iu kioku ... ); Koréтики ga hatâsîte îtu miyako e kaeri-tuitâ KA, seikaku no [= na] KOTÓ WA wakaranâi ‘It is unclear precisely when Korechika finally made it back to the capital’ (... ka to iu kotó ... ).

11. An example: Mïru monó [to/ya) kiku monó [ga], sùbete mono-sabisuku ... ‘Everything I see or hear is dreary to me’ (Tk 3.224a); an alternative explanation would be ... monó [no] sùbete [ga] ... but I believe the comma in the text indicates the first interpretation was intended. The “number’ can be questioned, and that is the explanation for this sort of sentence: Måâ, niwatori to tamâgof(‘) to dôtî ga saki da tte kotó ni mo arimâsu ga, ... ‘Well, it gets to be a question of which came first, the chicken or the egg ... ’ (Tk 3.206a). Notice that a case or focus particle can follow the last item in the list whether it is marked with the optional to or not.
Japanese like to mark a name by attaching a TITLE that specifies some category or role or place in a hierarchy. If the title is short and common, it may be attached as a suffix; you will recall that suffixes of one syllable (whether containing one or two moras) will typically accentuate the preceding syllable—the last syllable of the noun to which they attach—after removing whatever basic accent the noun would have in other contexts, but some suffixes form atomic phrases and there are fixed expressions that ignore the productive patterns. Some titles are not attached as suffixes; they are separated from the name by an underlying minor juncture: Takahasi zyo-kyōzyu ‘Assistant Professor Takahashi’, Ōotani Sátoko urakata ‘Lady Abbess Satoko Ōtani’ (Tk 2.267b). These are UNREDUCED titles. Common titles such as sensei ‘Dr’ or ‘Maestro’, zyōsi ‘Ms’, kyōzyu(‘) ‘Professor’, etc., are usually reduced by dropping the juncture. In Yamada sensei (or Yamada zyōsī) the dropping of the juncture might be just the usual surface adjustment whereby a minor juncture rather freely drops after a short atomic phrase, since the family name Yamada is atomic; but the lack of juncture after a tonic name, as in Takahasi zyōsī, clearly indicates that what is involved is a syntactic reduction.1

The predilection for titles perhaps accounts for the way place names are so often stated. Cities, for example, are often cited with ʼsi ‘city of ...’ attached to the name: Kōbe = Koobe-ʼsi, Kawasaki = Kawasaki-ʼsi, Kamakura(‘) = Kamakura-ʼsi, etc. Tōkyō, however, enjoys unique status as a ʻ(capital) metropolis’ so it attaches ʼto: Tookyoo = Tookyyō-to ‘the metropolis (or capital city) of Tōkyō’. And you will find Ōsaka and Kyōto referred to both as cities (Osaka = Oosaká-ʼsi, Kyōto = Kyooto-ʼsi) and as ʻmunicipalities’ with the suffix ʼhu (Oosaka = Oosaká-hu, Kyōto = Kyooto-ʼhu). Prefectures are designated by the juncture ʼken: Saitama(‘) = Saitamā-ken, Mie = Mi-e-ken, Kanagawa(‘) = Kanagawa-ken, Yamānashi = Yamanaʃi-ken, Günma = Gunma-ken, Isikawa = Isikawa-ken. Some place names function in more than one role: Nagasaki = Nagasakî-ʼsi ‘the city of Nagasaki’ or Nagasaki-ken ‘the prefecture of Nagasaki’; Hiroshima = Hirosimâ-ʼsi ‘the city of Hiroshima’ or Hirosimā-ken ‘the prefecture of Hiroshima’. Mountains usually have fixed designations with the suffix ʼsan (or -yama) attached: Eberesutō-san ‘Mt Everest’ (Eberesuto); Asama-yama ‘Mt Asama’; Hûzi-san2 ʻ(Mt) Fuji’—also called, poetically, Hûzi-no-yama and these days sometimes even ‘Hûziyama’, borrowing back the English version in order to name sophisticated things like lounges in jumbo jets. River names are typically marked by the suffix -gawa (from kawa ‘river’): Tone-gawa ‘the (river) Tone’, Yodo-gawa ‘the (river) Yodo’, Kamo-gawa ‘the (river) Kamo’, Sumidâ-gawa ‘the Sumida

1. According to Akinaga (in K) at least some of these expressions are at times treated as if they were quasi-restrictives: Takahasi ʼsensei = /takahasisenesi/—and therefore, by analogy, /yamadasensei/ = Yamada ʼsensei. Certain speakers, I believe, make a difference in meaning between a phrase of noun + title and the quasi-restrictive version, using the latter to refer to a frequently mentioned or well-known personality. Akinaga lists the atomic example of kootyoo ‘school principal’ as well as the tonic examples of tennô ‘Emperor’, koogô ‘Empress’, hoôô ‘Pope’, sënyoo ‘ship Captain’, koosyaku ʻPrince’, taisi ‘Ambassador’, and daiizin ‘cabinet Minister’ (but this is usually ...-daiizin with the particular ministry specified). Hamako Chaplin uses the quasi-restrictive accentuation for Raisiayâwa ʻtaisi ‘Ambassador Reischauer’.

2. The accentuation is irregular, as if it were ‘Mr Fuji’ instead of ‘Mt Fuji’; we expect *Hûzi-san.
(River'), Teemuzú-gawa 'the Thames', Mississippí[i]-gawa 'the Mississippi (River)'; in a few names this is -kawa, e.g. Ara-kawa 'the Arakawa'. There are a good many other geographical suffixes—such as -wan 'bay', -kai 'sea', -too 'island', etc.—as well as political subdivisions such as -ku 'ward', -tyoo or -mati 'town, section', etc. Temples are designated with -zí/-zi or -dera, but the accent is sometimes capricious, especially when the temple designation is used as a geographical or political unit, e.g. Kitízìyo-zi. Railway stations are designated by -eki: Tookíyoo = Tookíyó-eki, Ueno = Uenó-eki, Kyoóto = Kyoóto-eki, Nagásaki = Nagasákí-eki. Modern institutions are sometimes designated by a free noun used as the second part of a compound noun, e.g. daígaku 'university' in Tookíyoo-daígaku, Kyoóto-daígaku, and Ekíben-daígaku 'Hicktown University'.

But if the designation gets long, it is often added as a title, preceded by the appropriate underlying juncture: Bósuton no Róogan kokusai-kúukoo made áto gó-hun, tyakíríku-kóosu ni háiru tokóro da 'Five minutes from Boston's Logan International Airport, they are about to enter their landing pattern' (SA 2673.137b).

Japanese personal names normally follow the family name, separated by an underlying juncture: Takáhási Ýosíko 'Ýoshíko Takáháshi'. The juncture can be thought of as representing a dropped no, such as we find in Japanese names of an earlier era: Huzíwára no Mítínága(-)'Michinaga of the Fujiwaras'.

Foreign names, on the other hand, are given in the order of the original language and usually run together as if a single noun, and the accent of the last element in the name prevails: Baanaado-Sýóó 'Bernard Shaw', Seoodo-Ruuuzúbrúto 'Theodore Roosevelt', Dagarusu-Makkáasaa 'Douglas MacArthur'. Under certain circumstances a Japanese (or partly Japanese) name will be given a sophisticated foreign treatment; if Sátoó Yúriiko were to become a TV personality, say, she might be presented as Yuríiko-Sátoo and perhaps even change her name to Zyuuríi-Sátoo 'Julie Sato' or the like. And names out of Japanese history are now often treated, optionally, as if they were compound-type foreign names: Asíkága-Ýosímitú = Asíkága Ýosímitú, i.e. Asíkága no Ýosímitú; Tokúgawa-léyasu = Tokúgawa léyasu(-), i.e. Tokúgawa no léyasu(-); Toyotomi-Hidéyósi = Toyotomi Hidéyósi(-), i.e. Toyotomi no Hidéyósi(-).

The most general title for people is san, a shortening of the formal version sama; there are also hypercoristic (endearing) versions tyan and tyama. Though often written with a hyphen, as if attached as a suffix, this title—variously translated as 'Mr, Miss, Mrs, Ms, ...'—has no affect on the accent of the word with which it forms a phrase; thus it is a syntactic reduction (with obligatorily dropped juncture) and is best treated as a separate word, a 'reduced title': Sátoó san/sama, Yamada san/sama, Harupó-Márúkusu san/san 'Mr Harpo Marx', Ýósíko tyan/tyama 'little Miss Yoshíko', Kén tyan/tyama 'our Ken', ..., With kinship terms the title is so common that it is perhaps advisable to write it as part of the word, with or without a hyphen: ozi(-)-san 'uncle', otóosan 'father', okáasan 'mother', obáasan 'grandmother', etc. But ozi, o-tóó, o-káá, o-báá, etc., are also used without the...

3. This is true of geographical terms as well: Noto-hántoo 'the Noto peninsula' is Nóto + hántoo, Tugarú-kaíkíoyo 'the straits of Tsugaru' is Tugarú + kaíkíoyo. Actually, the term 'preaccentuated suffix' often refers to a free noun of one syllable used as the second member of a compound; see p. 19.

4. Certain impersonal names can be explained in the same way: Bitímí(-) | Bii í Zyuuumí 'Vitamin B-12'.

5. The traditional way to say explicitly 'Mrs Takáháshi' is Takáhási san no óku-san (or óku-sama); 'Miss Takáháshi' is Takáhási san no ozyóó-san/-sama.

6. Those kin terms with a basic final accent lose it when attaching -san: otootoó but ootootoo(-)-san,
title; and -sama, -tyan, and -tyama can readily replace -san in these words. The word 'akatyan 'baby' (from 'little mister/miss red one') is a set form; on rare occasions you may hear akatyan or akras. The title san can be followed by the collectivizer tåti (§ 2.7): Yamada san tåti (also Yamada sán-tåti?) 'Mr/Ms Yamada and associates' or 'the Yamadas', Såto san tåti 'Mr/Ms Satå and group' or 'the Satås'. The title sama can be followed by the collectivizers tåti or -gåta: Yamada sama tåti or Yamada samå-tåti, Takåhashi sama tåti; Yamada sama göta or Yamada samå-göta, Takåhashi sama -gåta = /takahasismagåта/ or Takåhashi -samå-gåta = /takahasismågåta/. The iterated title sama(-)sama is not plural, but emphatic, and at times sarcastic; it is to be translated something like 'most obliging' or 'indeed welcome (= to one's advantage, convenience, benefit)'.

The title kun is attached to the name of a colleague, male or female, or of someone who has been a colleague at work or at school. (But many agree with BJ 1.212 that "it is a man's word, and is usually used by men in reference to men". When not a direct second-person reference females freely use it of a male.) Kun can be attached as a syntactic reduction, a "reduced title" like sama/san, but after an atonic noun it enjoys optional treatment as a (preaccentuated) suffix kun: Takåhashi kun, Yamada kun or Yamadå-kun. The title si is applied to prominent persons, especially foreigners (who need not be especially prominent), as a relatively formal title; though treated as a "reduced title" after a tonic noun—Såto si 'Mr Satå', Nåkuson si 'Mr Nixon', Goruda-Méia si 'Mrs Golda Meir', Gårubo si 'Miss Garbo', Guloria-Såtåinemu si 'Ms Gloria Steinem'—this is a (preaccentuated) suffix after an atonic noun: Yamåda-si 'Mr Yamada', Nakågåwa Såsumu-si 'Mr Susumu Nakågåwa'. The title kun can be followed by the collectivizers tåti, rå, and domo. Yamada kun or Yamadå-kun will yield Yamada kun tåti or Yamada kün-tåti or Yamadå-kun tåti, Yamada kün-rå or Yamåda-kun rå, and Yamada kun domo; Takåhashi kun will yield Takåhashi kun tåti, Takåhashi kun rå, and Takåhashi kun domo.

The title si can be followed by the collectivizer rå: Yamåda-si rå, Takåhashi (s)åra. For women the title zyösì is often used instead of si: kô Okamoto (Ã) Kånoko zyösì 'the late Miss K. Okamoto' (Tk 3.223). But neither term will be used for a woman who is prominent primarily because of her husband's position: Mrs Nixon is Nåkuson huzin, and Mr and Mrs Nixon is translated as Nåkuson (go)-husái. The rather formal word dônó(-) is

imootó but imooto(-)sån, musümé but musume(-)sån. This seems to indicate that a dropped juncture cancelled the accent before vanishing, confirming the treatment of san/sama as a syntactic reduction. (Ozyoå-san is a fixed lexical item. Apparently there are no personal or family names with a basic final accent.) Notice also the irregularity of kozoo-såń from kozoo 'young Buddhist priest'. Some other unpredictable accentuations: osewa-såma 'trouble' (from o-sewa from sewa), oheya-såma(-) 'concubine', okyaku-såma 'guest', Osyaka-såma 'Buddha', otera-såma 'Buddhist priest', otori-såma 'feast of the Òtori shrine', ....

7. For Hamako Chaplin this is atonic; MKZ gives sama-samå and K implies ñåma-samå in the citations syóobai sama-samå 'welcome business indeed' and kaisya sama-samå 'our most obliging company (= generous employer)'.

8. The collective term syökun 'colleagues' is used as a term of address (like minå-san 'ladies and gentlemen') and as a kind of title after a few terms, e.g. gakusei syökun. The collective term syösi 'gentlemen' is sometimes used in a similar way, e.g. kyoozyu syösi 'professors'. There is also ryoo-si 'both gentlemen': Sugano Kån, Usuda Hårosi ryoo-si ni yoru ... 'according to [Messrs] K. Sugano and H. Usuda'.

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sometimes used as an un reduced title9 ’... Esquire’ or ‘Mr ...’ in addressing letters or the like: Takahasi Tároo dono(―), Yamada Susumu dono(―). Other title-like words which may appear at the end of an address (un reduced) include kiká ‘(for the desk of =) To:’ and óntyuu(―) ‘Messrs ...; (To) Whom It May Concern at ...’. An address is normally ordered from the general to the specific, with an underlying juncture between each component (perhaps to be thought of as the remnant of a dropped ... nó !), so that the name will come at the end, followed by the title etc.

Older gentlemen are sometimes referred to with the polite titles ’roo or (―)óó. The former is usually attached as a suffix (thus Takahasi-roo from Takáhasi); the latter seems to be used—at times—as an un reduced title, preceded by an underlying minor juncture: ... kó II Tooyama Mituru I óó wa ... ‘the late [elderly gentleman] Mitsuru Tôyama’ (Tk 2.157); Sasuga Syôô óó wa hiniku-ya da áru ... ‘(Old) Shaw is the cynic indeed ...’ (Tk 2.115a); ... Muséi-roo no go-kóösetu o ukágai-taí n desu ga ... ‘I’d like to ask your valued opinion, venerable Musei’ (Tk 2.124a). The designation roožin(―) ‘elderly gentleman’ is compounded with a name to refer to an older literary figure: Kubota-róozin from Kubota, Kožima-róozin (Tk 2.198b) from Kožima.

Examples of un reduced titles, separated from the name by an underlying juncture: Kubota soos yoo ‘Master [haiku poet] Kubota’; Zissôooi kantoku ‘(Film) Director [Akio] Jissôii’; Béteran(―) no Iisikawa kamerá-man ga ... ‘Veteran cameraman Ishikawa ...’ (SA 2686.41b); Miyata Térú ana (SA 2670.25b) = Miyata Térú anàûnsaa ‘Announcer Teru Miyata’; ... marason no Són-sénsyu to Nán-sénsyu ga déru n de ... ‘Marathon champions Son and Nam appeared and ...’ (Tk 3.76a); Síroki tóosyoo ‘Pitcher Shiromi’ (Tk 3.56); Hurusityôó hu zen-sésyoo ni yotte, ... ‘According to ex-premier Khrushchev, ...’ (SA 2673.131a); ... Aíti I zen I gaimu-dain ga II. ‘former foreign minister Aichi ...’ (R).

The title kóosyaku ‘Prince’ is usually un reduced,10 but its abbreviation kóo is apparently treated as a reduced title: Kóone Atúmaro kóosyaku (Tk 3.52); Kóone Ayámoro koo (Tk 3.52). Hakusyaku ‘Count’ and its abbreviation háku are similar: Takáhasi hakusyaku; ... toki no l sítýoo II Gotoo [ ] Sinpei háku o I tasüketa ‘... helped Count Shinpei Goto, mayor at that time’ (Tk 3.212). And I presume that dánsyaku(―) ‘Baron’ and its abbreviation dán will behave the same way.

Once a person has been mentioned by name and title, later references may use just the title, as if a pronoun. When a mention of Sátoo senséi ‘Dr Sato’ is followed later in the discourse by a reference to senséi, the appropriate translation is usually 'he' or 'him’;11 once Buráun zyóósi ’Ms Brown’ is introduced, later references to zyóósi are appropriately translated as 'she/her’. Sí ‘the person mentioned = he/she' (= dôosi ‘said gentleman’) is also used in this way, as if a pronoun; but kun and sama do not enjoy the privilege.

As suggested in §25, an explanation for the structure NAME | TITLE can be found in assuming an inversion from something like TITLE no (= de áru) | NOUN ‘NOUN who is TITLE’, so that Sátoo soori-daizín ‘Prime Minister Sató’ is derived from soori-daizín no Sátoo ‘Satô who is prime minister’ rather than taken as a straight ellipsis of Sátoo [no] |
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Soori- daiizin ‘the prime minister who is Satō’. Of course, with a straight ellipsis (and no inversion), soori- daiizin Sāto can be used to mean ‘Satō as prime minister’, with the role taken as an epithet rather than a title. That is the explanation offered in § 25 for syoogun leyasu(‘leyasu the Shōgun’). Another example is daiizin Amano san ‘Mr Amano (when/as the cabinet minister)’ (Tk 3.163). But there are also examples of the preposed title intended as identification rather than as an epithet: O- hanasi wall Gakusyuuin-dāigaku kyōozyu l Ōono l Susumu san désita ‘Speaking was Mr Susumu Ōno, professor at Gakushūin University (R). Notice the major juncture after kyōozyu(‘professor’, representing an ellipsis of nó (= de āru) ‘who is’. (The minor juncture before the word also marks a dropped nó.)

Sumō wrestlers are given professional nicknames, called sikō-na(‘that’, that end in -yama, as if they were mountains; to this is attached the title ‘zeki, an abbreviation of sekitori ‘(champion) wrestler’: Haguroyamā-zeki = sekitori Haguroyama ‘Haguro-yama the sumō wrestler’.

In written Japanese you may see a title separated from the name by parenthetical material: Kōnai no kōosi, Dokoo (Tosio—Toosiba syatyou) san mo Tāyo (Sigeki—Toore kaityouo) san mo kātute wa seiato san detta ‘The instructors of the present session, Mr (Tosio) Dokō (president of Toshiba) and Mr (Shigeki) Tāyo (chairman of Tōyō Rayon) on former occasions were both students’ (SA 2689.137a). Identical titles can be omitted for all but the last name in a paratactically conjoined group; an example of three names followed by ‘si ra ‘Messers ...’ is cited on p. 146. Sometimes what might be a title is little more than descriptive specification, to be treated as simple apposition: Zyōo-tati Bēi kaiheitāi-in ... ‘American marines—Joe and his buddies—’ (SA 2679.39a).

Full European names, as we have observed, are treated as compound nouns. In Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese the surname comes first and the entire name is usually treated as a single word with thematic accentuation, the fall of pitch coming at the third mora from the end (one mora earlier when the third is one of the accent-avoiding moras): Moo-Tākūtoo ‘Mao Tse-tung’, Syoo-Kāiseki ‘Chiang Kai-shek’, Sōn-Bun ‘Sun Wen (= Sun Yat-sen)’, Hoo-Ti-Min ‘Ho Chi Minh’. When a shorter title is added to a European, Chinese, Korean, or Vietnamese name, the entire expression is often accentuated as if a compound noun, for the title is treated as a quasi-restrictive. Thus Hurouroensu-Howāito ‘(‘zyōi ‘Miss Florence White’ may be more often heard as /hurouroensuhowatozyōi/ than as /hurouroensuhowato l zyōi/; this is particularly true when the name is short: Howāito ‘zyōi /howatozyōi/ ‘Miss White’ rather than Howāito zyōi /howato l zyōi/, Baanado-hakase ‘Dr Barnard’ rather than Baanāado hakase. Some speakers will extend this practice to longer titles as well: ... Warutohaimu-zimusōotyoo no l motō ni ... ‘under [UN] Secretary General Waldheim’ (R). But apparently these expressions are more commonly broken into shorter phrases: ... Nikuson l daitōoryoo no l ikoo o l ... ‘President Nixon’s opinion’ (R); ... Sōuru no l NHK l Šimizū l tokuhain ni yorimāsu to l ... ‘according to NHK’s Seoul correspondent Shimizu’ (R); Amerika no l Kissinzyaal l daitōoryoo l hosākan wa l ... Kissinzyaal hosākan wa l ... ‘American presidential adviser Kissinger ... Adviser Kissinger ...’ (R); ... Kānkoku no l Kim-Yōosyoku l gaimū-bu l tyookan wa l ... Kim l tyookan wa mata l ... Kim l tyookan wa l sāra ni l ... ‘South Korean foreign affairs minister Kim Yong-shik ... Minister Kim moreover ... Minister Kim further ...’ (R); Howaito-Hāusu no l Nessen l hodōo-kan wall ... ‘White House spokesman Nessen’ (R); Torudo l syusyoo ga l ... ‘Prime Minister Trudeau’ (R); Warutohaimu l zimu-sōotyoo ga l ... ‘Secretary General Waldheim’ (R).
27 ITERATIVE DEVICES

One way to emphasize what you are saying is to repeat it. The repetition of a word or phrase or larger unit is called ITERATION, and Japanese use the device fairly often: Kore da kore da! ‘This is the one (—this is the one)!’; ‘Aa, sore sore! ‘That’s it (—there)!’; Taihen da taihen da taihen da yo! ‘It’s terrible—terrible, terrible, terrible!’; Asuko o yameru yameru tte ita kedo, ... ‘He kept saying he’d quit that place ...’ (BJ 2.73.27); O-denwa siyoo siyoo to omoi-nagara tu’i [dekinakute go-men nasai] ‘I kept meaning to phone you and then I ended up not doing so [please excuse me]’ (cf. BJ 2.326.31); Åse o dasi-kitte, dasi-kitte, turai, turai ‘You sweat and sweat; it’s tough’ (SA 2671.47a); ... nódo ga kwaiwate kwaiwate, ... ‘thirsty, thirsty’ (SA 2671.94b); ... sabisikute sabisikute, tamarimasen ‘is terribly terribly lonely’ (KKK 3.80); Māiniti(−) ga iyá de iyá de tamaranāi no ‘Every day is simply unbearable!’ (SA 2642.37); ... kore ga, daizī de daizī de, tāda kodomo no tamē ni īkite kita hāha de, ... ‘she is a mother who has lived only for her children, treating us with great care’ (R); Hazime wa mune ga dōki-doki sita ga, nān-kai mo yatte ‘ru uti(−) ni omosōrkute omosōrkute yameranakun nattyatta ‘At first his heart was in his throat, but with repetition it got to be such great fun he couldn’t stop’ (SA 2652.121b); Tokorō-ga, dandan dandan sono byoozyoo ga susumimāsīte, ... ‘But little by little her illness took its course, and ...’ (R); ... dandan dandan dandan ... ‘little by little by little’; ... yukkūri yukkūri aruite ikun da ne ‘he walks along very slowly’ (Tk 4.290a); Mōto mōto taisetu na kōtō wa, ... ‘A much much more important matter ...’ (SA 2671.44b); Itu mo māe e māe e to susumu kōtō no dekiru to iu kōtō wa saiwai na kōtō de aru ‘Being able to progress onward and onward all the time is a happy thing’ (CK 985.60); Tugi-tugi ni sita e sita e to rensetsite ikū ‘They are connected continuously all the way down’; ... itu made mo itu made mo utai-tuzzukēru ‘(We would) keep on singing forever and ever’ (SA 2650.59a); Itu mo itu mo ... ‘All the time ...’; Åto kara åto kara ... ‘One after another, in rapid succession ...’; Dē mo, nān-kai mo nān-kai mo tanomi-konda ‘But I kept up my earnest entreaty time after time’ (SA 2640.61a); Dōno anā mo dōno mo sitai ga tumatte ita ‘Corpses were stuffed into every hole’ (SA 2670.46b); Māiniti(−) māiniti(−) no sigoto ni mo, ... ‘Even in everyday chores ...’; Sizuka ni sizuka ni arūku ‘We will walk very quietly’; Hiruma mita Kawasaki to tigai, sizuka ni sizuka na mati de atta ‘Quite different from Kawasaki seen in the daytime, it was a hushed city’; Tīsa na tīsa na mati ‘A tiny little town ...’; Zyūku ga āru kara, asobū nānte tote-mo tote-mo [...] ‘I’ve got private school, so there’s little chance to play or anything’ (SA 2635.4c—five-year-old boy talking).

Some of the iterations are, in translation at least, idiomatic: Kūru o-mūko-san, kūru o-mūko-san ga minnā naku-nattimatte ‘Bridegroom after bridegroom, they all passed away ...’ (Okitsu 1.253); Sōra wa kūru hī mo kūru hī mo haiiro [dā] ‘The sky was grey day after day’ (SA 2670.135a); ... ima ka ima ka to ... māte ita ‘was waiting [wondering whether it would be at any moment =] eagerly’ (Kb 234a); ... sāigo ni, are yo are yo to iu aida ni, kimi ga toppu ni nātė smoota na ‘... and at last, all of a sudden, you ended up at the top, didn’t you’ (SA 2651.42c); Sāigo ni wa medetāshi medetāshi de owaru monogatari ‘Finally the story has a happy ending’ (Ôno 1966.105); ... medetāshi medetāshi de owaru kōtō no dekinai ... kōnnan ... ‘difficulties that can not wind up as a story with a happy ending’ (Ôno 1966.107).
The pattern sono $N_1$ sono $N_1$ is used to mean ‘each particular/individual $N_1$’ or ‘each and every $N_1$’ (cf. sorezore $<$ sore$-$'-'sore $<$ sore-ni-sore ‘individually, respectively’):¹ ... Syuu kan-Asahi ni sité mo Bungei-Syûntyoo ni sité mo, sono gōo sono gōo ni yotte, naiyoo wa zēnbu tigā ‘Whether it be Weekly Asahi or Bungei Shunchô, the content is completely different from issue to issue’ (Tk 4.241b); Kono yōō na gutai-wei wa, sono toti sono toti ni, musuu ni korogatte iru ‘Concrete examples of this sort abound all over the country’ (Maeda 1962.124); ... sonō-hito sonō-hito no syukan ni yotte ‘depending on the intuition of the particular individual’ (Tsujimura 78); ... sono-hi$^{[1]}$ sono-hi$^{[1]}$ no seiseki ‘the daily results’ (SA 2663.48c); ... sono-hi$^{[1]}$ sono-hi o kurasu ‘lives through each day’; ... sono zidai sono zidai no sesoo(-) ... ‘the social conditions of each individual age’. But occasionally the iteration of sono $N$ may be merely emphatic: sono-ba sono-bā(‘) de ‘right then and there’. In the iterative pattern sono $N_1$ sono $N_1$ (=dōnō $N_1$ mo ‘whatever $N$’) we can think of sono as a minimal specification of the noun; you will sometimes find other adnominal modifications, especially V-ru: Âu hito âu hito ga âisatu sita (= Â̄ta hitō wa āre de mo âisatu sita) ‘Everyone I met greeted me’; Kuru mono kuru mono ni o-miyage o yatta ‘They gave presents to all comers’; Miru monō miru mono ga mezurasii kara, akinai ‘Everything I see is so unusual my interest never lags’. And in Suru koto nāsu koto sippai bakari datta ‘I failed in everything I did’, the iterated pattern allows a synonym of the modifying verb. In §2.7 we observed that a singular number can sometimes be iterated and turned into a quasi-compound to mean ‘each and every’ or ‘every single (one)’, as in itimai-itimai no kamī ‘every single sheet of paper’. And we also observed reduplications such as yamayama ‘mountains’ and simazima ‘islands’, to be entered in the dictionary as unpredictable lexical items, sometimes narrowed in meaning to ‘each individual $N$’: ... korē-ra no iē-iē no totan wa Nihon-sei nā no da ‘the zinc on [the roof of] every one of these houses was made in Japan’ (SA 2669.62e); ... sōré-ra no misē-mise(−) wa ... ‘those several shops, each one of them ...’ (SA 2663.34d); ... tihôo-tihoo no hoogēn ‘the dialects of the various regions’ (Maeda 1962.219); Kotobâ wa tihoo-tihoo de tigau ‘Language differs from region to region’ (Kotoba no yurai 130); ... yoosyo-yōosyo de ‘at every strategic position’. Some of the words derived by these patterns are virtually synonymous with iterations of sono $N$; ... toti-tōti ni yotte koto-nâru ga ... ‘it differs from place to place, but ...’ (SA 2659.71b) means much the same thing as sono toti sono toti de zūbun tigau. And sometimes you will find sono + reduplicated noun: Māa sono keesu-keesu ni yotte tigaimâsu ‘Why, it varies from case to case’ = sono keesu sono keesu ni yotte tigaimâsu.² Some of the reduplicated nouns have unpredictable nuances of meaning that show up in idiomatic translations: ikura-ikura ‘just how much’, kâzu ga ikura-ikura(‘) hûeta ‘the number increased a certain amount’; setuna-setuna ni ikiru ‘lives from moment to moment’; omoi-ōmōi no sutâiru de ‘each in his own style’ (CK 985.378—omoi-ōmōi is a precopular

¹. But sono tokî ‘that time’ forms a compound sonotoki-sonotoki, as in ... sonotoki-sonotoki no mondai o syōri suru to iu koto ga ... ‘a matter of taking care of problems as they arise’ (Tanigawa 20). There may be other lexicalized cases of this type. The appropriate adverbialization is sonotoki-sonotoki DE, in contrast with sono tokî Ni ‘at that time’. ². In baaai-baai ni yotte ‘depending on the place’ and nendai-nendai ni yotte ‘depending on the age’, for some reason the iterated atomic noun fails to pick up the appropriate compound-noun accent (*baai-bai, *nendai-nendai). Perhaps we should separate the iteration by a space rather than a hyphen. Similar examples: ... sono syokuba-syokuba de ... ‘in each of those workshops’ (R); ... gakunen-gakunen de wa ... ‘school year by school year’ (Nagano 1966.140).
noun); *utā* no aida-aida(\(\text{\textsuperscript{\text{1}}\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\)) ni ... ‘between each of the songs’ (Tk. 3.115b); yoku saki-zaki de ‘in the various places one goes’ but sakizaki ‘the distant future’ (= ato-ato = noti-noti); mae-mae kara ‘(already) for a long time’; moto-moto ‘originally, by nature; back where one started from (none the worse)’.

Certain adverbs are iterated for emphasis, but pronounced as a single phrase, with the juncture dropping and cancelling all but the first accent; the resulting phrase is usually treated as a separate lexical item and we will write it with a hyphen: ... ningen no enerugii no ooki-sa ni TĀDA-TADA bikkūri suru ‘We are simply startled by the size of man’s energy ...’; MĀDA-MADA arimāsu ‘We’ve got lots more’. The adverbs goku-goku ‘extremely’ from gōku and yoku-yoku ‘extremely much; thorough(ly)’ from yōku are similar, except that they have shed their accent. (Other cases of atonicization include maru-maru ‘completely, entirely’—cf. maru-maru gotō ‘gets plump’—ato-ato ‘the distant future’ and mae-mae ‘for a long time already’.) The adverb tokoro-dokoro ‘everywhere’, on the other hand, has the regular accentuation of a compound noun. Matā-mata(\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\)) = matā-moē-yah ‘(yet) again’ is pronounced either atonicized or with the preservation of the final accent that must have been present in the earlier form of the (now atonic) adverb mata ‘again’. The idiom āsa-na āsa-na ‘morning after morning’ has the earmarks of an iteration, but it is optionally accentuated as a compound noun asana-āsana; the adverb yōna-yona ‘night after night’ is a syntactic reduction (from an underlying yō-na | yō-na) and it is optionally atonicized yona-yona. And a similar expression meaning ‘every morning and night’ has three versions: āsa-na yūu-na, asana(-)yūu-na, and asana-yūu-na—as in ~ no gongyō’ō(\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\)) ‘religious services morning and night’. The mysterious -na of these words is an abbreviation of ... no ma ‘the interval of ...’, according to Ōtsuki, but the etymology ... n[\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\)] [\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\)] as for in ...” seems more likely. The accentuation of the idiomatic expression meaning ‘every morning and night’ offers options that depend on whether the accent is shifted off the first vowel (because of its unvoicing between voiceless consonants) and on whether the idiom is treated as an unreduced phrase, as a reduced phrase (with dropped juncture), or as a compound noun: (Nihon no) tū-tū urā-ura, tūtū(-)jura, tutu-urāura.

The adverb sirazu-širazu (no ūti(-) ni) ‘(while) unawares’ gives a compound-noun accentuation to a reduplication of the literary negative infinitive sirazu ‘not knowing’. We have observed reduplication in the formation of various other adverbs (pp. 798–800); note also tikā-zika\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\)) ni iku ‘goes up close’, {kōre-kore} sikā-zika (no ...) ‘such and such’. You will find intensive reduplication of verbs (made by preposing the infinitive) in miti-miti te iru ‘is brimful’ and tumori-tumōte iru ‘is piled up high’; do not confuse this with the iteration of verbal infinitives discussed in §9.1.1b. Notice the accentual distinction between māti-mati ‘waiting’ (iterated verbal infinitive) and māti-mati ‘town after town’ or ‘street after street’; the latter is probably the source of the precopular/adjectival noun matīmati(\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\)) ‘diverse’—cf. kü-ku (tāru ...) ‘diverse’ or ‘petty’ from kū ‘sector, section, ward’. See also soko-soko ‘approximately’ (§25).

Repetitions can sometimes be the result of a kind of interlaced sentence-conjoining that we have overlooked in our description: ... nān[i] to nānī ga ıkura ıkura de ... ‘just how much each item is’ (Ariyoshi 62).

3. Some speakers may make a difference between aida-aida, with the productive accentuation appropriate to a compound, and aida-aida with an atonic accentuation that indicates a syntactic reduction aida \(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}}\) aida), using the latter for spatial location: hōn no aidai-laidai ‘between the each of the books’ but sigoto no aidai-aida ‘between each of the chores’. 
28 ELLIPTICAL Expressions

As we have had occasion to remark in several places, ellipsis is a pervasive phenomenon in Japanese sentence structure. Sometimes the ellipsis is a last-minute omission of an obvious word or phrase, easily supplied by the listener; at other times the general nature of the omission is obvious, even though the identity of the particular item(s) may be unclear—perhaps to the speaker as well as the listener. Some of the very deep omissions we have assumed in explaining parts of the grammar (such as the genitive) may be historical remnants or mere artifacts of the grammarian. In this section we will call attention to some of the more obvious types of omission at the surface level.

Two elements that are frequently omitted are the copula da and the verb suru; these are easily dropped when the preceding element clearly signals which of the two is called for. If the sentence ends with a verbal noun, you usually supply suru; for other nouns, you supply da. After all, the major function of the copula is to predicate a noun, and the major function of suru is to predicate a verbal noun or some nonfinite verbal structure. Certain sentence-final particles either allow or require the omission of the plain imperfect da, as explained in §15: Ryokoo “bakkari {da} yō! ... hutari de yattya’u kara kantan {da} yō ’Nothing but trips! ... but two of us do it together so it is simple’ (SA 2635.41c).

When at the end of a sentence, we cannot be sure except from context whether to interpret an omitted predicative as imperfect or perfect. At the end of the headline Undō-in hutari ga ihan o ku ni {site} zisatu [] we might supply either suru or sita, and correspondingly translate either ‘Two party workers commit suicide, anxious over [election] irregularities’ or ‘... committed ...’ (SA 2663.126). But the context makes it clear that the action is habitual in the following example, so that suru is called for: Hirusūgi ni ōkite, sono mamā saunia ni tyokkoo [ ]. Koko de ... ’I get up sometime after noon and immediately head for the sauna. Here I ...’ (SA 2662.97a).

In addition to the sentence-final forms da and suru, the gerunds de and sita are also sometimes omitted, often with a comma to mark their absence; examples will be found in §9.1.12. Sometimes it is clear that a specific predicate, already mentioned or about to be mentioned, has been omitted rather than repeated; the precise form of the omission can usually be determined from the grammar of the sentence: Seigī ni tuyōkerya séi ni mo ṭuyōi] to iu wāke ka ’Perhaps the intention is to be (“strong” =) heavy on righteousness and on sex as well’ (SA 2685.116b) — cf. §9.3.2; Būtai wa hutatū ni wakāre, Tyōo ga ittai o sīkī site], Soobai ga hoka no ittai o sīkī sita ‘The outfit split in two, with Chō (?—or, the Leader?) commanding one group and Sōbai the other’ (Ig 1962.92); Tōozi no hooritu de wa otokō ga sān-zyuu {ni nāte} onnā wa nīzyuu go ni narānakereba, ziyūu no kekkon wa mitomeranakatta ‘By the laws of that time free marriage was not recognized unless a man had reached the age of 30 and a woman 25’ (Ig 1962.93); Zendo {wa} mizubitasī(”) {ni nātta} ‘All Japan [has been] drenched with rain’ (newspaper headline);

1. But the free verbal noun can also be used as a pure noun; the marking of the adjunct is what signals the intended predicate markers in Kāre no ryokoo {da} ’It is his trip’ and Kāre ga ryokoo {suru} ‘He travels’.

2. Here is an example omitting both de and da: Nisi-Dōitu no hei-kī (-) koosaku-menseki wa iti-keitai iti-ningin iti- hattyoobu {de}, Huransu wa sono bai {izyoo} {da} ’The average cultivation area in West Germany is 8 chōbu (= nearly 23 acres) and in France it is over twice that’ (KKK 23.155).
O-kurumi no ryoo-sode ga uwamuki ni {natte}, kubireta tēkubi ga soko kara tyuu(栂) ni nōbita 'O-kurumi's sleeves were turned up and her constricted wrists extended from there into mid-air' (Ig 1962.92). In the last example, we know that what is omitted can not be sited because 'sleeves' is marked as the subject, not the object, so the mutative must be intransitive; compare the following two examples: Odori-ba no garasu no kēesu o māe ni {site}, wakai onnā ga īru 'A young woman is standing with the glass case of the (stair) landing in front of her' (Ig 1962.97); Kore o kawakiri ni {site}, sono-gō(要) Kyōōdo no syuu-geki wa siba-siba kuri-kaesareta 'With this for a start, afterwards the Huns' attacks were repeated often' (Ig 1962.97).

In certain expressions it is obvious that some finite form other than perfect or imperfect is called for: O-iwai o [siyoo] to omoi-nāgara, ... 'While thinking we would have a party, ...' (SA 2687.120a); Ori-kara, "Dō-ko go-zyoosen o [site kudasāi]" to iu koto ni nātte, hitobito wa hune e nagare-komu 'At that moment it was "All aboard" and people streamed on the ship' (CK 986.268); O-teyawaraka ni [site kudasāi] 'Take it easy (on me) = Treat me gently'. It is not always obvious which of several possible verbs a speaker might have had in mind (as well as whether the form is perfect or imperfect): ... to iū no ga kyōoutu-ikena datta ga, nāka ni wa tugoi yōb na kōe mo [ ] 'It was the consensus that ... but in the midst there were [also] some voices as follows' (SA 2673.110c—aru?, atā?, déta?; Narikin-syūmi ga dōo-mo [ ] nē 'The taste of the new rich—well!' (SA 2663.19b)—apparently something like utagawasii 'is questionable' is intended; Dē wa, teeburu-supiti o [ ] 'Now, the table speeches' (SA 2669.140—the M.C. at a wedding)—perhaps itasimasyōō 'let us do' or ukagaimasyōō 'let us listen to' is intended; Sitūrei site, asi o [ ]—Aa, dōo-zo cāsite kudasāi(栂) 'Excuse me, my feet ...—Oh, please put them out in a comfortable position' (SA 2666.44a)—what verb was intended; ... yappāri, kēizai no hōo o?—Zyāa nāi n da.—Dē wa, būnka?—Dē mo nāi n da. 'I suppose it's economics (he's studying)?—It isn't.—Then literature?—Not that, either' (Kb 325b). The last example displays other types of ellipsis, including the omission of a noun phrase before the predicating copula. Here are additional examples of that: [ ] Darōo 'I guess (so)' (Fn 338b); Nāni? Kimi wa, wāsō karakā kē kā nē.—[ ] Dē wa arimasēn ga, ... 'What's this, are you trying to tease me?—No, but ...' (Fn 388a)—perhaps what is omitted is sore 'that'; Yūki san wa, hontō ni, O-tūya san to hutarī "kāki de, īru no darōo ka.—[ ] Dē, gozaimasyōō. 'Are you really going to be with O-tsuya, just the two of you, Yuki?—I guess so' (Fn 436b—the commas, from the text, are probably not intended to signal pauses). Similar types will strand certain elements that normally require a word in front (minimally sore or sóō): Anāta ga purōdigyuusu site?—[ ] Mitāi ni nattyatta n desu 'With you producing it?—[So] it seems' (SA 2666.24c); Ei, [ ] māma'yō 'Well, I don't care!—presumably kono or sono is omitted; [ ] Dakē ka? 'Is that all?'—presumably Sore is omitted. Compare the examples of "opening ellipsis" given in §24.

In §2.8 we suggested that direct, paratactic linking of noun phrases might be attributed to the omission of conjunctions such as to or yā 'and'. The accentuation and meanings of certain idiomatic expressions indicate that they are syntactic reductions from such conjoined phrases: hōnke [to | ] hommoto 'the originator and origin = the original source'. A number of combinations of noun+noun that have not been tightened into compounds by applying the appropriate accentuation rule are to be treated as reductions of N₁ [no] | N₂; see p. 659 and Martin 1970.

A few odd cases of ellipsis I have collected: Anāta {no {kutu}} to onazi kutu ... 'The
same shoes as you(rs) ...'; Ore mo mada wákaku, zibun de iú no mo [ ] na n da ga, gaiken (= sotomi) wa sumáato na hoo de, Kéiko o kokôró kara ãi-site iro 'I am still young, myself, and even though I shouldn’t say so myself I look rather smart, and I love Keiko with all my heart' (SA 2642.36d); what is omitted is perhaps [ l héni] ‘strange’.

Elliptical expressions described elsewhere in this book include VN [si] ni iku (§9.1.1), [suru kotó ga] deki ru (§14.1.3), No hazime [to site] (p. 472), V-té wa [ikenai] to omóu (p. 999), V-tára [ii] to omóu (p. 566), sappâri [nái] (p. 386). Omission of case markers is discussed in §2.2a; often the only clue to such omissions is the phrasing or accentuation, which indicates that we are not confronting a compound: ninsiki [ga/no] husoku ‘lack of information; being uninformed’ (not *ninsiki-búsoku), kíu [ga/no] syoodai na ... ‘magnanimous’ (not *kiu-syóödai), etc.

There is a kind of ellipsis that is sometimes called GAPPIN G, which permits you to join similar adjuncts (or strings of adjuncts) to a single predicate by omitting the conjoined form of the predicate, such as the gerund, that you would expect after the earlier adjunct(s): Sin’itiroo wa hidari-gawa ni (séki o ñmete), gakusei wa migi ni séki o ñmete ‘Shin’ichirô occupied the seat on the left and the student occupied the seat on the right’ (V 1972.162); ... sidai ni hikúi íti e [tô] oí-komárete, otôta(’) íti e tó oí-komárete iki-soo da ... ‘they seem to get gradually driven into a lower position, into an inferior position’ (Ôno 1966.105).

It is difficult to explain certain ellipses as mere surface omissions. In the example kéizai, boøekí-mondai ni tuíte ‘with respect to economic and trade problems’ we would appear to have a shortening of keizai-mondai to/ya boøeki-mondai ‘economy problems and trade problems’ but notice that kéizai appears with its original accent as if it had never gone into the compound noun at all. In the example Amerikå-teki na suizyun ni ... tikazuíte iro l wáke de arimasu ‘are approaching American and Canadian levels’ (R) the meaning seems to call for Amerika-teki na suizyun to/ya Kanada-teki na suizyun; here -teki is being used almost as if it were a quasi-restrictive, like ‘zyoo. One solution to the problem posed by the prior example would be to treat ‘mondai as a quasi-restrictive—like ‘ziken ‘incident’.

§28. Elliptical expressions

1065
Deictic words indicate location in space or time with respect to the speaker ("ME"), the person addressed ("YOU"), and others ("THEM"). Deictic reference is included in the meaning of certain paired verbs such as kúru 'comes (to me/us)' \(^1\) and iku 'goes; comes (to you)'. kureru or kudasáru 'gives (to me/us)' and yarú or ageru 'gives (but not to me/us)', etc. Deictic reference to speaker and addressee is often implied in the use of the various exaltation devices. The most specific deictic reference is included in the meanings of the personal pronouns such as watasi 'l/me', anáta ‘you’, and káre ‘he/him’ or káno-zyo ‘she/her’; but, as we will see below, Japanese prefer to avoid the use of personal pronouns, especially with reference to the second person, and they often rely on the less specific reference of other deictic words.

There is a set of deictic demonstratives that show three degrees of distance from the speaker: proximal (ko-), mesial (so-), and distal (a-).\(^2\) For each group there is also an indeterminate (do- etc.) which is used as the interrogative or indefinite form. The demonstratives are formed by attaching various suffixes: (1) -re 'individual thing/person/event'\(^3\) and sometimes (except for dore) 'relative time' or 'place'; (2) -ko 'place'; (3) -tira or -tti 'direction; alternative (of two)' and [elegant] 'person'; (4) -no adnominal; (5) -nná (contraction of -nó yó o na) 'of such kind as'; (6) -kú adverbial (typically of manner).

The last suffix makes somewhat irregular forms, as shown in the chart and explained later.

**CHART OF DEICTIC DEMONSTRATIVES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proximal</th>
<th>mesial</th>
<th>distal</th>
<th>indeterminate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kore</td>
<td>sore</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>dóre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koko</td>
<td>soko</td>
<td>asoko, asuko</td>
<td>dóko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotíra, kotí</td>
<td>sotíra, sotti</td>
<td>atíra, attí</td>
<td>dótíra, dótí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kono</td>
<td>sono</td>
<td>ano</td>
<td>dóno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konna</td>
<td>sonná</td>
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<td>dónna</td>
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<tr>
<td>kóó</td>
<td>sóó</td>
<td>áá</td>
<td>dóó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Also as an auxiliary: denwa ga kakáte kúru 'there is a phone call for me/us', denwa o káketé kúru 'phones me/us'.
2. There are differences in the way the three-way distinction is drawn in parts of the Ryúkyús as compared with the standard language. Several scholars have suggested that perhaps originally Japanese had only two degrees of distance. Cf. Kgg 73.8b (1968) and Góto. Although modern Korean marks three degrees of distance, only two of the forms are likely cognates with Japanese and each of those is askew by one degree: kẹ/kö/kj corresponds to Japanese so- in meaning but to ko- in form, ce/co corresponds to Japanese a- in meaning but to so- in form, and ye/yo/i corresponds to Japanese ko-in meaning.
3. In dialects (such as those of the Ryúkyús) which use the -re forms as common third-person pronouns, the accentuation is different from when they refer to things. It is interesting that K lists the pronunciation kórē('') for 'this person' (as konó-hito). As interjections, these words usually are prototonic: Kóre! Sóre! Áre! The interjections kóra, sórá, and ára are contractions of kóre/sóre/áre + wá. Dóre is also used as an interjection: Bu-kiiyó da né; dóre, bókú('') ga mótte yarú 'How clumsy you are! Here, let me hold it' (Kawabata: Suíetsu).
4. In rapid speech this sometimes contracts to o-nó before d, t, or especially n: son{o} náká no ...
5. Also (N. Kyúshú) akko (Tk 4.320a), ako (Tk 3.321a).
In addition to the set of colloquial demonstratives shown in the chart, there are a number of literary and semi-literary forms, together with a few relics of older demonstratives. We might wish to add to our chart those forms made with the suffix -nata (originally a contraction of -n[o k]játá), which functions as an elegant equivalent of -tira: kónáta, sónáta, ánáta, and dónáta. In the colloquial language, dónáta is used as an exalting equivalent of däré 'who', as is dótira—both often appending the title sama; and the second-person pronoun anáta or ánta was derived from ánáta, the distal form being chosen out of exaggerated deference. The literary forms kótí, sótí, and átí are now found only in compounds or derived forms; and (*)dótì does not appear even there.

When reference is specifically to location, the proximal (ko-) refers to what is near the speaker (ME), the mesial (so-) refers to what is near the addressee (YOU), and the distal (a-) to what is away from both. When the reference is to time, kóre means 'the immediate/impending time', söré means 'that earlier/later time', and are means 'that remote time'; the temporal reference is largely limited to the ablative (kara 'from') or allative (máde 'till'), and the resulting forms are often treated as lexical units, as we will see below. In place of kóre, söré, are, and dóré you will sometimes hear koi, soit, ait, and dótí; these are contractions of ko[n]o yátú 'this rascal [originally slave]' etc., used as a slangy reference to people or things, but not to times. Kóre kará can mean 'from now on' (= ima kara) as well as 'from this one' (= koit kará) and söré kará can mean 'till then' as well as 'up to that one' (= soit máde); but dóré kara can mean only 'from which one' (= dótí kara) and 'from what time' must be said as ítu kara.

When reference is to context, the ko- usually refers to that which is immediately coming in the text,8 so- refers to something recently mentioned ('the latter') and a- refers to something earlier ('the former'). In this sort of reference, often called "anaphoric", the proximal so- is overwhelmingly the demonstrative of choice; we can regard so- as the semantically unmarked form of anaphoric reference, the neutral form that is the appropriate translation for 'that' or 'it' in the absence of special reasons. Among the special reasons for using the two marked forms are two psychological factors: IMMEDIACY or NOVELTY (ko-) and OBVIOUSNESS (a-). When a reference that would otherwise be made with so- is said with ko- the hearer's attention is alerted to its immediate presence, as if to say 'look!' When the speaker uses a- the hearer is reminded that the reference is well known to both speaker and hearer, perhaps as a result of having just been explained, or is widely known to one and all. These matters are described in considerable detail by Kuno and Hinds. To their descriptions we might add the following two points. Anó-hito or anó-ko appears to function sometimes as if a pure personal pronoun (equivalent to káre and káno-zyo), aside from its uses as distal deictic, as remote anaphoric, and as obvious referral. Since personal pronouns can

6. The final accent on konná, sonná, and anná is suppressed except before dár (and related forms); it is suppressed before ní.
7. The final accent on kóó, sóó, and áá is suppressed except before dár (and related forms including ní) and before wá, mó, or similar particles.
8. As in Tukuri-bóhásri da to omóú ga, konná hanási ga áru 'I don't think it is a true story, but there is an anecdote that goes as follows' (Nagano 1966.172). But sometimes the reference is to what has just been said; in a newscast Tanaka soorí-dáizin ga kono-yóó ni nobemášita 'Prime Minister Tanaka said this [= the above or the following] may be heard before or after the report of what he said.
be modified by demonstratives—kono watasi mo ‘even this person who I am’, sono kāre wa ‘that he’ (Shiba 46), sono kāno-zyo ga ‘that she’ (Tk 3.103)—it is possible to say sono anō-hito and sono anō-ko for ‘that him/her’, but not *sono ano-otoko for sono otoko ‘that man’. Secondly, we can note that the obvious referral of the a-series is sometimes the way to express what has been called ostensible taboo, of the sort represented in English by the insinuating “you-know-who” or “you-know-what”; the word are ‘that’ sometimes refers to the genitalia or to a sexual act: Ikā naru hūhu d’atte, go-nin no kodomo ga ātte, go-dō sika are ga nākatta to i ā hūhu wa nai kara nē ‘Because surely there’s no such couple with five children as would claim that “THAT” had happened only five times, you see’ (Tk 3.149a—are written in katakana). To be sure, what is meant to be obvious by the speaker may or may not be obvious to the hearer or reader. In one text (SA 2684.116a) the sentence Are ga tabe-tai ‘I want to eat that’ (with hiragana are) is so clearly a deictic reference that you can almost see the chin pointing to the food chosen, but it is followed the next day by Are ga tabe-tai ‘I want to eat THAT [same delicious thing again]’ (with katakana are), a referral obvious only to one recalling the preceding day’s choice. That which is widely known to one and all will sometimes be designated by kāno, an older form of ano: kāno yuumei na N ‘that well-known N’. Compare the use of kāre ‘he’ and kāno-zyo ‘she’ to mean ‘lover’ (often kāre-si) and ‘mistress’, respectively. Kyātu, an abbreviation of k[ano] yātu, is a depreciatory or intimate equivalent of ai’tu ‘that one’.

Anaphoric words typically refer to specific adjuncts of an earlier sentence, often adverbalized to or conjoined with the sentence in which the anaphoric reference appears. But sometimes sore or kore will refer to an entire sentence or a whole situation; V 78-9 cites several good examples, and here is another: Ama-iro no kamī no sika no yō na musumé wa hisō-hiso to sara o arai, sore ga sūmu to, okkasen to issya ni kāette iku ‘The deerlike girl with the flaxen hair quietly washed the dishes, and when that was done she left with her mother’ (SA 2669.89a). Sometimes the reference is to a condition: Omosirōkereba sore de ii, to omō ‘He thinks it is enough if it is fun’ (SA 2640.11).

The -re words are a kind of pure noun, for they can be marked as subject (kore ga) or object (kore ō); unlike many other nouns, they are seldom modified or quantified, but that sort of structure is not totally precluded: Hāha wa ... ko no tē e yo-tubu bākari sore o noseta ‘The mother put four pieces of it [the candy] in the child’s hand’ (V 1967a.99).

In older Japanese the morphemes kō and so were used as demonstratives equivalent to modern kore and sore, and they are still found in clichés of the epistolary style (kō wa, só mo, sómo-somo); corresponding to modern are the older language also had kā, the source of kāre ‘he’ (earlier ‘that one’). The literary adverb kā-ku means ‘in this way, like this’ and it is the source of modern kō; corresponding to modern sóo ‘like that, so’ we find both sā and sikā, the former perhaps a contraction of the latter. Modern sóo comes from s[k]ā-[k]u; áa and dōo are said to have been formed by analogy with kōo. Kā and sā are used in a few modern idioms such as nānī mo kā mo ‘anything and everything’ and sā mo nākereba ‘otherwise’; they are also found in the adverbs ka-/sa-hodo and ka-/sa-bākari ‘to this/that extent’, sā-made ‘to that extent’, sā-jo ‘indeed’, ka-yōo ‘like this’ (= kōo, kāku) and sa-yōo ‘like that’ (= sóo, sikā, sā)—for which there is a short variant sāi, often used by male clerks waiting on women: Sai desu ka ‘Really?’ (Okitsu 1.264). Sikā is found in sikā-ku ‘so’ (source of modern sóo), sikā-mo ‘moreover’, sikā-si ‘however’, and the literary verb sikāri/sikāru < sikā āri/āru ‘it is so’. Corresponding to the modern asoko/asuko ‘over there’ the literary language has kāsiko. Both the colloquial and the literary use
§29. Demonstratives; deictics and anaphorics; pronouns

itu for 'when' and nání for 'what' (with the optional contraction nán before d, t, or n—not to be confused with nán= iku· 'how many' before any sound); the literary has táre for the colloquial dáre 'who'. For the colloquial dóko 'where' the literary language uses izuku/izuiku (< iduko/idiuku); literary izure (< idure) is the source of modern dóre 'which (of more than two)', but it is also used to mean nání 'what', dóko 'where', and dótíra 'what direction'. In place of dóo,9 the literary language uses iká-ní or iká-ga (< iká ni-i ka); ikán is an abbreviation of iká-ní that is also used as a noun 'the question of how/what' (= dóó de aru ka);10 iká-ní can also mean dónna ni, and iká na [ru] is a literary or dialect equivalent of dónna. The morpheme ika- also appears in ika-hodo 'how much' (= dóre-hodo(¯)), ika-bákari 'to what extent' (= dóno-gurai), and ika-yoo 'like what' (= dóno-yóoo). A related form iku- appears in modern iku-tu 'how many' and iku-ra 'how much', as well as iku-ta no 'a number of' and iku-baku 'what small amount, some' (= dóre-hodo(¯)); it also appears as a variant of nán- in making the indeterminate form of numbers that consist of numeral + counter: iku-zí = nán-zí, iku-níni = nán-níni, iku-níti = nán-níti, etc.

Certain combinations of demonstrative + other element turn up in this dictionary or that as separate lexical entries; it is a problem to decide which of such combinations can be justified treatment as a derived word (or idiomatic phrase), as opposed to the casual phrases one would expect to put together in any event. Several criteria would appear to be at work in the lexicographer’s mind: (1) If the accent is different from what we would predict for the phrase, the item is separately listed: sonó-hoka 'the others' < *sonó hoka, cf. sonó oka 'that hill'. (2) If the shape of the forms is in any way unpredictable or asymmetrical, the items are separately listed (or at least the unpredictable item is): konó-goro(¯) ‘these days’, sonó-kóro ‘those days’, ano-kóro ‘those days’, itu-goro ‘about when’ (*itu-góro). (3) If in some uses, at least, the meaning or grammar is markedly different from what we would expect of the phrase, the item is separately listed: kore-kará ‘from now on’ differs in meaning from kore kará ‘from this one’, sore-máde ‘till then’ means something different from sore máde ‘till that one’. (4) If only one or two of the expected demonstratives can occur before the second element, the item is separately listed: kono-yó(¯) ‘this world’ and ano-yó(¯) ‘the other world’ are not paralleled by *sonó-yó(¯) ‘that world’ and *dóno-yó(¯) ‘which world’.

In the following highly tentative list, I have attempted to bring together what information I could cull from dictionaries and elicitation. Those forms that occur or are accepted have been spelled out, usually with no translation; definitely rejected forms are indicated by ‘—’ in the expected positions. Blanks indicate lack of information or uncertainty. The information on accentuation may be unreliable with respect to atonic vs. oxytonic (final) accent, especially in the case of adverbs. It is unclear whether in certain cases the expected phrase exists alongside the derived lexical item, with a difference of meaning:

9. The tag translation of dóo is 'how, in what manner', but it will often be translated 'what' or 'anything' when it is an adjunct of suru 'does': dóo suru does not require so precise an answer as nání o suru 'does what'. 'Does it how/somewhow' is said as dóo ni suru (or dónna ni suru); the ni is required if mó or ká is attached, since dóo-mó and dóo-ká are used as adverbs with other meanings ('very' etc. and 'please').

10. Ikán to mo = dóo-sité mo: ikán to mo syóō nái 'there's nought can be done' (Tk 3.83). Kore iká-ní is an idiomatic cliché expressing dismayed surprise: Haite kita geta ga nái to wa kore iká-ní 'What's happened to the geta I arrived wearing?!' (Okitsu 233).
do we find kore "gurai 'as much as this one' as well as kore-gurai 'this much'?\(^{11}\)

**LIST OF DEMONSTRATIVE EXPRESSIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko-</th>
<th>so-</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>do-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kore-raj</td>
<td>sore-ra</td>
<td>are-ra</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore-kir</td>
<td>sore-kiri</td>
<td>are-kiri</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kkir</td>
<td>-kkir</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kkisi</td>
<td>-kisi</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-giri</td>
<td>-giri</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>kore-kagiri (= kore-kkiri)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kore-kurai</td>
<td>sore-kurai</td>
<td>are-kurai</td>
<td>(dore-kurai DIAL.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gurai</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kono-kurai(^{12})</td>
<td>sono-kurai</td>
<td>ano-kurai</td>
<td>dono-kurai((^{-}))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko-</th>
<th>so-</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>do-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kore-hodo</td>
<td>sore-hodo</td>
<td>are-hodo</td>
<td>dore-hodo</td>
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<tr>
<td>kono-hodo</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore-dake</td>
<td>sore-dake</td>
<td>are-dake</td>
<td>dore-dake</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIAL.</td>
<td>kon-dake</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>an-dake(^{14})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore-bakari</td>
<td>sore-bakari</td>
<td>are-bakari</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ppakari</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ppakasi</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nbakari</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore-siki</td>
<td>sore-siki</td>
<td>are-siki</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore-dokoro ({ka})</td>
<td>sore-dokoro ({ka})</td>
<td>are-dokoro ({ka})</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>kore-sura</td>
<td>sore-tomo</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>kore-na</td>
<td>sore-na</td>
<td>are-na</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore-kara</td>
<td>sore-kara</td>
<td>are-kara</td>
<td>— (itu kara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore-made</td>
<td>sore-made</td>
<td>are-made</td>
<td>(itu made)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kono-goro</td>
<td>sono-goro</td>
<td>ano-goro</td>
<td>(itu-goro)</td>
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</table>

\(^{11}\) In a context that would appear to indicate anaphoric + "gurai I have recorded the form as atomic: ... sorel-lgurai no ooki-sa n0 ga ... 'ones of about the size of that one'. A clear case of anaphoric + "dake (since the ga-marker precludes the adverb): Tisai kedo kekkyouk\(\text{	extdegree}\) are dake ga otosan no nokosita zaisan na n da wa ne 'It's tiny but that's all the property father had, isn't it' (Ariyoshi 264).

\(^{12}\) Like the restrictive "gurai itself, these words can function as quantity nouns as well as adverbs: ... koko ni nyuuzyoo sita hito no dono-kurai GA ... 'about how many of those admitted into the place here ...' (Tk 3.255a).

\(^{13}\) Mazu, Meizi "zidai ni kanzi ga dono-teido seikaku ni kakareta ka 'Just how accurately were Chinese characters written in Meiji times?' (K 1966.53). This is equivalent in meaning to dono teido(\(\text{	extdegree}\)) made 'up to what extent'.

\(^{14}\) SA 1671.19b. For conflicting data, see p. 789.
§29. Demonstratives; deictics and anaphorics; pronouns

konō-setu  sonō-setu  ano-sētu  
konō-sāi  (sono-sāi, sono-sāi ni)  (ano-sāi)  
konō-zibun  sonō-zibun  ano-zibun  
konō-tōki  sonō-tōki  ano-tōki  
konō-hi  sonō-hi  ano-hi  dono-hi  
konō-tabi (= kondo 15)  sonō-tabi  anō-tabi  
konō-ori  sonō-ori  ?—  
konō-tūgi  sonō-tūgi  anō-tūgi  
konō-noti  sonō-noti(−)  anō-noti  
konō-gō(−)  sonō-gō  
— sonō-mukasi  
sonō-kāmi(−)  (= mukasi)  

konō-saki  
konō-mae  
konō-kān  sonō-kān  
— sonō-uti ōni  
konō[ora]-laidā  
konō-zyuu  
konō-tokoro 17  
konō-hen(−)  sonō-hen  anō-hen  dono-hen  
kokō[i]ra  sokō[i]ra  asokō[i]ra  dókoira  
—  
konō-ue’  sonō-ue’  
konō-hito  sonō-hito  anō-hito  (donō-hito, dáre)  
konō-ko  sonō-ko  anō-ko  (donō-ko, dáre)  
konō-kāta  sonō-kāta  anō-kāta  dono-kata (dōnata)  
konō-kata 19  
konō-ta  sonō-ta  
konō-hoka  sonō-hoka  anō-hoka  
konō-hōo 20  sonō-hōo 21  
koko-moto 22  sokō-moto 23  

15. The konō of kondo ‘this recent/present/next time’ is the Chinese loanmorph meaning ‘now’, not related to ko- ‘this’. The word kondo has a Tōkyō variant kōnda, which is not to be misconstrued as merely an abbreviation of kōnda wa or a mistake: Kōnda wa ima-made to wa tigate, saikyō-sya ga meizin ni naru waké da ‘This time, different from up to now, the strongest one gets to be champion’ (Tk 3.135a); Kōnda no tatakai de wa, ... ‘In the next match’ (Tk 3.139a); ... kōnda no nai-kaku wa, ... ‘this present cabinet’ (Tk 3.279b).

16. Hamako Chaplin distinguishes sono uti ni ‘in that house’ from sono-uti ni ‘meanwhile’. (In her speech both ‘house’ and ‘interval’ are oxytonic uti except when unmodified, and then they are both atonic uti.)

17. The adverb ‘at present, as of now’; cf. kono tokorō ‘this place’ (= koko).

18. The -[i]ra is a contraction of -yara, probably < yā ara [mu].

19. ‘Since’.

20. ‘Oneself’.

21. ‘You’.

22. ‘Me’.

23. ‘You’.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>koré-sya&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>sono-moto</th>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>kono-yó&lt;sup&gt;(−)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>kono-yó&lt;sup&gt;(−)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>kono-tóori</td>
<td>sono-tóori</td>
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<td>kono-bún</td>
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<td>kono-mamá</td>
<td>sono-mamá</td>
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<td>kono-kuse</td>
<td>sono-kuse</td>
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<td>kono-yósi</td>
<td>sono-yósi</td>
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<td>kono-yyé [ni]</td>
<td>sono-yyé</td>
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<td>(−)</td>
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<td>kore-kore</td>
<td>sore-sore</td>
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<tr>
<td>koco-kásiko</td>
<td>soko-kásiko</td>
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<tr>
<td>(koko-máde)</td>
<td>soko-máde</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

24. Shimmura 809d.
25. 'One of “those” (geishas)’. MKZ<sup>4</sup> 654b.
26. ‘Itself’.
27. ‘Either way’; cf. dono-miti ‘what/which way’.
28. Shimmura 809d.
29. Meaning ‘naturally, of course’. The regularly formed phrases are konna/sonna/anna/dóonna hazu.
30. A precopular noun (＜sore [ni] sootoo suru) meaning ‘of a sort, in its/one’s way’: Sore-sootoo no naiyoo ga áru no wa zizitu de áru ‘It is a fact that it has content of a sort’ (SA 2651.97a).
31. Amerika dé wa doko-doko ni o-ide ni nátta wáke desu ka ‘Just where all did you go in America?’ (Tk 3.160b).
Expressions made up of indeterminate + ká or mó are often listed as separate lexical items; the expressions with ká are indefinite ('some'), those with mó are generalized ('[not] any') and mó is usually expanded to de mo when the sentence is affirmative ('any ...-soever'). But some of these expressions are used in unpredictable ways and with unexpected meanings: ītu mo means 'always' whether the sentence is affirmative or negative and 'never' is said in other ways (with the adverb kessite 'absolutely [not]' or the conversion S kōto ga nai 'it never happens that S'). In addition to nání ka 'something', dāre ka 'someone', ītu ka 'sometimes', īku-tu ka 'some number of', īku-ra ka (and nání[i]-ra ka) 'some amount of', etc., there are the following expressions made with demonstratives from our list: dōko ka 'somewhere, someplace', dōre ka 'some one (of three or more)', dōtira/dōtti ka 'one or the other', dōno N ka 'some one of the Ns', and dōo ka which originally meant 'somehow' but is now used mainly in the meaning 'please', with dōo ni ka used for 'somehow'. In certain dialects the adverbial forms in -ku (or -[k]u) are marked by ní, so that háya[k]u ni (or háyo[o] ni) corresponds to the standard háyaku 'early, fast'; the use of ní after dōo, kōo, sóo, and áa turns up in certain expressions even in the standard language. Dōo ka itself is used with suru to mean 'something is the matter, something happens, something goes wrong'; dōo suru means 'what happens' as well as 'how does it happen' (=dōnya ni suru) and dōo site means 'what happening' as well as 'how'33 (=dōnya ni site) or 'how come, why' (=nán de, náze).34 We usually prefer to write all these expressions as phrases with a space before ká or mó, primarily because most of them permit other markers to intrude: dāre ni ka (=dāre ka ni), dōko e ka (=dōko ka e), nání kara ka (=nání ka kara). The expressions with mó usually require case markers other than gá and ó to precede the mó: Dāre ni mo agenai 'I will give it to no one', Dōko e mo ikanai 'I will go nowhere', and even ītu made mó 'for ever' (with the temporal allative).

There are a number of idiomatic phrases made up of dō... mo kō... mo (with kó- picking up an accent),35 these are emphatic ways of saying 'each and every' or 'not any one of them': dōre mo | kōre mo; dōitu mo | kōitu mo; dōo ni mo | kōo ni mo; dōo mo | kōo mo; and the somewhat unusual dōo nātte | kōo nātte (Nagano 1966.155). Sometimes these

32. Meaning dōti no hōó (Okitsu 1.59).
33. Though 'how' is usually dōo yatte rather than dōo site.
34. Or (SA 2637.118b) náze ni. Náze is thought to be a variant of the older názo 'why' < náni-yue zo, rather than a corruption of nání[i] de.
35. But only in the shorter, idiomatic expressions. Thus the ko- words remain atonic in these examples: Dōko no | ikōo no to | itte iru no wa | mendo da kara, || mukōo("") e itte | itte ... 'Not wanting to argue about the place, I went over there to see ...' (Okitsu 1.342); Dōo suru mo | kōo suru mo | nái | sa 'It doesn't matter what happens' (Kb 35b); Dē, || dōko e ikōo | kōo e ikōo no | mageku || Mukōoozima e ... 'Then, lacking any better inspiration, I went to Mukōoozima ...' (Kb 125a); Dōo sita n desu ka?—Dōo sita mo | kōo sita mo | arimasen | yō 'What happened—Nothing (in particular) happened!' (Ariyoshi 24).
expressions are reduced to a single accent phrase, with the first accent suppressed, and they are then often treated as single lexical items: doonimo-kóonimo. A similar expression doo-ôniň ka l kóō-ôniň ka 'somehow or other' can be reduced to doonika-kóonika or doooka-kóoka. The expression doo no |kóō no is explained in §14.2.3. Instead of kóre, the literary kàře} is used with dàrê: dàrê mo l kàře} mo 'anybody and everybody'. With nànnî the form used is kàrÎî mo or nànn de mo l kàrÎî de mo 'anything and everything'. With dòkò the form used is kàřsikoj: dòkò mo l kàřsikoj mo 'anywhere and everywhere' (SA 2670.106c). But dòkò mo l asokó mo and dòkò mo l koko mo are also found. Most of these expressions, too, can be reduced to single phonological words and treated as pure nouns (which can be marked by gá or ól): daremo-kàřre}mo, nanimo-kàrni}mo, nandemo-kàrni}mo, dokomo-kàřsiko}mo. Other combinations of demonstratives can be found: sore mo kore mo {minnî 'all these things'; are ya kore ya (de) 'what with) this and/or that, one thing and/or another'; sonna-ko önà (de/no) 'of one sort and another' (§13.5). Also to be treated as single lexical items are dàrê-hîtórî (\(=\) hitôri mo) and nànnî-hîtótû (\(=\) hitôtû mo), though NHK lists also nànnî l hitôtû. Apparently there are no similar formations with the other indeterminates or with other numbers.

The term "pronoun" is often defined as a word which will substitute for a noun. In both Japanese and English certain nouns command high, general positions in our semantic taxonomy: mo no (or yatu) 'thing/person', kòtô 'matter/event', hitô 'person', tokorô (or tôkó) 'place; situation; time', tokî 'time', ... . These words, which can be used in place of items from groups of more specific categories and terms that would be classified under them in the taxonomy, will typically occur modified by an adnominal demonstrative (sono 'that, the' or the like) or by an adnominalized sentence from which they have been extruded as epithemes (S hitô 'the person such that [he/him] S'). As an epitheme, the noun substitute par excellence is the postadnominal nó, translated as 'the one(s) that ... ' when extruded from an adjunct of the adnominalized sentence and as 'the fact that ... ' or 'the act of ... ' when functioning as a summational epitheme.

When modified by demonstratives, the more general words for 'person' often function like the third-person pronouns of English 'he/him, she/her, it, they/them'—with the possessive forms 'his, her(s), its, their(s)'. With hitô and with ko (which means 'child' but is used by women in a more general way), some of the resulting forms are accentually irregular, and we will treat them as separate lexical items: konô-hîto, sonô-hîto, anô-hîto; konô-ko, sonô-ko, anô-ko. In English the third-person pronouns are obligatorily marked for gender in the singular (he/him vs. she/her) but not in the plural; they/them can be any assortment of him(s) and/or her(s). The traditional Japanese forms are unmarked for

36. With much the same meaning there is also doo-síté mo l kóō-síté mo or dositemo-kóositemo 'one way or another'. Cf. aå mo si l kóō mo site 'doing that and doing this = doing this and that'; aå de mo nàl l kóō de mo nàl 'is neither this nor that'.

37. We also find nànnî ya kaÌnîš yà or nànnî yara kaÌnîš yara or nànn yara kàn yara 'this or that, something or other'; nànn to ka kaÌnîš to ka, nànn da no kaÌnîš da no, and nànn da kànîš da 'this or that, something or other': ... nànn di kà da to warûgùtî ya, hìnìku ya, izìwarû o sàrëtî mo, ... 'even though one gets slandered, mocked, teased with people saying one thing and another (= all sorts of things)' (SA 2672.117d). There is also nànn to mo kaÌnîš to mo: ... nànn to mo kà to mo wàkàrànî 'understands not one thing' (Tk 3.256b). The -ni of kàn[î] is usually taken to be by analogy with nànnî, but both may reflect an early use of the esse ni.
gender, though it can always be specified by a phrase such as kono otokó ‘this man’, ano onná-no-ko ‘that girl’, etc. But the Japanese equivalents for the English pronouns are obligatorily specified for relative proximity, according to the system of deictic and anaphoric reference mentioned earlier. Because third-person reference is so often to the obvious, such forms as anó-hito are more common than the others (konó-hito, sonó-hito); as pronouns, perhaps anó-hito and anó-ko should be regarded as “neutral” or unmarked. Two modern pronouns, káre ‘he/him’ and káno-zyo ‘she/her’ were created originally to translate the sex-insistent pronouns of English; their use has spread so rapidly that they can now be considered a part of the colloquial language, though most people will not use them in semantically “unmarked” situations. In a recent study of interviews in popular journals, Karen Sandness came to the following conclusions about the usage of káre and káno-zyo: (1) foreigners are more likely to be referred to by these pronouns than are Japanese; (2) females are more likely to be called káno-zyo than males are likely to be called káre; (3) the Japanese men who are called káre are young. (She also notes that translation from a Western language increases the number of overt references to the subject but not necessarily the number of pronouns.)

It should be borne in mind that in many unmarked situations, the appropriate translation of an English pronoun is either zero (omit the reference) or a repetition of the noun. In English we avoid repeating a noun once it has been mentioned, substituting an anaphoric pronoun after the first mention. In Japanese there is no stricture against repeating the noun any number of times; on the other hand, obvious elements are freely omitted from a sentence. And that is why the English third-person pronouns are most frequently to be translated simply by omitting the relevant adjunct in the Japanese sentence.

The first person (‘I/me’) and the second person (‘you’) can be expressed by any of a set of connotationally marked pronouns, or by various circumlocutions; but the reference is often omitted, as with the third person. Other things being equal, a personal question with the subject omitted probably refers to YOU; a subject omitted from a statement is often ‘I’.

In the ancestral language of the Japanese there would appear to have been a first-person pronoun ba[nu], forms of which are still current in the Ryūkyūs; the later wá-re, ware-ware ‘we’, and wá-ga ‘my, our’ inherit a reflex of the first syllable, as does watakusi (and its various contractions), which is said to be from wá[-re o] tukúsi ‘exhausting myself’ (i.e. ‘all of me?’). The earliest Japanese word for ‘you’ was probably nál[-re]; an extended form na-muti is the source (by contraction) of the literary pronoun nánzi(¬) and the Amami pronoun namyí. Other words for ‘you’ and for ‘me’ are extended uses of demonstratives or of various nouns, but some of these are considered to be personal pronouns in most or all uses.

According to the results of one study (Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten 202-3), ninety percent of the overt references to the first person were made with some word felt to be specifically a personal pronoun—such as watsúi, bōkú(¬), ore, etc.; but only .28 of the overt references to the second person were made by such a word—anáta, omae, kími, o-taku, etc.; and a mere .0152 of the overt references to the third person were made by pronouns such as káre, are, or kotíra-san. The other overt references found in the study were made with name or kinterm (such as ane or néé-san ‘Big Sister = I’, néé-san ‘Big Sister = You’) or, for the second person, title (sensei ‘Doctor’ or ‘Maestro’ etc.) or name
and title. It has been observed that the use of one's personal name for self reference is more common with girls than with boys.

Perhaps the best known of the first-person pronouns is watakusi, which sounds a bit stiff unless shortened to watasi. Other common contractions are atakusi and atasi. The latter is usually thought to be limited to women's speech, and when the use is deliberate (as in writing) atasi will probably be a reference by a female to herself; but in rapid speech men may unconsciously use the same form as an abbreviation. Examples can be found in transcripts of the speech of Tokugawa Musei (e.g. Tk 2.123b). Examples of male use of atakusi are easy to find (e.g. lizawa in SA 2659.49d, SA 2668.74b). Other versions of watakusi are generally taken as old-fashioned or as dialect: watai; wate (SA 2676.131c, Ōsaka); wai (SA 2676.128a, Ōsaka); atai; atei; watti (Mio 302); a[s]i; wai[s]i; .... Wasi is a popular self-designation for rustic old men and for sumō wrestlers or baseball players of any age; but in rapid speech wasya = watasya = watasi wa is sometimes heard from others, as well: Tō-ni-kaku, wasya kansin sita nē. Watasi wa aikokū-sya desu yo ‘Anyway, I admired it. I am a patriot, you see’ (SA 2679.50a).

The pronoun bokun(°) is the first-person pronoun preferred by most males under neutral circumstances, though they will replace it by wata[ku]si in formal situations. Bōku(°), a Chinese loanword for 'slave', gained popularity in Meiji days as student slang for ‘[Your] Servant = I/me’ (K 1966.51), and for years it has carried a masculine aura that is still strong, though it is now said to be in use among college girls. In families with a male heir you may find the word used for ‘the boy’ = ‘him’ or even ‘you’, as in Boku tabēru? 'Will Boy have something to eat?' Recently it has grown increasingly popular for boys and young men in speaking to each other to refer to themselves with the rough term ore, said to be from a contraction of o[no-]re ‘oneself’. This is sometimes found in the variant orā: Omawā ima, orā o miser ni turete ‘ku tte, ...’ ‘You just said you’d take me to the shop,...’ (Fn 173a). The plural form orē-ra (= orē-tāti) ‘we/us’ also occurs as ōi-ra; cf. ōi-ra = ōi-tāti ‘nephews’ or ‘nephew and others’ from ōi ‘nephew’. The word u(f) ‘house, home’ will sometimes be translated as a first-person pronoun in English: u(f) no i ni ‘our/my dog, the dog we have at our place’. As a genuine first-person pronoun, the word is prototonic, ūf ‘I/me’, and is limited to the speech of Kansai women (according to MKZ°). The converse term o-taku ‘your house/home’ is also used to mean ‘you (at your place); your office/company/...’ and it seems to be spreading as a substitute for anata ‘you’. Cf. Suzuki 1973 and the remarks in Kotoba no yūrai 45-6: “Lately o-taku is often used a second-person pronoun. [To the pronoun anata] shop people will stick on sama and say anata-sama, but this is overly polite, so o-taku has recently appeared.” Kotīra or kotī is a rather polite way of referring to oneself; kottyā is a contracted version of kotīra: Aa sō no erābu no wa, kottyā mo rakū zya nai ‘I’m not pleased at electing that sort, either’ (Niwa Fumio in Tk 4.270). The more literary kōtī is also used; and kōtī-no-hito is one way for a wife to call her husband (= anata). Kotitō-ra(°) originally ‘we/us ourselves’ is sometimes used as an equivalent of the singular ore (e.g. Okitsu 1.456 and passim); the form has also been listed without the suffix as kotito, which is a contraction of kotī no

38. Assi to kānai no hutari ga .... ‘My wife and I, the two of us ...’ (SA 2673.139d). Asi mo ikusa ni yuki-tai ‘I want to go to war, too’ (Shiba 21, quoting Masaoka Shiki).

39. And the dialect form ura (Zhs 4.315) may be a variant of this; ura (Zhs 4.308 etc.) is a contraction of ura [w]a = ore wa. In parts of northern Honshū women too refer to themselves as ore (H 1968).
hitó. Kotira is also used for 'oneself' in contrast with 'the other fellow' (aité etc.): "Aité no o-kabú o ubáu" wa, aité no tokú(−) to suru tokoró o kotira de zikkoo site simau kotó da." "To steal the other fellow's trick" means to perform oneself what the other fellow prides himself on' (Kotoba no yurai 41) —kotira de = zibun de, the dé marking exclusive agent. There are several literary words for 'I/me' which you may see in print, notably yō, sessya, and syóosei, all of Chinese origin;⁴⁰ the imperial 'we' of pre-war Japan was the pronoun tín, now replaced by wāre, wareware, or watakusi.⁴¹ The literary midomo means 'I/me' or 'we/us' and sometimes 'self/selves'.

Before Japan's defeat in World War Two the word zibun 'oneself' was popular among military men as a first-person pronoun; the usage is still alive, and you will sometimes hear it from people who were not military men. Some men whose public self-image is bōku(−) may nonetheless use zibun in talking to themselves of themselves. But zibun is also used as a substitute for pronouns of the second and third persons; on zibun "lately coming into use" in place of anáta, see Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten 204. Zibun is common as a reflexive reference to any person (Káno-zyo wa zibun no kippu o katta 'She bought her own ticket') and it has the exalting form go-zibun as in Go-zibun de dekima su ka 'Can you do it all by yourself?' It is not clear that reflexive reference with zibun is obligatory in Japanese in the same way as the corresponding references with '[one]self' are in English, since Japanese permits the repetition of identical nouns, including names, without pronominalization or omission, and the personal pronouns are much like names in this respect: "Nan da, nete itá no ka, ore wa?"—Káre wa káre ni itta "‘What? Have I been asleep?'—He said to himself' (Kb 203a). Other terms for 'self' are zísini,⁴² often the second element in an apposition (including zibun zísin and zibún-táti zísin), óno or onore (both sometimes 'you' or 'me'), and mízukara,⁴³ which is also used as an advert 'by oneself, by one's own efforts', close in meaning to onozukara (or onozu-to) 'by itself, of its own accord'. The reciprocal pronoun o-tági⁴⁴ 'each other, reciprocally' has the honorific pre-fix o- used rather vacuously (the exalting form is o-tági-sama); it is most often found adverbialized by predicative with ní. The four distributive pronouns meaning 'each (its own), respectively' have the grammar of pure nouns but are often directly adverbialized: sorézore, meiméi, memmén, and onóono.

The "individual" demonstratives (kóre, soré, are) will generally be taken as singular when referring to people and often when referring to things; specifically plural reference usually calls for attaching -ra (kóre-ra, soré-ra, are-ra) or, for people, -táti. But there is no *dóre-ra or *dóre-táti; dóre means either 'which one' or 'which ones', though you can ask specifically dóre to dóre 'which and which ones' or dóno N-táti 'which [animate] Ns'. The final -ra of kotira etc. was originally the same suffix, which must have meant simply 'some (quantity of)' as we can see from its use in íku-ra and nán[i]-ra. The suffix may be a

40. As is sétu 'I/me [humble]': sétu názó wa 'the likes of me' (Okitsu 1.306).
41. We must not overlook the advent of míi 'I/me' and yúu 'you'; the former is carried among the entries of MKZ. The male first-person pronoun waga-hai is literary.
42. And exalting go-zísini, as in go-zísini no seikatu 'your own life' (SA 2669.48c). There are also a number of lexical items which begin with the prefix zi- 'one's own', such as zi-taku 'one's own house; my house'.
43. Byo-onin wa mízukara o iroyool(−) no sotogawa ni oite, sóto kara suku gi kúru no o mátu 'The sick person puts himself out of medical care and waits for help to come from outside' (SA 2671.99a).
44. Keiyaku wa o-tági o koosoku suru monó de wá náku, ... 'The contract is not to bind each together but, (rather) ...' (SA 2686.44d).
truncation of *ar-á ‘the existent = some’, a hypothesized prehistoric noun form made from the verb ár-.

The personal pronouns are usually taken as singular. Plural reference calls for attaching ‘táti (or the exalting -gáta, the humbling -dómo) as described in §2.7; but ‘ra can also be used and it is common with káre, káno-zyo, kimi, omae, bóku, and ore, though ‘táti also occurs with all these. Both ánó-ko-ra and ánó-ko-táti are used; ánó-hito-táti is more common than (?)anó-hito-ra. Wáre has the plural wáre-ra or wareware, but the standard language lacks *wáre-táti, as well as *dóre-táti, though koré-táti, soré-táti, aré-táti and dáre-táti (= dáre-dáre,45 dáre to dáre) can be used with reference to people. (The reduplicated forms of the demonstratives have special meanings: kóreko ‘come come!’, koréko ‘such and such’, ?soresore ‘so and so’, sorézóre ‘respectively’, dóredore ‘now now!’—there is no *áréare or *kárékare.) Wáre (and the plurals wáre-ra and wareware) is a distinctly formal or literary pronoun for the first person, but certain dialects use wáre for the second person.

The plural forms zibún-ra, zibún-táti, zibun-dómo, gozibún-táti, and gozibun-gáta are sometimes used even when the plurality would appear to be already obvious: Watáshí-táti wa zibún-táti no heya ni imásita ‘We were in our own rooms’. But it is said that zibun can be used with reference to all persons, genders, and numbers; cf. Kuno, Hinds. It is also said that if the antecedent of zibun is in the same sentence it must be the subject,46 and that the antecedent must be animate and probably human. To be sure, we must always allow for personification: Tatóeba sén-nen(‘) íkita sugi ga áru to site, sugi zísin wa nán no kioku mo nái kara, zibun ga nagaikí sita to wa omowánai ‘Suppose there is a thousand-year-old cedar tree; since the cedar itself has no memory it will not know that it (itself) has had a long life’—to which comes the question Anáta wa sugi to hanási o sita kótó ga áru n desu ka ‘Have you talked with a cedar tree about that?’ (Tk 3.181b).

With the personal pronouns, the suffixes ‘táti and ‘ra make forms that are not necessarily plural in the same way we would expect from the English plural pronouns. As mentioned in §2.7, the reference of sensei-táti may be ‘the teacher and others’ as well as ‘the teachers’; and, though the speaker is marked as male, the ‘we’ of bóku-táti or bóku-ra can include females. In the following passage “we” means “she and I”, the young husband explaining his wife’s absence: Ototáto no ban, déte ikimásita. Bóku-táti wakárérú kótó ni sitá n desu ‘She left night before last. We have decided to split up’ (Ariyoshi 304). In a Kawabata story (Izu no odoróki) there is a passage ... káre-ra “dóosi de hanasi-atte ... ‘they talked it over among themselves’ in which káre-ra refers to a group of one male and three females. But I have not found a situation in which kánozyo-táti or kánozyo-ra (Nagano 1966.69) includes a male in the group; the reasons are perhaps sociological, in that if a male were in the group the expression would center on him and be káre-táti.

The neutral word for ‘you’ is anáta (with the relaxed variant ánta), but its neutrality is fragile, at best. Under most circumstances, reference to the second person is made obliquely, by using name or name-and-title or just title. The title may be a kinterm or a temporary status. When the bus driver wants the attention of a passenger he shouts

45. More commonly used to mean ‘what’s-his/her-name, so-and-so’.
46. And zibun can be used to refer to the underlying subject even when it is marked by ni under the causative or passive conversions. Since zibun can refer either to the subject of an embedded sentence or to the subject of the sentence in which it is embedded, there are a number of situations where the reference is ambiguous. For more details see Kuno 1972 and 1973, N. A. McCawley 1972, Perlmutter 1973, and Oyakawa 1973.
Okyaku-san! 'You there!' (or 'Sir'!); the maid in a hotel will refer to okyaku-sáma no heya '(the guest's =) your room'; and the salesperson in a shop may ask for okyaku-sáma no denwa-bangoo '(the customer's =) your telephone number'. When a student wishes to say 'you' to his teacher he should use senséi or surname + senséi, though lately surname + san is heard more and more; the teacher will usually call a student by surname + san or (‘)kun. Fellow students address each other by surname or (if well acquainted) personal name, usually followed by san or (‘)kun, though the dropping of the rather empty title seems to be gaining ground. To avoid the plural aná-táti or anatá-gata("') you can add the collective to the title (senséi-táti, senséi-gáta, etc.); or you can use miná-san or minásan-gata '(all of) you; (you) gentlemen, ladies, ladies and gentlemen'.47 It is handy to remember that (... no) káta is a nice way to say 'person' and (... no) katá-gata can be used for 'you esteemed people (who/...)' as in gaikoku (or gaikokú-zin) no katá-gata 'you foreigners'. You will also hear dótira-sáma mo for 'both/all of you': Dótira-sáma mo, o-yasumi nasai 'Good-night, everybody'. Onono-o-gata means 'every one of you' (Okitsu 1.374).

The relatively intimate pronoun kimi (originally 'prince' or 'sovereign'—as in the national anthem Kimi ga yo) is mostly used by males speaking either to males or, under sufficiently intimate circumstances, to females; but it is said to enjoy a certain vogue among high-school girls, as well. The pronoun omae (plural omaé-táti) 'you' is deprecatory except when used to children or younger relatives within the family,48 children outside the family are usually called by name + tyan (or san) or by such quasi kinters as bóoya or bôttyan for boys and oýtôttyan or (old-fashioned) zyôttyan for girls. Children typically refer to unrelated grownups with kinters assimilated to their apparent age: ožisan 'Uncle', obasán 'Aunt', ožisan 'Grandfather', obåasan 'Grandmother'. Reference to the second and third persons in Japanese is inevitably bound up with concepts of social status and with the system of kinters, and there is considerable variation in traditions of usage, as well as the forms, in different parts of the country. In Ósaka the word an-san, an abbreviation of aná-tása is a polite word for 'you', not to be confused with áninsan 'Big Brother' or its variant án-tyan, which is sometimes used to mean '(young) hoodlum'.

A number of words for 'you' are seldom heard today. The pronoun kisama was originally complimentary but it has been considered insulting from as far back as 1832 (Kgg 81.52b). Another insulting pronoun is únu, once used by low-class samurai in talking to inferiors;49 being a variant of onó = onore, it was also sometimes used of the first person.50 The pronoun temae (or temee) is derived from the relational place noun 'this side (of)' and it has been used both as a humble word for 'I/me' and as an equivalent of omae 'you' in speaking to inferiors; the plural is temae-dómo (or temee-dómo). The pronoun o[-]nuisi 'you' appears to be dialect or slang. Ó-kóto is an elegant word for 'you', according to MKZ5, and the same is true of ón-mi(=)—etymologically identical with ón-mi (= o-karada)

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47. Also syókun 'colleagues', syósi 'gentlemen' (§26).
48. But omae-san and variants omae-han and oma-han are polite words for 'you' in certain dialects. Apparently omae can also be used in speaking to oneself of oneself: Másaka, omae wa katugáretu iru no da 'Surely you’re [= I’m] being deceived' (SA 2835.70c; male thinking to himself).
49. An example of the plural únu-ra 'you guys' will be found in a bit of vaudeville braggadocio in Okitsu 1.29.
50. An example with únu used first for second person and then for first: Yài, yánusi no Kóobee ttee no wa únu ka!—Hée—únu de—gozaimasu 'What, are YOU Kóbè the landlord?!—Yes, I am' (Okitsu 1.395).
'your body/health'—and the feminine epistolary on-moto or o-moto, the latter used after the name in an address on a letter. In letterwriting a male may use kiden as a respectful 'you' to a male equal or superior. In letterwriting and the like a male will sometimes use taisei for 'you' to an older friend (Tk 2.109b); onsi 'teacher (to whom I am indebted)' may be used for 'you' when writing to one's mentor.

The direction demonstrative sotira is used as an oblique reference to 'you' as well as 'your place/family', and it can be made more of a personal pronoun by adding the title -sama (sotira-sama); the literary version, soti, is usually given a prototonic accentuation sóti when used as the pronoun of the second person. Notice also soko no katá 'you (there)' (Okitsu 1.319).
This book has explored the ways in which Japanese put their sentences together; by explicitly following the rules and patterns discovered it is possible to create a wide variety of new sentences that have never been used before. Yet sometimes the sentences produced will be rejected by native speakers: they are grammatical and meaningful, but they are simply not said. The constraints that appear to operate in particular cases are difficult to generalize and much work remains to be done in exploring the situations for which a particular conversion may be awkward or unacceptable and in explicating the reasons for the unacceptability. As Nagano (1966.188) points out, the foreigner who has succeeded with O-mise simasyōo ka ‘Shall I (= Would you like me to) show it to you?’ and O-kasi simasyōo ka ‘Shall I (= Would you like me to) lend it to you?’ will feel confident he can say O-nose simasyōo ka ‘Shall I (= Would you like me to) give you a ride?’ But that sentence sounds odd to the native speaker, who would use Nosete časasi-łagemasyōo ka to translate the English expression. Certain transitive verbs such as noseru ‘gives a ride to’ and otōsu ‘drops’ (paired with intransitives noru ‘rides’ and otiuru ‘falls’) function as quasi causatives and are subject to constraints similar to those for regularly formed causatives such as noraseru ‘causes to ride’ and otisaseřu ‘causes to fall’; but other superficially similar verbs such as miseru ‘shows’ (paired with miru ‘sees’) and kasu ‘lends’ (paired with kariru ‘borrows’) are free of the constraints of the related forms misaseru ‘causes to see’ and karisaseru ‘causes to borrow’, perhaps because they are paired with transitives. When object exaltation is applied to causatives or quasi causatives, the exaltation apparently spills over both subject and object. This is also true of subject exaltation under a favor conversion: O-nose ni nāte kudasaimasen ka (BJ 2.17.K4) is not used to mean ‘Won’t you give me a lift, please’, which is said as Nosete kudasaimasen ka; the only way the longer expression could be taken would be as ‘Won’t you do me the favor of causing someone exalted to deign to ride?’.

The opposite sort of thing happens too: our rules tell us a sentence is ungrammatical, yet the native speaker is heard freely using it. In past days the conductors of streetcars were famous for saying Kippu no kirānai katā wa o-kirase kudasāi ‘Will those with unpunched tickets let me punch them, please’ (NHK 1970.45), using nó where the grammar calls for ó if kippu is to be taken as the object of the negativized kir-u ‘punches’. It would be possible to defend the conductors from charges of ungrammaticality if we take kippu nó as adnominalized propredication and interpret the sentence as kippu no [[kippu o] kirānai] katā ‘those [that I have not punched [their tickets]] with tickets’, but that is perhaps not what the speakers intended. In long and involved sentences an early adjunct may be marked for case in anticipation of valence with a predicate that is selected or replaced (or converted) later in the process of putting the sentence together; see the end of §4.2 for an example. Certain questionable sentences are the result of syntactic blunders or semantic analogies, as when the creator of zenzen arukōoru ‘nuki no kaisyoku ‘a banquet with no alcohol at all’ (KKK 23.28) used the modifying adverb zenzen ‘at all’ as if ‘nuki ’without’ were nái ‘lacks’. When an agrammatism is widespread our grammar must adjust to allow for it; instead of deploiring the use of ó in kaisya o kubi ni náru ‘gets fired from the company (= one’s job)’ we will say the expression kubi ni náru now has the
grammar of a verb of departure, like déru 'leaves' or yasúmu 'takes time off from' or sotugyoo suru 'graduates (from)', permitting us to mark the place departed from by ō.

Certain structures that are put together according to the rules of our grammar enjoy an autonomous existence once created, with new semantic and/or grammatical properties difficult to predict. These are IDIOMS that need to be entered in the lexicon separately from (or in addition to) the individual words out of which they are constructed. Idioms vary in the extent to which they reflect the properties of their components. Some participate freely in the same kinds of conversions as the underlying structures, being little more than semantic extensions of those structures. Others are so tightly knit that the internal structure permits few or no intrusions. Vardul points out that hará ga tátu 'one's belly [= temper] rises = one angers' (equivalent to the lexical compound hará-dátu) must be treated as an idiom because you can not say *káre no tátu hára 'his temper that rises' (V 82).

Certain idioms will allow intrusions, especially of focus particles; ki ni náru 'feels uneasy' or 'has a mind to', for example, will readily permit focus to intrude: ... dare d'átte Isigurá-si o hiná suru ki ni wa nárénai 'No one can be eager to criticize Mr Ishigura ...' (Maeda 1962.90). Ki ga suru 'I/(you) have the feeling' is similar; it appears to have the grammar of a possessive, as in this example where the possessor of the feeling is marked by ni and intruded before suru: ... to iu ki ga, watsá ni wa suru 'I DO have the feeling that ...' (SA 2645.46d). Ki ni ir-u 'pleases one, one likes' (= suki da), on the other hand, is not readily split: (ki) ni wa iránákatta is more likely to be said as ki ni iri wa sinákatta. The noun [o-]kiníirí 'one's favorite' is derived from the infinitive of the idiom: kiníirí no zidóo-syá(-) 'the automobile one likes' (K 1966.162). And (básu ni) ma ni áu 'is in time (for the bus)' will take focus as a whole, ma ni ai wa sinákatta 'was NOT in time', rather than internally, *ma ni wa awánákatta.

Certain nouns occur only in a fixed idiom or two: tátu-se ga nái 'is left without a leg to stand on; is put into a dilemma' (from se ni tátu 'stands on a shoal'); ma ni ukérú 'takes for true, accepts as truth'; tyó/syó ni túku 'gets underway, makes a beginning'; mákyo ni itomál(-) ga nái 'are too numerous to count/mention'; kánpu náki mada tó 'thoroughly, scathingly, roundly'; níttí mo sóttí mo (tukáni Kb 315b, ikani, ugo-kénai) 'is in a pinch, is caught between two fires'; múyool(-) no tyóobutú 'a white elephant'; ... And there are bound nouns which occur only in lexical compounds: kokoromoto-nái 'is apprehensive; is unreliable' contains a noun meaning 'at one's heart' (= kokóro no motó) that occurs nowhere else. Yogi-nái 'is unavoidable' contains a bound noun of Chinese origin meaning something like 'rule for margin'. It is said (Maeda 1965.185) that the idiom kén mo hororo (no áisatu) 'brusque (greetings)' is the result of recognizing that the ken- of kendón 'harsh' and kenken-googoo 'clamorous' suggests the crying of pheasants, for which the mimetic expression is horó-[ho]ro. In the example te-gusune hiite kyáku o máta no da ga 'eagerly awaited the customers' (SA 2668.38c), the first word is a compound of té 'hand' + kusune, a noun designating an old pine-resin concoction used to strengthen bowstrings and the like. I do not know the origin of túukáa 'intimate understanding' (as in túukáa no náka 'a relationship where words are unneeded' and Aitó to áiwa túukáa da 'They understand each other with a single word'), but it breaks into two elements in túu to iéba káa to iú no wa 'understanding each other instantly' (Okitsu 1.300).

An idiom with a dropped particle is often reduced to a single phonological phrase, retaining only the first of any accents; or, it may be treated as a compound lexeme, with
new accentuation: séppa [ga] tumárú ‘is cornered/pressed’ is also said as séppa tumárú and as seppa-tumárú. Lexical compounds are characterized by accentuation that is often the mirror image of the type found in syntactic structures when they are reduced. If a syntactic phrase is pronounced as a single stretch, the first lexical accent in the phrase is preserved and the later accents are suppressed. But compound nouns either preserve the accent of the later member (kitá(-) ‘north’ + Tyoosén = Kita-Tyoosén ‘North Korea’) or, more often, assign a new accent to the first syllable of the later element (kitá(-) ‘north’ + Betonamu ‘Vietnam’ = Kita-Bétonamu ‘North Vietnam’), unless the later element is one of the short “preaccentuated” suffixes that place the accent on the syllable before the final morpheme. That is the productive pattern; in addition, there are a number of “atonicizing” noun suffixes which make atonic compounds, and a few suffixes are ambivalent or idiosyncratic in behavior. When further elements are attached to the front of a compound noun the accent remains where it was placed by the process of attaching the last (right-most) element.

It is by accentual anomalies that we can differentiate syntactic reductions from lexical compounds. The example tási seisei no gurúupu ‘a group with a vast array of talents’ can be said with a minor juncture either before seisei or before gurúupu, but so long as it is not pronounced *tási-seisei we are not dealing with a lexical compound. Other examples of idioms that are not to be misconstrued (nor to be misaccentuated) as lexical compounds include zizyoo zibaku ‘falling in one’s own trap’, tóoki sokumyoo ‘ready wit’, ... . Certain expressions permit the syntactic reduction as well as the lexical compound: mi-yóo l mǐ-mane, mi-yóo mǐ-mane, and miyoo-mimane all mean ‘(being) influenced by another’s example’ and come from mi-yóo [tó] mǐ-mane.

Accentuation leads us to treat as lexical compounds a number of expressions that at first glance might appear to be syntactic in structure: anó-ko ‘that kid; he/she’ (cf. ano kodomo ‘that child’); otokó-no-ko ‘boy’ and onná-no-ko ‘girl’ (cf. onná no ko [domo] ‘the woman’s child’, onná no sensëi ‘a female teacher’ or ‘the girl’s teacher’); yo-nó-náká ‘the world, the public’ from yo(-) náká ‘midst of the world’; ozíityan-obáatyann ‘grampa-n-gramma’ from ozíityan × to ï obáatyann ‘grandpa and grandma’; ima-máde ‘up to now’ ← *ima máde; etc. On the other hand, the compound-like accentuation of phrases marked by restrictives and quasi-restrictives such as -gurai and -nuki does not deter us from writing them as separate words, a decision made in consideration of the nature of the structures to which they freely attach. For more on the properties of certain idioms, see Tagashira 1973.

Abstract nouns in Japanese often carry some suffix or attached noun which may be unnecessary to translate as such. Nouns used in this way to make explicit a category designation that often goes untranslated in English include these:

zyootai ‘state’ as in kyuusu-en-zyootai ‘(the condition of being) an armistice’, heiwazyootaí ‘(state of) peace’, kootyaku-zyootai ‘deadlock, standstill’, hoowa-zyoootai ‘saturation, saturated’, saimín-zyootai ‘(under) hypnosis’, sinkyuu-zyoootai [ni nárú] ‘(becomes) a vacuum’, taihai-zyootai ‘(state of) corruption, depravity’, doobu no kenko-zyootai ‘the health of the animals’ (SA 2813.31b), panikkzyóoootai ni nátta ‘went into a panic’ (SA 2835.126b);

zyookën(-) ‘condition’ as in ondo-zyóoken ‘the [condition of the] temperature’;
guai ‘condition’ as in kókó no toke-guíai ‘the meltedness of the cocoa’ and Kin-tyan wa dōo da i, hutokoro-guai wa ‘How about it, Kin-chan, how’s your pocketbook?’ (Okitsu 1.291);
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gensyoo ‘phenomenon’ as in zisin no rooka-gensyoo ‘her own growing old’ (Ariyoshi 246);

 taīguu ‘treatment’ as in Kokuzin wa mukōō(‘) de sabetu-taīguu ūket’ ōru kara, ... ‘The blacks are subject to discrimination over there, so ...’ (Tk 3.59a);

 mondai ‘question, issue’ as in zinsyu-mondai ‘[the issue of] race’;

 sikake ‘device’ as in bane-zikake ‘a spring, spring [works]’ and tokei-zikake ‘clockwork’;

 undōo ‘movement’ as in roodo-undōo ‘labor [as a movement]’ and teikoo-undōo ‘the resistance [movement]’

 tuzuki ‘series, string’ as in rokusatu-tuzuki no “Kokugobunka-kōza” to iu monō ga hakkoo sarete iru ‘six “Lectures on Our Language and Culture” were published’ (K 1966.65);

 sóoti ‘equipment, facility’ as in danboo-sóoti ‘heating (arrangements)’ and LL-sóoti [eruueru-sóoti] ‘language laboratory (facilities)’; ... .

Suffixes include ‘syā ‘company’ as in sinbun-syā ‘newspaper (as institution/business)’;

 ‘ryoku ‘power of, -tion’ as in soozō-ryoku ‘[one’s power of] imagination’ and syuutyyuu-ryoku ‘[one’s] concentration’; ... . In §26 we observed that Japanese often cite names, including geographical names, with titles or other specifying suffixes. Long strings of nouns are often used as proper names for institutions, titles of books, and the like; such a name is sometimes broken into shorter phrases, but the usual practice is to run the phrases together as a lexical compound.
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INDEX

This index lists words, forms, and technical terms discussed or exemplified in the book. Cross-references are provided from terms used by other grammarians; usually the source is not cited, but terms taken from Bloch 1970 are marked "[BB]" and those from Jorden 1962-3 are marked "[BJ]". Other abbreviations used here or in the text will be found among the entries. As elsewhere, place names are spelled in the Hepburn romanization except when used as examples. The entries for infinitive-derived nouns usually give also the underlying infinitive except in a few cases where the basic accent is the same as that of the noun; these are marked "((N < V))". The entries are ordered alphabetically, but accent marks, spaces, brackets, and parentheses are ignored, as is the optional plural "(s)" on certain English entries. Homonyms are roughly ordered from bound to free: prefixes precede suffixes, adverbs precede particles, verbs and adjectives precede nouns; English terms come last. The English glosses provided for certain of the headings will help identify particular Japanese words. References are to page numbers; where the more important references in a list might escape your attention they are italicized. Most verbs and adjectives are entered only in the plain imperfect form, but citations may refer to other forms of the paradigm.

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